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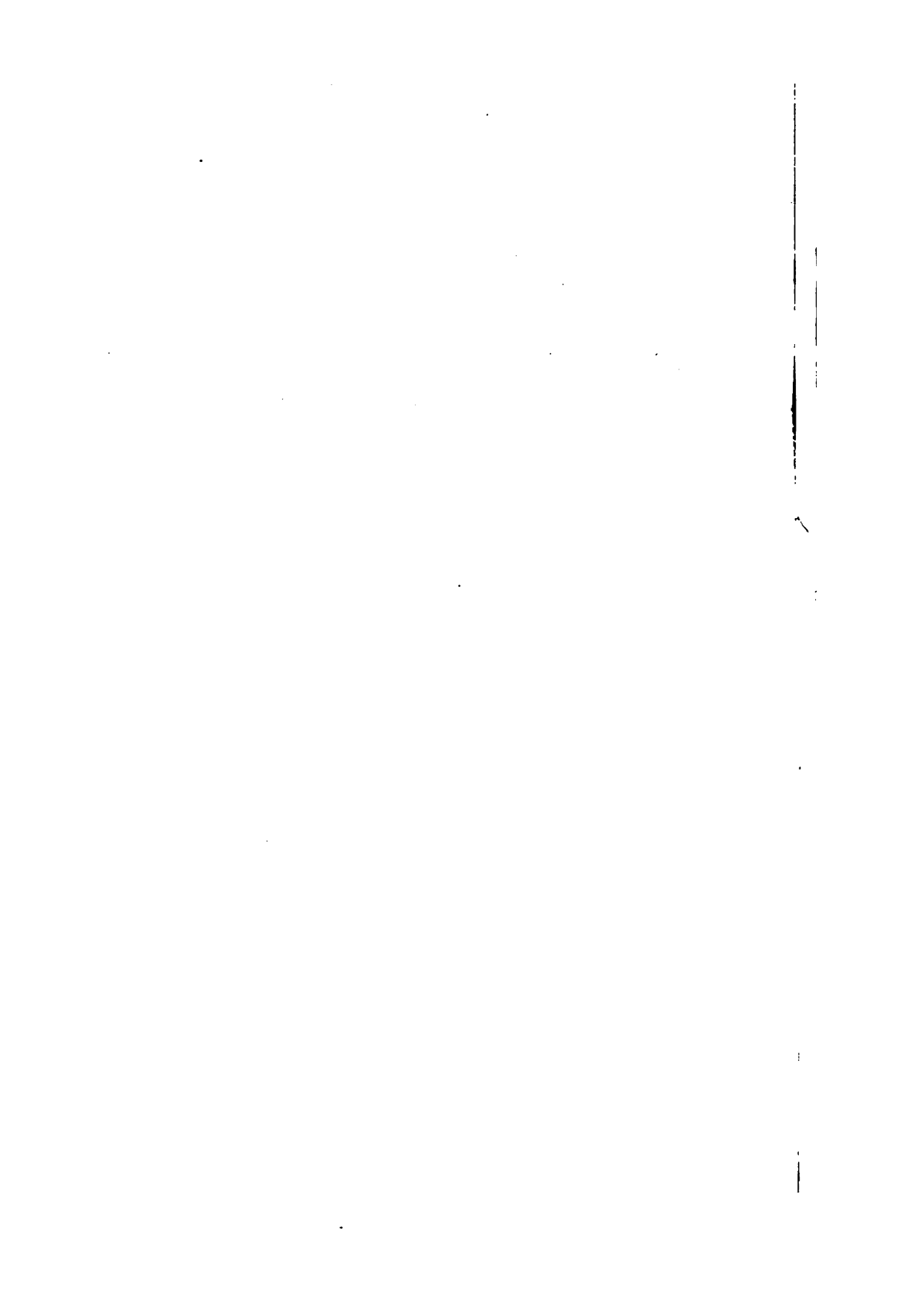
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THE LAUSIAC
OF PALLA

CRITICAL DISCUSSION TOGETHER
EARLY EGYPTIAN

DOM CUTHBERT
BENEDICTINE MONK OF
AND OF

CONTRIBUTION
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTICAL

EDITED BY
J. ARMITAGE RAY
HON. PH.D. GÖTTINGEN
NOBILITARIAN PROFESSOR

VOL. VI.

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EDITED BY
J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON D.D.
HON. PH.D. GÜTTINGEN HON. D.D. HALLE
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THE LAUSIAC HISTORY
OF PALLADIUS

A CRITICAL DISCUSSION TOGETHER WITH NOTES ON
EARLY EGYPTIAN MONACHISM

BY

DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER

BENEDICTINE MONK OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION
AND OF DOWNSIDE MONASTERY

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1898

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PREFACE.

THE Lausiatic History of Palladius is probably the chief document dealing with early Christian monachism in Egypt. Of late years it has been subjected to a searching criticism:—Palladius has been said to have merely plagiarised earlier Greek books; or to have translated Coptic ones; or to have written the work out of his own head, so that it is a mere romance, devoid of all historical worth. No sooner had I set myself to the serious study of the Lausiatic History, than the received text fell asunder into two parts; and this resolution of the text into its components, and the consequent restoration of Palladius' work to its genuine form, seemed to afford the answer to a number of the criticisms, both textual and historical, that have been made against the book.

The first seven sections of the following Study are devoted to this re-establishment of the Lausiatic History in its primitive form. Sections 8—13 consider the question whether the book is a *bona fide* original work of Palladius, containing his own experiences; or was made up out of earlier materials: the discussion turns mainly on the early versions: the result is that the Lausiatic History is accepted as the authentic and original work of Palladius. Its historical character is next considered at some length, and principles are laid down for judging books of the same class; these principles are applied not only to the Lausiatic History, but also to other documents that deal with the early monks of Egypt; the case of St Anthony, who (it has been said) "never existed," is reconsidered, and an attempt is made to delineate the salient features of primitive Egyptian monachism.

The origins of the monastic system cannot fail to be of interest and importance to the student of ecclesiastical history. In order to clear up the problems that surround the Lausiatic History it has been necessary to discuss elaborately a number of minute and technical questions of literary and textual criticism; but it was impossible to determine the historical position of the whole cycle of documents relating to monastic origins in Egypt, before the numerous questions raised concerning the Lausiatic History had been considered in detail and definitely answered. If in the course of my work I have had frequently to differ from and to criticise the views of several scholars of great and well-deserved reputation, I may be allowed to plead that, though it was only six years ago that I devoted myself to the special study of the Lausiatic History, the literature of early monachism had long been familiar to me.

Before I had advanced far in my labours, I became aware that Dr Preuschen also was at work in the same field. We soon perceived that there was ample room for both of us; and, although we have assisted one another in the supply of what may be called the raw materials, we have otherwise worked quite independently—there has been no interchange of views or discussion of theories. On the main lines of the case we are in entire agreement; but on a number of lesser points, some of no small importance, we differ, as will often appear from the following pages. When Dr Preuschen's *Palladius und Rufinus* was published in last November, Part I of my book (pp. 1—172) was already in type, and §§ 14 and 15 (pp. 173—196) and Appendices I—IV were written. I have been able, however, towards the end of Part I to take account of Dr Preuschen's work, and in Part II I have dealt with it quite freely.

My obligations to various friends are acknowledged in the course of the book. I wish here to thank in a special manner Professor Robinson and Mr F. C. Burkitt, who contributed respectively the section on the Armenian Version and the Note on the Biblical Citations in the Latin Versions: the Rev. Forbes Robinson, Fellow of Christ's College, who has made the translations of the various passages cited from the Coptic Version:

Dr Budge, for placing at my disposal his fine MS. copy of the Syriac *Paradise* of Anan-Isho: and M. Omont, for the assistance he has given me while working in the Bibliothèque Nationale. My thanks are further due to Professor Robinson and to Mr Edmund Bishop, both of whom have read the entire book in MS., and also in proof; there are few pages that do not bear the marks of their criticisms and corrections. Mr Bishop worked with me in the preliminary comparison of the Latin documents and the investigation of their relations, the results of which are embodied in § 4. Professor Robinson, as Editor of the Series, has thrown himself into the work as if it were his own. In the difficult section on the Coptic Version his help amounted to full collaboration.

As the title indicates, this volume is only of the nature of Prolegomena: it is my intention to proceed at once to the preparation of a second volume in which the Greek text will be edited from the MSS.

CUTHBERT BUTLER.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

24 *May*, 1898.

ERRATA.

p. 47, note 4, line 1, *read* ὑπήκουον.

p. 65, line 9, *read* Benjamin.

THE HISTORIA LAUSIACA OF PALLADIUS.

§ 1. INTRODUCTORY.

THE origins of Christian monachism and the sources of its early history are fields of enquiry to which continental scholars have of late years been devoting considerable attention. Much has been written about various ascetics of the first three centuries; but so meagre is the original information, and so dense the obscurity in which the whole subject is involved, that to find a safe basis for investigating the beginnings of historical Christian monachism, it is necessary to start from the literature of the close of the fourth century and of the early years of the fifth, which portrays the manner of life and the teaching of the multitude of hermits and cenobites who at that time peopled the Egyptian deserts. Again, the early history of divine worship in the Christian Church is a subject which is attracting still more attention; and any one who has read recent works dealing with the development of the Canonical Office, such as those of the Abbé Batiffol¹ or Dom Bäumer², will recognise how important a place is held in such investigations by this same literature. For students therefore of monastic or of liturgical origins it is clearly a matter of necessity to know how far the records of this literature are authentic, and what measure of credibility they can rightly claim.

The two scholars who in our day have made the most elaborate study of the sources of Egyptian monastic history, Dr Lucius and M. Amélineau, are agreed that the extant documents are few, and

¹ *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*. (Paris: Lecoffre, 1893.)

² *Geschichte des Breviers*. (Freiburg i. Breisgau: Herder, 1895.)

that the most important of them are the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, and the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, which goes under the name of Rufinus¹. The former work is beset with certain textual difficulties, with which neither Lucius nor Amélineau has, in my judgment, successfully grappled; yet on the true solution of these problems must depend to a very great extent our estimate of the historical character of both the above named works. My concern is chiefly with the *Historia Lausiaca*; and to make the discussion which follows more easily intelligible I shall here give a brief sketch of its author's career, in so far as it bears on the subject-matter of his book.

Palladius was born in Galatia in the year 367: about 387 he embraced the monastic life, and perhaps spent some time in Cappadocia and Palestine, before going to Egypt. In 388 he came to Alexandria, and after some two years passed under eminent masters of the ascetic life in the neighbourhood of that city he withdrew into the desert of Nitria. A year later (390—1) he retired into the still more remote desert, which from the number of hermitages with which it was studded was called "the Cells." Here he lived for about nine years, at first with Abbot Macarius of Alexandria, and then with Evagrius, who was famous during his life for his austerities and his ascetic lore, but after his death fell under the suspicion of Origenism. During this sojourn Palladius enjoyed the instruction of several of the best known of the solitaries, and met the disciples of many more. At the beginning of 400 he was compelled by ill health to quit the desert and betake himself to Alexandria, whence he returned to Palestine. Later on in the same year he became bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia. He was consecrated perhaps by St John Chrysostom, whose faithful adherent he henceforth was, and in whose persecutions he shared. In 404 or 405 he travelled to Rome in his master's interests, and whilst there he visited some who were leading an ascetic life in the neighbourhood of the city and in Campania. He subsequently suffered a long exile for his fidelity to St Chrysostom, being banished to Syene, and again to

¹ See also the *gestalt der älteren Geschichte des ägyptischen Mönchtums* (Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1895 u. 1896). Amélineau, *De Historia Lausiaca*, Paris, 1892.

the Thebaid, where he passed three or four years among the monks of Antinoopolis; he also lived for some time in Palestine among the monks who dwelt on the Mount of Olives. In 417 his troubles came to an end; and in 420 he wrote his *Historia Lausiaca*, a series of biographical sketches of the monks whom he had known, either personally, or through the reports of their disciples. This work he dedicated to one Lausus, a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II.; and from this circumstance it receives its title¹.

Palladius has won from a master of the old school of historical scholarship and criticism the following high encomium: "On peut dire qu'il y a peu d'histoires qui méritent plus de croyance que celle-la. Car il y paroist partout un grand caractère de simplicité et de sincérité, avec beaucoup d'exactitude, et un grand soin de s'informer de la vérité des choses, sans y rien ajouter pour les rendre plus agréables ou plus merveilleuses. Pallade fait profession dans sa préface de ne dire que ce qu'il a vu luy-mesme, ou appris des auteurs originaux; et il n'y a presque pas de page de son livre qui ne fasse voir qu'il s'est acquitté de cette promesse avec beaucoup de fidélité." So Tillemont². In quite recent times a very different verdict has been pronounced by Dr Weingarten. He declares that the time has come to "lay the axe to the root of the superstitions" handed down as the records of early monachism; and he sets to work to some purpose. Paul the Hermit "never existed." As for St Anthony, the life of him attributed to St Athanasius has no historical value whatever; it is a mere "Tendenzschrift," a romance written for the purpose of propagating an ideal. If such a personage ever lived, he must be placed not in the third century but in the second half of the fourth; for there were no Christian solitaries or monks in Egypt before the year

¹ This account, put together by Tillemont (*Mémoires*, xi. 500—523) out of Palladius' own writings, has been adopted by subsequent writers; even Dr Weingarten accepts it in its main outlines. I believe that Dr Lucius stands alone in regarding as fabrications the details given by Palladius about himself. There are a few chronological difficulties; but these are fairly met by the supposition that Palladius, writing at a distance of from 20 to 30 years from the events he narrates, is not always minutely accurate in his notes of time. The question will be dealt with in detail in Part II. of this Study (§ 14).

² *Mémoires*, xi. 524.

340. The *Historia Lausiaca* and *Historia Monachorum* are mere fairy tales, which must not be regarded as in any sense historical sources, and which deserve no more credit than Gulliver's Travels. Only one fact can be gleaned from these romances, viz. that the earliest form of the monastic life was the eremitical¹. The late date at which Weingarten set the beginnings of Christian monachism called forth much criticism even on the part of writers of his own school; but, his estimate of the two works in which we are interested has been accepted in many quarters. Dr Zöckler, however, an historical critic of tried repute, cannot adopt so extreme a view of the untrustworthiness of Palladius. In the first edition of Herzog's *Encyclopädie* he had expressed himself somewhat favourably as to the historical character of the Lausiatic History, and had thereby brought upon himself a rebuke from Weingarten. But in the second edition he emphasised his earlier verdict. He does not question that the biographies have been highly coloured and enriched with wonders; but in his judgment it is not conceivable that they are mere fictions and romances; in the case of most of the holy men portrayed, the details of their manner of life, their sayings and doings, are given with an actuality and a precision which do not admit of so extreme a hypothesis².

Dr Lucius' view of the histories of Palladius and Rufinus is hardly more favourable than Weingarten's. In his eyes Palladius is a "monkish falsifier of history," and his book is an uncritical patchwork put together from several different sources. These elements may at best be a mixture of historical facts and monkish fables, with perhaps here and there some personal reminiscences. Lucius altogether rejects the idea that the Lausiatic History records the personal experiences of its author. Palladius, in his view, systematically substitutes himself for the person of each of the various writers whose materials he uses: he relates their experiences—or what profess to be such—as his own: the fact that

¹ *Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1876, pp. 1—36, 545—574); reprinted separately (Gotha, 1877). Weingarten defended his position against his critics in Herzog-Plitt, x. 759 ff., Article *Mönchtum* (1882).

² Herzog-Plitt *Encyclopädie der protestantisch-theologische*, xl. 178—5, Article *Mönchtum* (1882).

1882. Various letters mentioned in the course

the work is thrown into the form of a personal narrative is but a device to give it a seeming unity. Lucius refuses to believe that the writer ever was a bishop, and hints that it is more than likely that he never set foot in Egypt, and indeed never left his native Galatia¹.

M. Amélineau has approached the problem of the Lausiatic History by another road. He has made a special study of Coptic and Arabic Christian literature, and has devoted much time to the Christian antiquities of Egypt. He has conducted his researches in the chief libraries of Europe, and has further made explorations and investigations in various parts of Egypt itself. It is not too much to say that he has done more than any living scholar to illustrate the history of early Egyptian monachism². His judgment therefore on the question before us should carry a greater weight than those which are reached by the somewhat subjective methods of other writers. So far from thinking that the author never was in Egypt, M. Amélineau bears witness to the accuracy of the descriptions which Palladius gives of special localities and of their natural scenery: he is convinced that he must have visited these spots. A comparison of the Lausiatic History with Coptic records leads him to the conclusion that, in general, where Palladius relates what was done or seen or heard by himself, he is worthy of credit; but that information which he derived from Coptic writings, or learned by hearsay, must be received with great caution³.

Having thus summarised the opinions expressed by the most recent critics of the Lausiatic History, we must now address ourselves to our task, which falls into two parts. The First Part is Textual; its object is to call attention to the various redactions in which the *Historia Lausiaca* has come down to us, and to determine which of these forms is to be regarded as the original work, and in what language the materials were first written: this will involve an examination of the several versions. The Second Part is Historical; the results gained in the First Part

¹ *Die Quellen der älteren Geschichte des ägyptischen Mönchtums* (Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1885, pp. 192—196).

² A list of M. Amélineau's works on the subject will be given in § 12.

³ *De Historia Lausiaca*, pp. 8, 18, 72, &c.

will form the basis of a discussion of some of the problems which belong to the early history of Christian monachism and the development of the monastic idea in East and West down to St Benedict's time.

PART I. TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

§ 2. REDACTIONS OF THE 'HISTORIA LAUSIACA.'

IN the sixteenth century much uncertainty prevailed as to what precisely was the *Historia Lausiaca*. This uncertainty arose from the fact that three Latin translations, representing three different redactions of the book, were in the field. No Greek text had as yet been printed, when Rosweyd in the first edition of his monumental *Vitae Patrum*¹ faced the problem and decided in favour of the longest of the three redactions. This he placed in the body of his collection: the other two he relegated to the small print of an Appendix. His judgment has not been challenged by

¹ Antwerp, 1615 and 1628. Rosweyd was a Jesuit, one of the earliest pioneers of the great seventeenth century historical school, and projector of the *Acta Sanctorum* carried out by the Bollandists. His *Vitae Patrum* is a folio volume of upwards of a thousand pages of texts (Latin only) and erudite notes. It consists of ten Books and an Appendix.

Book I., which occupies nearly half the volume, contains the lives of SS. Paul the Hermit, Anthony and Hilarion, and a number of similar biographies from different hands;

Book II. is the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*;

Books III., V., VI. and VII., are collections of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, or short anecdotes and sayings of the chief Fathers of the Desert, often full of shrewdness and deep knowledge of human nature;

Book IV. is made up of extracts from Cassian and Sulpicius Severus;

Book VIII. is the Lausiatic History of Palladius. (In the edition of 1628 a few alterations have been made to bring the Latin into conformity with the printed Greek texts.)

Books IX. and X. are similar collections of short biographies by Theodoret and John Moschus

Rosweyd's edition of the *Vitae Patrum* forms part in volumes LXXIII. and LXXIV. of the *Opera Patrum*.

The reader is referred to the Appendix for the discussion here of the various redactions of the *Historia Lausiaca*.

the scholars of the present day. It has been accepted without criticism by Weingarten, Lucius, Zöckler and Amélineau in the discussions already referred to. It has been accepted by W. Möller¹, by a number of contributors to the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*², and by Dr Grützmacher in a monograph which has quite recently appeared³. Bishop Lightfoot⁴ and Dr W. Wright⁵ have also accepted it, as we may gather from their passing references; for, unlike the scholars named above, they have not had occasion to deal directly with the problems that arise out of the Lausiatic History. In fact all recent writers who have dealt with the matter, so far as I know, acquiesce in Rosweyd's verdict; and they further accept as the genuine work of Palladius the Greek text printed in Migne (*P. G.* xxxiv.). They take no serious account of the other redactions—indeed they seem hardly to be aware of their existence⁶.

Now no one who reads with attention the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca*, as authenticated by Rosweyd, can fail to notice that the former work is contained bodily in the latter. The *Historia Monachorum* purports to be a personal narrative of a round of visits to the most eminent solitaries of Egypt made in the winter of 394—5; and ever since Rosweyd's time the Latin work, the only form hitherto known, has been regarded as coming from the pen of Rufinus⁷. It is singular that the presence of this work in the Lausiatic History has not hitherto received at the hands of critics the careful analysis that so curious a phenomenon deserves. Rosweyd offers only the comprehensive suggestion that one of the writers borrowed from the other, or else both borrowed from some unknown common source⁸; and one or other of these alternatives has satisfied the critics of our day. Weingarten

¹ Herzog-Plitt, xiii. 100, Article *Rufinus* (1884).

² Articles *Palladius, Rufinus, Heracleides, &c., &c.*

³ *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben* (Freiburg, 1896), pp. 1—4.

⁴ *Ignatius and Polycarp* (ed. 2, 1889), i. 153—4.

⁵ *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, iii. (passim).

⁶ I suppose no work could be named more up to date or more scientific than the new edition of Potthast's *Wegweiser* (1896); and there (p. 891) we find a formal restatement of the traditional view.

⁷ The *Historia Monachorum* forms Book II. in Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum*.

⁸ *Vitae Patrum*, Prolegomenon iv. § 2 (Migne, *P. L.* lxxiii. 23).

enunciates the idea that Palladius borrowed from Rufinus, and this is the view adopted in Potthast; W. Möller believes in a Greek document, translated into Latin by Rufinus and incorporated in his history by Palladius; Lucius strongly advocates a similar theory, in which he is followed by Grützmacher, and by Zöckler in his most recent pronouncement on the question¹. Amélineau, on the other hand, holds that both writers made independent translations of a Coptic original.

A study of the Latin texts in Rosweyd had suggested to me a solution of the problem different from any of these, at once simpler and more in accord with the facts of the case. A subsequent examination of the Greek printed texts and manuscripts led to the same result, and confirmed the suspicion that the difficulties of recent writers are due to a failure to examine with adequate care the extant texts. I propose therefore in the first place to indicate the steps by which I arrived at my conclusion.

The three Latin forms of the Lausiaca History, printed by Rosweyd, are these:—

I. The version which had been given in the earliest printed editions of the *Vitae Patrum*, copies of three of which may be found in the British Museum, dated hypothetically in the Catalogue between 1470 and 1480: Rosweyd, Appendix, pp. 978—995 (ed. 1615); 984—1001 (ed. 1628).

II. The version first printed by Le Fèvre d'Estaples, Paris, 1504, under the title *Paradisus Heraclidis*: Rosweyd, Appendix, pp. 933—977 (ed. 1615); 939—983 (ed. 1628). (Rosweyd reprints Lipomanus' edition, Venice, 1554, in which some considerable gaps had been filled up by translations from a Greek MS. at Venice.)

III. A translation made from the Greek by Gentian Hervet, and published at Paris in 1555. This is the redaction accepted by Rosweyd as representing the genuine work, and printed as Book VIII. of his *Vitae Patrum* (pp. 704—783 in both editions; in the second Edition, however, with some alterations based on

¹ See also *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 1, p. 100, in 1862 he shared

Of these three Latin redactions, I. may be at once eliminated. We shall see hereafter that internal evidence shows it to be but a corrupt redaction, at once loaded with interpolated matter and incomplete¹. No Greek text corresponding to it is known to me; and the other early versions (Latin, Syriac and Coptic) show that this was not the redaction current when they were made.

The Greek text of II. was printed by Meursius (de Meurs) at Leyden in 1616, from a tenth century manuscript of the Palatine Library, then at Heidelberg, now in the Vatican². It is contained also in an Arundel ms. in the British Museum, in a Vossian ms. in the Leyden University Library, and in several others in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and elsewhere. These MSS. will be described and classified in the proper place.

A Greek text purporting to be the text of III. was published at Paris by Fronto Ducaeus (Du Duc) in 1624; the subsequent editions of the Greek are based upon this, and it is substantially the text now commonly used, and found in vol. XXXIV. of Migne's Greek Patrology. There are three Greek manuscripts of III. at Paris, one of them (incomplete) dating from the tenth century. But Du Duc's Greek text was not based on MSS. of this redaction; but was patched up from copies of II. and of the *Historia Monachorum* so as to correspond in structure with Hervet's Latin translation³. A list of the Greek editions of this redaction is given in the footnote⁴.

¹ Cf. § 9. To adduce but one piece of internal evidence out of several:—the Proëm in this redaction, as in the others, contains a promise to give some account of the solitaries of Lower Egypt, of Syene and Tabennisi, of Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, and of Rome and Campania. In the other redactions this promise is fulfilled; but here the information is all but wholly confined to Lower Egypt. The chapters relating to the monks of St Pachomius in Tabennisi are not to be found, nor is anything said about them beyond the brief account of St Macarius' visit to Tabennisi. Of Asiatic monks only two are noticed, and of Italian none at all. This of itself makes it clear that I. is but an abridged, or, rather, a truncated redaction of the Lausiaca History.

² *Palladii Episcopi Helenopoleos Historia Lausiaca*. Joannes Meursius primus Græcæ nunc vulgavit et notas adjecit. Lugduni Batavorum, MDCXVI. (This is not the text printed in Tom. VIII. of Lami's edition of the *Opera Joannis Meursii*, Florence, 1741 &c.)

³ The genesis of Du Duc's text and of the later editions will be explained in the *Introduction* to the Text.

⁴ The editions are:—(i) Du Duc's own edition, Paris, 1624; in Tom. II. of the

We may now return to Rosweyd's Latin redactions II. and III. A comparison of these brings out the fact that, speaking roughly, the main difference between them lies not in the text of individual biographies but in the number of the biographies which they contain; for III. contains all those in II. and many more. In nearly all cases the Lives common to both redactions are identical in substance, being as a matter of fact independent translations of the same original. We may therefore conveniently speak of redaction III. as the Long Recension, and of redaction II. as the Short Recension of the Lausiaca History.

§ 3. THE 'HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO.'

After these preliminary details concerning the work which forms the chief subject of the ensuing investigation, some account must be given of another work, very similar in character, which has been already referred to and will frequently be mentioned in the course of this Study, the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*. This work describes a series of visits paid in the winter of 394—5 to a number of hermits and monks in the Thebaid and Lower Egypt by a party of seven persons¹. The writer represents himself throughout as having been one of the party: and Rosweyd established the fact once for all that the current Latin text is

Auctarium to La Bigne's *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*. There are some lacunae in the Greek text as compared with Hervet's Latin, and some differences of reading.

(ii) Paris, 1644; and again, 1654; in the *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, Tom. xiii.; an exact reprint of (i).

(iii) Florence, 1746; in Tom. viii. of Lami's edition of Meursius' works. The Greek of the lacunae of (i) and (ii) had been printed by Cotelier from two Paris mss. (*Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, iii. 158—170), and Lami reproduces Du Duc's text, printing these fragments, not so as to fill the lacunae, but at the end of the chapters in which they should stand.

(iv) Paris, 1860; in Migne's Greek Patrology, Tom. xxxiv., cols. 995—1260. The same text; but Cotelier's fragments are inserted in their places, so that the Greek text is continuous and the lacunae no longer appear.

¹ The date is thus fixed: (i) The party was with John of Lycopolis shortly after Theodosius had gained his victory over Eugenius, i.e. towards the middle or end of September 394. (ii) When they reached Nitria, Macarius of Alexandria was already dead: he died at the end of 394, or the beginning of 395.

from the hand of Rufinus¹. But Rufinus himself cannot possibly have been one of the party of seven whose tour is described².

¹ *Vitae Patrum*, Prolegomenon iv. § 10 (Migne, P. L. LXXIII. 35). The following are the grounds on which this conclusion has been ever since accepted :

(i) St Jerome in his letter to Ctesiphon (*Ep.* 133; Vallarsi, i. 1029 f.), after speaking of Evagrius, continues: "Huius libros per orientem Graecos et interpretante discipulo eius Rufino Latinos plerique in occidente lectitant. qui librum quoque scripsit quasi de monachis, multosque in eo enumerat qui nunquam fuerunt; et quos fuisse describit Origenistas et ab episcopis damnatos esse non dubium est; Ammonium videlicet et Eusebium et Euthymium et ipsum Euagrium, Or quoque et Isidorum et multos alios, quos enumerare taedium est.....ita ille unum Ioannem in ipsius libri posuit principio, quem et catholicum et sanctum fuisse non dubium est." The list of names and the fact of John standing first, show that he is speaking of the *Historia Monachorum*. The 'qui' at the beginning of the second sentence clearly refers to Rufinus, not to Evagrius, who cannot be supposed to have included in his biographical series 'ipsum Euagrium.' Moreover St Jerome goes on to say that this same writer published a translation of a work of Xystus the Pythagorean under the name of Xystus, Pope and Martyr; and one of a work of Eusebius of Caesarea under the name of Pamphilus, both of which accusations he elsewhere brings against Rufinus. St Jerome's testimony is therefore explicit.

(ii) At the end of c. 29 of the *Historia Monachorum* occur the words:—"Sed et multa, ut diximus, alia de operibus sancti Macarii Alexandrini mirabilia feruntur, ex quibus nonnulla in xi. libro Ecclesiasticae Historiae inserta qui requiret inveniet." This refers to the second of the two Books which Rufinus added to his translation of Eusebius; and there (c. 4) additional information about Macarius may be found.

(iii) Many mss. bear the name of Rufinus, though still more bear St Jerome's; but in face of the letter to Ctesiphon, just cited, the latter attribution is certainly wrong.

(iv) It is worth while to add that the writer represents himself and his companions as monks of the monastery on the Mount of Olives which was founded by Rufinus, who himself lived there.

Lucius does not hesitate to say that the authorship of few works of Christian antiquity is more securely established than that of the *Historia Monachorum* in its Latin form (l. c. p. 167).

² This has been shown by Tillemont (*Mémoires*, xii. 657, 8): among his reasons the following seem conclusive:

(i) The tour was made in 394—5; now Rufinus was in Egypt on two occasions only, viz., for a considerable time about 375, when he visited several of the solitaries; and again at a date prior to 385; but at the end of 394 he appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

(ii) All the party were laymen, except one who was a deacon (c. 1); but by 394 Rufinus was a priest.

(iii) In the *Historia Monachorum* (cc. 28, 29), the two Macarii are spoken of as not having been seen by the writer; whereas Rufinus declares distinctly that he had seen both of them, and had received their blessing (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 8).

Gennadius in his account of Petronius who became bishop of Bologna, says: "scripsisse putatur uitas patrum monachorum Aegypti¹." This suggested to Tillemont the theory that Rufinus edited materials supplied to him by Petronius, who may have made the journey². This theory was accepted by Fontanini and others, but it has found scant favour among modern writers. Quite recently however, Zöckler has put it forward again, and defended it as the one plausible conjecture as to the authorship³. But indeed it cannot be upheld in face of a fact which has been strangely overlooked by writers on these questions.

The discussion has hitherto been conducted on the assumption that the Latin is the original, or at least that, if it be a translation, the Greek original is no longer extant⁴. And yet, so long ago as 1686, Cotelier described the contents of four Paris MSS. of a *Paradisus*, and printed considerable portions of the text⁵. It is extraordinary that Cotelier did not himself recognise what this *Paradisus* really was⁶. Even before I had an opportunity of examining the manuscripts used by Cotelier, I was satisfied from his own description that the work in question was nothing else than the Greek text of the *Historia Monachorum*. Later on, I found a copy of it in the British Museum, and another in a Leyden manuscript. I also examined Cotelier's four manuscripts, as well as others of the same type, at Paris⁷. All of them I found to contain the Greek of the *Historia Monachorum* and to present

¹ *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, xli. (P. L. LVIII. 1082).

² *Mémoires*, xii. 658.

³ *Evagrius Ponticus*, p. 100 (*Biblische und kirchenhistorische Studien*, München, 1893, Heft iv.); also *Askese und Mönchtum* (1897), pp. 213—215. In a review of the last named work, Grützmacher declares in favour of the same hypothesis (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1897, No. 9).

⁴ Thus Lucius speaks of the possibility of reconstructing the original Greek text by current critical methods (*l. c.* p. 175).

⁵ The description is given in his *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, iii. 564—6; the text *ibid.* 171—184. All this matter is reprinted in Migne, *P. G.* lxxv. 439 ff., and is therefore easily accessible. Another copy of the work is fully described by Montfaucon in the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, pp. 138—140.

He seems to have supposed that it was excerpted from the Lausiac History and translated into Latin by Rufinus; a hypothesis wholly inadmissible, for the Lausiac History was not written until after Rufinus' death (cf. § 4).

These manuscripts are briefly described in Appendix I. Dr Pressachen is the author of the critical edition of the Greek text. Published Nov. 1897.

the same text as those portions of the Long Recension of the Lausiaca History which correspond with the Latin *Historia Monachorum*. What Cotelier printed was the Prologue and most of the parts of the work which are not found in the long *Historia Lausiaca*. In Appendix I. directions are given whereby anyone may reconstruct for himself out of vols. XXXIV. and LXV. of the Greek Patrology nearly the whole of the Greek text of the *Historia Monachorum*.

An important question now arises: Which of these is the original—the Greek or the Latin text? Here I cannot help thinking that Tillemont's usual penetration has failed him. Relying on St Jerome's formal statement that the book was written by Rufinus ('qui librum quoque scripsit'), and on the fact that he blames Rufinus for what he disapproves of in it, Tillemont concludes that the work was written in Latin¹. But a study of the Greek manuscripts, which Tillemont evidently had not seen, has led me to the opposite conclusion. The following reasons make it clear, in my judgment, that the Greek is the original.

(1) Though the Latin is certainly by Rufinus, it has been shown that the reminiscences and the highly personal character of the narrative cannot belong to him². That he translated the work of some one else is the obvious explanation of this difficulty.

(2) The Greek text does not contain the reference to Rufinus' own *Ecclesiastical History*³. The explanation is again simple, if the Greek is the original and the Latin a translation by Rufinus.

(3) The Latin (c. 27) speaks of Evagrius as still alive; but he died at the beginning of 400, whereas the Latin was written after that year, for it refers to Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, the earliest possible date of which is 400 (Tillemont, XII. 656). If the Greek is the original, and if it was written a year or two after the journey recorded, the anachronism disappears.

(4) It will be seen hereafter (§ 8) that Sozomen had the

¹ *Mémoires*, XII. 658—9. St Jerome's words are cited above, p. 11, note.

² Cf. above, p. 11, note.

³ Cf. above, p. 11, note.

work before him, and speaks of it as written by a Greek author (named Timotheus).

I add one argument based on critical and linguistic considerations.

(5) In the account of Apelles the Latin text tells us that he lived "in uicina regione" (c. 15); the Greek MSS. present a variety of readings:—

ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Ἀχώρεως
" " " τοῖς ἀχωρείοις
" " " τῆς ἄνω χώρας
" " " τοῖς ἐν ὠραίοις.

(The τοῖς ἀνωτέροις of the printed text in c. 60 of the Long Recension is an emendation of Du Duc's.)

The first reading is without doubt the true one. It is found in a greater number of Greek MSS.¹ It is the reading which Sozomen had before him; for he says of Apelles: διέπρεπε περὶ Ἀχωρῶν.² It is the reading of a very early Syriac translation, and occurs in a Syriac MS. written in A.D. 532.³ Lastly, it is geographically correct: Achoris was a town between Antinoo and Heracleopolis, and it stands in this position in the itinerary in the *Historia Monachorum*; this precise and accurate information cannot be supposed to have been introduced by the conjecture of a later copyist, but must be the account of the author who himself made the journey which he describes. The various Greek forms exhibit successive stages of corruption, all easily to be accounted for on the supposition that Ἀχώρεως was the original reading, but not one of them explicable as representing the Latin 'uicina.' 'Vicina' could not by any process of corruption have grown out of Achoris in a series of Latin MSS.; nor could a Greek translator have turned 'uicina' into Ἀχώρεως.⁴

As against all this we have St Jerome's testimony ('scripsit'), which Zöckler no less than Tillemont seems to regard as decisive

¹ In the Paris mss., *Ancien fonds grec*, 1596, 1597, 1628, and *Coislin*, 88; and in the British Museum, *Arundel* 546.

² *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 28.

³ British Museum, *Addit. ms.* 17176 (Wright, *Catalogue*, DOCCXXIV.).

⁴ Dr Preuschen suggested to me τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις as a stage of corruption which would account for the rendering 'in uicina regione.'

in favour of Rufinus' Latin being the original¹. St Jerome's statement however is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Rufinus was the translator of the work: it is clear that he had not met with the Greek book; a far less surprising circumstance than that Weingarten, Lucius, Zöckler, and other scholars of the same standing, should have overlooked not only the many manuscripts entered in the catalogues of the great libraries of Europe, but also Cotelier's notice, even though reprinted in the Greek Patrology.

On a review of the evidence there can be no reasonable doubt that the Greek is the original and the Latin a translation made by Rufinus. In Appendix I. will be found some technical matters connected with the manuscripts, versions and textual history of the *Historia Monachorum*, and a conjecture as to its probable author.

§ 4. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE DOCUMENTS—THE TWO RECENSIONS OF THE 'HISTORIA LAUSIACA' AND THE 'HISTORIA MONACHORUM.'

In dealing with the two recensions of the *Historia Lausiaca* and with the *Historia Monachorum*, it will be convenient in the first instance to use the Latin versions, which are all three at hand in Rosweyd: the Greek texts which underlie them are not easily accessible². The following nomenclature will be used:—

A = the Long Recension of Palladius, printed by Rosweyd as Book VIII., and currently received as the genuine work;

B = the Short Recension, in Rosweyd's Appendix, pp. 933—977 (ed. 1) and 939—983 (ed. 2);

C = the *Historia Monachorum*, Book II. in Rosweyd.

In Migne's Latin Patrology the same materials will be found in three different volumes, the pages of Rosweyd being given in

¹ *Evagrius Ponticus*, p. 100.

² What is printed as the Greek of the Long Recension is not really what it purports to be, but is a made-up text; Meursius' edition of the Short Recension is not generally accessible; the Greek text of the *Historia Monachorum* has not yet been edited as such, and though the greater part is in print, still it is in so disjointed a state that it would be impossible to use it for our present purposes.

the case of A and of B. A is in *P. L.* LXXIII. 1085 ff.; B in LXXIV. 243 ff.; C in XXI. 387 ff.¹ A is also printed opposite the Greek text in Migne's Greek Patrology, xxxiv. 997 ff.

As the groundwork of the enquiry, a Table is here drawn out, exhibiting the result of a rough comparison of the three documents. A, being the most comprehensive, is taken as the basis of the comparison. The figures are the numbers of the chapters in Rosweyd, and the Table shows how the three documents correspond in regard to subject-matter.

TABLE.

A	B	C	A	B	C	
1	}		30	12		
2			31	13		
3			32	14		
4			33	15		
5			34	16		
6	}	30	35	}		
7			36			17
8			37			18
9	}	2	38	}		
10			39			19
11			40			20
12			41			21
13			42			22
14	}		43	}		
15			44			}
16			45			
17	4	46	}			
18	5	47			22 (end)	
19	}	28	48		3	
20			6		29	4
21			50		6	
22	7		51		12	
23	}		8		52	7 and 8
24					53	8
25	}	25	54		9 (part)	
26			9		55	
27			56			
28	10	31	57	}	10	
29	11	58				

¹ C here stands among the works of Rufinus, and the pagination is that of Vallarsi's edition of Rufinus. The text, however, is the same as Rosweyd's.

A	B	C	A	B	C	
59		11	106			
60		15	107	}	37	
61	}		108			
62			109			
63			110			38
64			111	39		
65		112	40			
66		113	32			
67		19	114	54		
68		20	115	56 ($\frac{1}{2}$)		
69		21 and 22	116			
70		23 ($\frac{1}{2}$)	117	28, 29 (scraps), 33		
71		17	118	33 and 42 ($\frac{1}{2}$)		
72		32	119	}	49	
73		33	120			
74		13	121			
75		14	122			
76		18	123	}	50	
77	23		124			
78			125			
79			126			
80			127			
81			128			
82	23 (end)		129	}	29	
83	}		130			
84		24	131			
85			132			
86	25	27	133	}	55	
87	26		134			
88	27		135			51
89	34		136			
90			137	}	48	
91			138			
92	35		139			
93			140			56 ($\frac{1}{2}$)
94			141	57		
95	" and 36		142	}	42 ($\frac{1}{2}$)	
96	45		143			
97	46		144	43		
98			145	}	44	
99	47		146			
100			147	52		
101	28		148	}	53	
102	30 ($\frac{1}{2}$)		149			
103	31		150	}	Epilogue	
104	30 ($\frac{1}{2}$)		(a)			
105	41		(b)	58		

From this Table two results are obvious at a glance.

I. The whole of A, with the exception of three portions (78—81, 116 and 150 *a*), is found either in B or in C¹.

II. In eight cases only do B and C appear to overlap, *i.e.* to deal with the same subject-matter.

In reference to the first of these results, it is important here to add that the whole of B is represented by the figures of the second column and all but a small remainder of C by the figures of the third column. That is to say, the whole of B is contained in A, and so is nearly the whole of C.

It will be convenient now to investigate the eight cases in which B and C appear to overlap. In the following three it is found that A and B are substantially the same, while the accounts in C are completely independent:

Macarius of Egypt (A 19, B 6, C 28);

Chronius (A 25, B 9, C 25);

Evagrius (A 86, B 25, C 27).

In the other five cases, *viz.*:

Amoun of Nitria (A 8, B 2, C 30);

Or (A 9, B 2, C 2);

Macarius of Alexandria (A 20, B 6, C 29);

Paul the Simple (A 28, B 10, C 31);

John of Lycopolis (A 43—47, B 22, C 1);

the following phenomena are revealed:—

(1) Comparing A and B, we find that in every case the whole of B is contained substantially in A².

(2) Comparing A and C, we find that in every case a greater or less portion of C is contained substantially in A.

(3) Comparing B and C, we find them in all cases to be

¹ The absence of 78—81 is only apparent, for the passage is found in the Latin *Harl.* ms. 4719, and others of B (*cf.* § 9). It has been stated already that certain lacunae in the early editions of the Latin B were filled up in the later from a Greek ms.; but these passages are found in both Latin and Greek mss. of B. A 116 and 150 *a* are the only passages found in A but not in B. On the other hand four short passages of B are not found in A (*cf.* B 2 *circ. fin.*, 19 *circ. fin.*, 22 *circ. init.*, 29 *circ. fin.*).

² By “substantially” is here meant that the matter of the accounts is the same, though there may be changes of order, or slight modifications in detail, or at times greater diffuseness or compression.

entirely independent accounts, having nothing whatever in common.

Turning now from the monks of whom lives occur in all three documents, to those whose lives are found only in two of them: a collation of the sections common only to A and B shows that the accounts are substantially the same. This is also the case in the sections common only to A and C. But there are no sections common only to B and C.

The facts here adduced were in the first instance gathered from a careful comparison of the Latin versions only. It may be well to state at once that the examination of the Greek texts makes the above results stand out still more clearly.

To sum up, the state of the case may be broadly expressed by the formula $A = B + C$.

The Prologue and certain passages of C are not contained in A, and there are a few other apparent exceptions; but the cases not covered by the formula are much fewer in the Greek texts than in the Latin. And any one who studies the Greek, or even reads with attention what is here to follow, will be satisfied that the residue does not affect the truth embodied in the formula, that in regard of matter the book A is made up of the two books B and C.

We may next consider the hypotheses which have been put forward by recent critics to account for the presence of C in A. One theory which naturally occurs to the mind, and was actually suggested by Rosweyd and Cotelier, must be mentioned, but only to be put aside, viz., that A is the source from which both B and C have been derived¹. It is certain that the Latin version of C is the handiwork of Rufinus. Now Rufinus died in 410, immediately after the Sack of Rome by Alaric in that year. But the *Lausiaca History*, in both recensions, speaks of this Sack of Rome (A 118, B 42) and of events which are known to have occurred after it, e.g. the death of Melania; moreover in the Preface Palladius says it is now the twentieth year of his episcopate, and his consecration took place in 399 or 400. It is therefore impossible that C, written before 410, should have been derived from A, written after that year.

¹ *Vitae Patrum*, Prolegomenon xiv.; *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, III. 566.

The hypotheses put forward in recent times are:—

(1) That C is an original Latin work of Rufinus, and that Palladius embodied a Greek translation of it in his *Lausiaca* History. This is the theory defended by Weingarten¹ and formerly held by Zöckler²: but it is excluded by the production of the Greek original of C, with which these writers were not acquainted.

(2) That there was a common Coptic source, of which Rufinus and Palladius made independent selections, translating them, the one into Latin, the other into Greek. This theory was put forward by Amélineau³; but it cannot any longer be even considered. For in the Greek texts the parts common to A and C are identical; and it is impossible to conceive that a translation by Palladius from the Coptic, and another Greek translation, whether from Coptic or Latin, could thus verbally agree. Nor can it be said that perhaps the Greek of C is not a second translation, but has been excerpted from A; for it contains matter found in Rufinus' Latin, but not in A. But after all, M. Amélineau merely suggests his thesis tentatively, as being in his judgment a better solution of the problem than any hitherto offered, without producing any direct evidence in its support⁴.

(3) That there was an original Greek work which was translated into Latin by Rufinus and incorporated in his *History* by Palladius. This is the theory held by W. Möller⁵, and, with certain elaborations, by Lucius⁶, whose particular solution of the problem has been adopted by Grützmacher⁷, by Zöckler in his

¹ "Rosweyd hielt sie sehr mit Unrecht für eine Uebersetzung aus dem Griechischen. Sie ist eine echte Schrift des Rufinus und in seinem eignen Namen geschrieben." *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, p. 25 (note). It now appears that Rosweyd was right in his surmise, and his modern critic wrong.

² Herzog-Plitt, xi. 174; also the monograph *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 100, 101.

³ *De Historia Lausiaca*, pp. 59—72; *L'Égypte chrétienne au iv^e et v^e siècles*, Tom. i., Fasc. ii., p. 498.

⁴ "Nullum ad hanc sententiam confirmandum argumentum afferre possum." (*De Historia Lausiaca*, p. 63.)

⁵ Herzog-Plitt, xiii. p. 100.

⁶ *Die Quellen*, &c. (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1885); the main purpose of the essay is to establish the thesis.

⁷ *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben*, pp. 1—4; also in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1897, No. 9.

most recent contribution to the discussion¹, and by Batiffol². And at first sight it might seem as if the production of the Greek of C was its verification; for has not a Greek work been found which actually was translated by Rufinus and is also incorporated in the document which passes as Palladius' History?

But when the case is more carefully looked into, it will appear that the production of this Greek original is no less fatal to the characteristic positions of Lucius' theory than to those of Weingarten and Amélineau. For it, too, postulates that it was Palladius himself who introduced the matter of C into the Lausiatic History, and it assumes as its basis that the Greek of A—the Long Recension—is the authentic text, the "canonical Palladius" as Zöckler calls it³.

Against this view it will here be maintained that not A but B must be taken as representing the genuine Lausiatic History, and that A is a clumsy fusion by a later redactor of the two pre-existing works B and C. Thus the precise point at issue at this stage of the enquiry is whether it was Palladius himself, or a later redactor, who incorporated C in the Lausiatic History. On the decision reached depends the place which Palladius' work must take among the historical memorials of the time. For the arguments whereby Lucius seeks to show that it is but a second-hand compilation, practically worthless as an historical source, owing to the impossibility of discriminating the materials out of which it is made and thus sifting fact from fable, are all based upon phenomena peculiar to A. If B, then, prove to be the real Lausiatic History, these arguments of Lucius simply fall, and the book may be accepted for what it professes to be, a first-hand authority, the personal memoirs of its writer. After the genuine form of the work has, so far as is possible, been determined, it will remain to subject it to the ordinary tests of veracity and credibility. This will be done in Part II. of this Study, when Weingarten's criticisms will be considered, and an attempt made to form a judgment as to the historical character of the whole of this group of writings.

¹ *Askese und Mönchtum*, 218.

² *Anciennes Littératures Chrétiennes: La Littérature Grecque* (Paris, 1897), 258, 257.

³ *Askese und Mönchtum*, 220.

Meantime the question immediately before us may be formulated thus: Is it A, or is it B, that represents the genuine text of the Lausiatic History?

§ 5. COMPARISON OF THE GREEK TEXTS OF THE THREE DOCUMENTS IN SELECTED CASES.

(a) *John of Lycopolis.*

It has already been pointed out that in certain cases our three documents all contain lives of the same person. This is so with the famous John of Lycopolis, the Seer of the Thebaid, in whose prophetic powers Theodosius had such confidence that he sent to consult him as to the conduct of military expeditions¹. Accounts of John are found in A 43—47, in B 22, and in C 1; and for clearness' sake, let the statement already made (§ 4) be repeated: that here, as elsewhere, B and C offer quite different texts, even when they describe the same facts. As the present is a characteristic example of the mutual relations of the three documents, I shall begin by giving a brief analysis of their respective contents, with references to the readily accessible Latin versions.

(See Table opposite.)

The account in A (Rosweyde, pp. 738—746; *P. L.* LXXIII. 1141—1153) is made up of the matter from B and C as follows:—

c. 43	= B 1, C 2 and B 2, C 3, B 3, B 4, B 6, B 7, B 5, C 4, C 5.
cc. 44, 45, 46 (except the end)	= C 6.
c. 46 (end)	= C 7, C 8.
c. 47	= B 8 ¹ .

¹ This is a matter of history apart from these documents. Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xxvii.; also *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iii. 403. Tillemont has collected and coordinated all the materials concerning John (*Mémoires*, x. 9—29).

It will be noticed that the section C 1 does not occur in A; this, however, is one of the passages found in Rufinus' Latin of the *Historia Monachorum*, but not in the Greek mss. C 5 (John's discourse) is much shorter in A than in the Latin mss. There are again A agrees with the Greek mss. of C. These are two of the passages discussed in Appendix I. where Rufinus differs from the extant Greek text. For the present purpose it is only necessary to note that A is made up of the whole of the texts of B and C as found in the Greek mss.

B, c. 23	Rosweyd ¹	P. L. LXXIV.	C, c. 1	Rosweyd	P. L. XXI.
1. John's early life and vocation; description of his call.	959 } col. 1, med. 965 }	301 A, B.	1. Description of John's cell and manner of life.	449 col. 1, fin. to 450 col. 1, init.	391 A, B.
2. His prophetic gifts, especially in the case of Theodosius.	959 } col. 1, fin. 965 }	301 B, C.	2. His prophetic gifts shown in the case of Theodosius.	450 col. 1, med.	391 C.
3. Palladius goes to visit John alone.	959 } col. 1, fin. 965 } col. 2, init.	301 C, D.	3. Various miracles and prophecies.	450 col. 1, med. to 451 col. 1, med.	392 A, to 394 A.
4. The interview; John's predictions about Palladius' future career.	959 } col. 2, med. 965 } to 960 } col. 1, med. 966 }	302 A, B, C, D. 303 A, B.	4. Party of seven visit John: their inter-view.	451 col. 1, med. to 451 col. 2, fin.	394 B, C, D, to 395 A, B.
5. Palladius' return; after two months Evagrius and his other disciples go to visit John.	960 } col. 1, med. 966 }	303 B.	5. John's discourse.	451 col. 2, fin. to 453 col. 2, fin.	395 B, to 398 D.
6. Sketch of Palladius' after-life, shewing the verification of John's predictions in his regard.	960 } col. 1, fin. 966 }	303 B, C.	6. John's anecdotes of many monks who had fallen away.	453 col. 2, fin. to 457 col. 1, med.	398 D, to 404 D.
7. John's manner of life.	960 } col. 1, fin. 966 } col. 2, init.	303 D.	7. Announcement of Theodosius' victory and speedy death.	457 col. 1, fin.	404 D, 405 A.
8. Story of Poemanis.	960 } col. 2, init. 966 }	303 D, 304 A.	8. The visitors leave and soon hear the news of John's death.	457 col. 1, fin.	405 A.

¹ In the first column of references to Rosweyd, the upper number gives the page in the first edition, the lower the page in the second; the pages in the two editions are the same in all respects other than numbering. The difference in pagination begins only at p. 787. The letters A, B, C, D in the columns of references to Migne, are the letters printed in the middle space of the pages in the Patrology, and are here given to facilitate the identification of the passages.

I now propose to print in parallel columns so much of the three Greek texts as will enable the reader, by the help of a few directions, to reconstruct for himself, from vol. xxxiv. of the Greek Patrology, the full texts of the three accounts of John of Lycopolis as found in the Greek originals of our documents. Those passages which throw light upon the nature and mutual relations of A, B and C are given in full.

NOTE.—In the first column (A) of the following texts the portions from B (which, according to my hypothesis, forms the groundwork of A) are printed in ordinary type; passages interwoven from C are in spaced type; additions and such alterations as may be supposed to have been made of set purpose by the Redactor stand out in Clarendon type; omissions are indicated by gaps. It is to be understood that, except where references are given to

A.

Paris Gr. 1626 (cent. xii): cf. Migne
P.G. xxxiv. 1107.

Γέγονέ τις Ἰωάννης ἐν Λυκῶ τη
πόλει ὃς ἐκ παιδίου μὲν ἔμαθε τὴν τεκτο-
νικὴν· ᾧ ἀδελφὸς ὑπῆρχεν βαφεύς. εἰς
ὑστερον δὲ γεγωνὸς ὡς ἐτῶν εἰκοσιπέντε
ἀπετάξατο· καὶ διατρίψας ἐν μονα- 5
στηρίῳ πέντε ἔτη, ἀνεχώρησεν μόνος εἰς τὸ
βρος τῆς Λυκῶ, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρωρίαν
ποιήσας ἑαυτῷ τρεῖς θόλους· καὶ εἰσελθὼν
ψυκοδόμησεν ἑαυτόν. ἦν οὖν ὁ εἰς
10 θόλος εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῆς σαρκός, ὁ δὲ εἰς
ἐνθα εἰργάζετο, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἐνθα προσ-
ήχητο. οὗτος τριάκοντα ἔτη πληρώσας
ἐγκεκλεισμένος, καὶ διὰ θυρίδος λαμβάνων
παρὰ τοῦ διακονούντος αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας,
κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος προρήσεων. ὃς ἐκ 15
τῶν ἔργων ἕκδηλος γέγονεν πᾶσιν

B.

Paris Gr. 1596 (cent. xi): cf. Meurs.
97—102.

Γέγονέ τις Ἰωάννης ὀνόματι ἐν Λυκῶ
τῇ πόλει ὃς ἐκ παιδίου ἔμαθε τὴν τεκτο-
νικὴν· ᾧ ἀδελφὸς ὑπῆρχε βαφεύς. ὃς
ὑστερον γενόμενος ἐτῶν εἰκοσιπέντε ἀπε-
τάξατο· καὶ διατρίψας ἐν διαφόροις μονα-
στηρίοις πέντε ἔτη, ἀνεχώρησε μόνος εἰς τὸ
βρος τὸ Λύκων, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρωρίαν
ποιήσας ἑαυτῷ τρεῖς θόλους· καὶ εἰσελθὼν
εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνοικοδόμησεν ἑαυτόν. ἦν οὖν ὁ
εἰς θόλος ἐνθα προσηύχετο· ὁ δεύτερος ἐν ᾧ
εἰργάζετο καὶ ἤσθιεν· ὁ ἄλλος εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
τῆς σαρκός. οὗτος τριάκοντα πληρώσας ἔτη
ἐγκεκλεισμένος, καὶ διὰ θυρίδος λαμβάνων
διὰ τοῦ διακονούντος τὰ πρὸς τὴν χεῖραν,
κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος προρήσεων. ἐν οἷς
καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ

A. Readings of Hervet's ms.

9 ψυκοδόμησεν] ἐνψυκοδόμησεν (inaedificavit)

B. Readings of Paris Gr. 1628 and Coislin 282 (= P and C respectively).

1 ὀνόματι] om. PC ἐν—πόλει] (ms 1596 ἐκ Λυκῶν τῆς πόλεως) 2 παιδίου]
παιδὸς μὲν P; παιδία μὲν C 3 ὃς] εἰς P; om. C 4 ὑστερον] add. δὲ PC γερύ-
μενος] add. ὡς P 7 τὸ Λύκων] τῆς Λυκῶ P (sic alii); λεγόμενον Λυκῶ C Λύκων]
add. καὶ P ἀκρωρίαν] add. καὶ C β ποιήσας] ἐποίησεν P καὶ] om. C 9 εἰς

Migne (*P. G.* xxxiv.), the full texts are printed; so that however great the intervals may be in columns B and C, the texts are always continuous. I have not in any case relied on Migne's text, but always on a ms., indicated at the beginning of each piece. As it is not my purpose here to produce a critical text, a full apparatus is not given. In the columns containing B the readings of the Paris ms. *ancien fonds grec* 1628 (cent. xiv.) are recorded. This manuscript alone, of those known to me (not to mention certain fragments), presents a text differing substantially from that of Meursius and the corresponding parts of Migne; and it will be found useful later to have some samples of the differences between it and the other authorities for the text of the Lausiac History. The proofs of the text of the extracts (but not of the apparatus) have been compared with the mss. by Dom Gabarra, sub-prior of the Paris cell founded from the Benedictine abbey of Ligugé, who has also verified many other points for me.

C.

Paris Gr. 1627 (cent. xiii): cf. Preuschen 4—24.

NOTES.

A. Paris ms 1626 is the best representative known to me of the Long Recension; but the ms used by Hervet was on the whole a better ms; its readings are therefore recorded from the Latin.

B. The kindred Paris mss 1596 and 1597, though not free from certain corruptions of their own, hand down a tradition of the B text independent of the mss used by Meursius and Du Duc; they have therefore been chosen for these Extracts.

Part of the Coislin ms 282 contains a text akin to the otherwise unique Paris ms 1628; as the Life of John of Lycopolis falls in this portion, its readings are recorded in the critical apparatus, as an aid towards controlling the text of 1628.

*Ἐθασάμεθα ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις Λυκῶ τῆς
Θηβαίων τὸν μέγαν καὶ μακάριον Ἰωάννην,
ἐνδρα εἰσιὼν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἐνάρετον,* 15
(Cf. NOTES on C, p. 27.)

αὐτοῖς] om. PC	ἐνοικοδόμησεν] ἀνικοδόμησεν PC (et alii)	οὖν] add. αὐτῶ C
δ] (om. ms 1596)	10 ἐνθα προσήχετο and 11 εἰς—σαρκὸς are transposed in P	
and C	ὁ δεύτερος] καὶ ὁ εἰς P; ὁ δὲ εἰς C	ἐν ᾧ] ἐνθα P
ἄλλος P; ὁ δὲ ἄλλος C	14 διὰ] παρὰ PC	11 ὁ ἄλλος] καὶ ὁ
om. PC	τῆς χρείας] τὰς χρείας PC (sic alii)	διακονούντος] add. αὐτῶ PC
		τὰ πρὸς]
		16 καὶ] om. C

C. Readings of Paris Gr. 1600.

15 Ἐθασάμεθα] ἐθασάμην οὖν ἐγὼ (Rufinus, *uidimus*) ὁρίοις] add τῆς
15, 16 as in A (ὅ: ἐκ κ.τ.λ.)

A.

προφητείας χάρισμα κεκτημένος. και γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐρχόμενα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ προεμήνυν, και τὰ ἐκβη-
σόμενα πάλιν προαπήγγελεν· τήν 5
τε τῶν τυράννων αὐτῷ ἐπανάστασιν, και τήν ταχειαν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἀναί-
ρεσιν, και τὸν τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων αὐτῷ ἐθνῶν ἀφανισμόν. ὡς και τινος
στρατηλάτου πρὸς αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. (P.G. 10
xxiiv. 1108, A.)

παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εὐδόκιμος ἔσῃ· ὅπερ και γέγονεν, και τὰ συμ-
βάντα τήν πρόρρησιν ἐβεβαίωσαν. ἔλεγεν δὲ ὅτι οἰκείῳ θανάτῳ ὁ χρισ- 15
τιανώτατος βασιλεὺς τελευ-
τήσει. εἶχεν δὲ και τίνα ὑπερβολήν ὁ ἀνὴρ προφητείας κ.τ.λ.

The account of John's prophecies and miracles goes on as in P.G. xxxiiv, from 20 1108 A to 1113 B (ἡύχαριστήσε).

Και τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἅπερ αὐτοψὶ παρειλήφμεν; ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀδελφοὶ ξένοι ἡμεν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ τῆς 25
Νιτρίας, ἐγὼ τε και οἱ περὶ τὸν μακάριον Εὐάγριον.
ἐζητοῦμεν δὲ μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τίς ἢ ἀρετὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός. λέγει οὖν ὁ μέγας Εὐάγριος κ.τ.λ. 30

The account of Palladius' visit and interview with John goes on to 1115 B; but the passage ἀναχωρήσας οὖν...τοῦτῳ τῷ μακαρίῳ 1114 D does not occur here in the ms, but only at 1115 B, 35 just as in Hervey's Latin, the clumsy doublet of the printed Greek text being thus avoided. Then 1115 B.

ἀναχωρήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν συνήθη, διηγού- 40

B.

διαφόρους ἀπέστειλε προρρήσεις, περὶ τε Μαξίμου τοῦ τυράννου, ὅτι νικήσας αὐτὸν ὑποστρέψει τῶν Γαλλίων. ὁμοίως δὲ και περὶ Εὐγενίου τοῦ τυράννου εὐηγγελίσαστο τοῦτο αὐτῷ, ὅτι νικήσει μὲν τοῦτων, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ βίου ἐκείσε πληρώσει, και τὴν ἐκεῖ βασιλείαν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ καταλείψει. τοῦτου ἐξῆλθε φήμη πολλή και μεγάλη ὡς ἐναρέτου ἀνδρός. διὸ και ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις ἀριθμούμενος βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος προφητικῇ τιμῇ τοῦτων ἐσέβητο.

"Οὔτεσ οὖν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ τῆς Νιτρίας ἐγὼ τε και οἱ περὶ τὸν μακάριον Εὐάγριον και 'Αλβίνιον και 'Αμμώνιον ἐζητοῦμεν μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τίς ἢ ἀρετὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός. λέγει οὖν ὁ μακάριος Εὐάγριος κ.τ.λ.

As in A; but the passage ἀναχωρήσας οὖν...τοῦτῳ τῷ μακαρίῳ occurs as in 1114 D, and not as in 1115 B.

ἀναχωρήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν συνήθη, αὐτὰ

A. 25 ξένοι om. H 27 Εὐάγριον] add. και 'Αλβίνιον και 'Αμμώνιον (ego et beatus Euagrius et Albinus et Ammonius)

B. 1 τε] om. C 3 ὑποστρέψει] ὑποστρέψεις P (et alii) (ms 1596 add. ἐκ) δε] om. C 4 τοῦ τυράννου] om. P 5 τοῦτο αὐτῷ—7 καταλείψει] om. PC 8 ἐξῆλθε φήμη πολλή] φ. ἐξ. π. C (et alii) και μεγάλη] om. PC 9 ἀνδρός] om. P

C.

προφητίας χάρισμα κεκτημένων. και
πάντα τὰ ἐρχόμενα τῷ κόσμῳ
τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ μνησῶν
τά τε ἐκβησόμενα πάλιν ἀπήγγελλεν·
τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐπανόστασιν, ὅ
και τὴν ταχείαν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἀναί-
ρεσιν.

ὡς και τῶς στρατηλάτου πρὸς
αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ., as in A.

εὐδοκμήσεις παρὰ τοῖς βασιλευσιν· ὅπερ
και γέγονεν, οὕτως συμβάντος αὐτῷ. προέφη
δὲ ὅτι και ὁ χριστιανικώτατος βασιλεὺς
Θεοδόσιος οὐκ εὖ θανάτῳ τελευτήσει. εἶχεν 18
οὐδὲ ὑπερβολὴν προφητείας ὁ ἀνήρ
κ.τ.λ.

The account goes on as in A.

Και τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων
αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν ὄντων, ἃ και διὰ τὸ πλῆθος
παρελιπόμεν; μόνον δὲ περὶ ὧν αὐτοῦ
παρελήφαμεν λέξωμεν· παρήμεν ποτε πρὸς 25
αὐτῶν ἀδελφοὶ ξένοι πάντες.

NOTES.

It will be of use to compare with A the readings of these two mss.

C. In Appendix I. it is shown that ms 1627 contains a unique and important text of portion of the *Hist. Mon.* The text of this ms is therefore printed, and its divergences from the normal text are indicated in the critical notes.

The other Greek mss present a text of the same type as that which has been incorporated in A. Attention will therefore be called only to a few points of special interest. Paris Gr. 1600 (cent. xi) is chosen as a good representative of the ordinary Greek mss.

C. 1—3 (p. 25). This introductory passage is considerably longer in Rufinus' version, which gives an account, different from that of Palladius, of John's cell and manner of life.

C. 22—25. The text of 1627 is partially attested by Rufinus' version: Sed multa sunt ejus gesta quae enarrare longum est. unde omissis his interim quae auditu comperimus, ad ea quae oculis nostris inspeximus, veniamus (Rosweyde 451). The other Greek mss have the same text as A 22—24.

9 δὲ—11 ἐσέβετε] om. PC 10 ἀγίοις] ἀγγέλοις cet. 25 ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ] εἰς τὸ ὄρος
τὸ C; ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ P (sic cet.) 27 και 'Αλβ. και 'Αμ.] om. P (ms 1596 'Αλβάνιον)
30 ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον] om. P; ἐπὶ τὸ μοναστήριον C 40 ἐπὶ] εἰς C (sic alii) τόπων]
add. μου C (sic alii) αὐτὰ] om. C

C. 1—12 as in A 12 ὅπερ και γέγονεν] γέγονέν τε οὕτως 12—18 as in A
23 πολλῶν ὄντων—25 παρελήφαμεν λέξωμεν] ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ ὧν αὐτοῦ παρελήφαμεν (cf. A)
24 ἀνοψί] (αὐτῶν εἰς ms 1627) 25 παρήμεν—26 πάντες] ἐπὶ γὰρ ἤμεν ἀδελφοὶ
ξένοι πάντες (cf. p. 29); Rufinus, *Septem fuimus simul comitantes*

The hypotheses put forward in recent times are:—

(1) That C is an original Latin work of Rufinus, and that Palladius embodied a Greek translation of it in his *Lausiaca* History. This is the theory defended by Weingarten¹ and formerly held by Zöckler²: but it is excluded by the production of the Greek original of C, with which these writers were not acquainted.

(2) That there was a common Coptic source, of which Rufinus and Palladius made independent selections, translating them, the one into Latin, the other into Greek. This theory was put forward by Amélineau³; but it cannot any longer be even considered. For in the Greek texts the parts common to A and C are identical; and it is impossible to conceive that a translation by Palladius from the Coptic, and another Greek translation, whether from Coptic or Latin, could thus verbally agree. Nor can it be said that perhaps the Greek of C is not a second translation, but has been excerpted from A; for it contains matter found in Rufinus' Latin, but not in A. But after all, M. Amélineau merely suggests his thesis tentatively, as being in his judgment a better solution of the problem than any hitherto offered, without producing any direct evidence in its support⁴.

(3) That there was an original Greek work which was translated into Latin by Rufinus and incorporated in his History by Palladius. This is the theory held by W. Möller⁵, and, with certain elaborations, by Lucius⁶, whose particular solution of the problem has been adopted by Grützmacher⁷, by Zöckler in his

¹ "Rosweyd hielt sie sehr mit Unrecht für eine Uebersetzung aus dem Griechischen. Sie ist eine echte Schrift des Rufinus und in seinem eignen Namen geschrieben." *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, p. 25 (note). It now appears that Rosweyd was right in his surmise, and his modern critic wrong.

² Herzog-Plitt, xi. 174; also the monograph *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 100, 101.

³ *De Historia Lausiaca*, pp. 59—72; *L'Égypte chrétienne au iv^e et v^e siècles*, Tom. I., Fasc. II., p. 498.

⁴ "Nullum ad hanc sententiam confirmandum argumentum afferre possum." (*De Historia Lausiaca*, p. 63.)

⁵ Herzog-Plitt, xiii. p. 100.

⁶ *Die Quellen*, &c. (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1885); the main purpose of the essay is to establish the thesis.

⁷ *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben*, pp. 1—4; also in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1897, No. 9.

most recent contribution to the discussion¹, and by Batiffol². And at first sight it might seem as if the production of the Greek of C was its verification; for has not a Greek work been found which actually was translated by Rufinus and is also incorporated in the document which passes as Palladius' History?

But when the case is more carefully looked into, it will appear that the production of this Greek original is no less fatal to the characteristic positions of Lucius' theory than to those of Weingarten and Amélineau. For it, too, postulates that it was Palladius himself who introduced the matter of C into the Lausiatic History, and it assumes as its basis that the Greek of A—the Long Recension—is the authentic text, the "canonical Palladius" as Zöckler calls it³.

Against this view it will here be maintained that not A but B must be taken as representing the genuine Lausiatic History, and that A is a clumsy fusion by a later redactor of the two pre-existing works B and C. Thus the precise point at issue at this stage of the enquiry is whether it was Palladius himself, or a later redactor, who incorporated C in the Lausiatic History. On the decision reached depends the place which Palladius' work must take among the historical memorials of the time. For the arguments whereby Lucius seeks to show that it is but a second-hand compilation, practically worthless as an historical source, owing to the impossibility of discriminating the materials out of which it is made and thus sifting fact from fable, are all based upon phenomena peculiar to A. If B, then, prove to be the real Lausiatic History, these arguments of Lucius simply fall, and the book may be accepted for what it professes to be, a first-hand authority, the personal memoirs of its writer. After the genuine form of the work has, so far as is possible, been determined, it will remain to subject it to the ordinary tests of veracity and credibility. This will be done in Part II. of this Study, when Weingarten's criticisms will be considered, and an attempt made to form a judgment as to the historical character of the whole of this group of writings.

¹ *Askese und Mönchtum*, 218.

² *Anciennes Littératures Chrétiennes: La Littérature Grecque* (Paris, 1897), 253, 257.

³ *Askese und Mönchtum*, 220.

A.

Paris Gr. 1626 (cent. xii): cf. Migne
P.G. xxxiv. 1076.

Διηγείτο δὲ κ.τ.λ....καὶ τοῦτο λιμώττων.

1076 c to 1081 A.

τούτοις οὖν τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀποσοβεί
τὸν Παῦλον. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο αὐτοῦ,
κλείσας δὲ τὴν θύραν ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἔξῆλθεν
ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς δι' αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ
πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν χρεῖαν. ὁ δὲ γέρων παρέ-
μενε μὴ ἀναχωρῶν. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
χρεῖας αὐτὸν καταλαβοῦσης ἀνοίξας ἐξῆλθεν,
καὶ ἰδὼν πάλιν τὸν Παῦλον λέγει αὐτῷ 10
"Ἀπελθε ἐντεῦθεν, γέρων, τί με ὑποπιάξεις;
οὐ δύνασαι ὡδε μείναι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ
Παῦλος· Ἄδυνατόν ἐστιν ἀλλαχοῦ με
ἀπελθεῖν εἰ μὴ ὡδε. περιβλεψάμενος δὲ
ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καὶ θεασάμενος ὅτι τὰ πρὸς 15
τὴν τροφήν οὐ βαστάζει, οὐκ ἄρτον, οὐχ
ὕδωρ, οὐχ ἑτερόν τι, καὶ τετάρτην ἡμέραν
ἔχει καρτερήσας νηστis, ἐλογίσατο

ὅτι μὴ ποτε καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ἀπειρος ὢν
τοῦ νηστεύειν καὶ κηλιδώσει μου τὴν ψυχὴν. 20
εἰσδέχεται οὖν αὐτόν. τότε ἔφη πρὸς
αὐτόν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Δύνασαι σωθῆναι
ἐὰν ἔχῃς ὑπακοήν, καὶ ὅπερ ἂν ἀκού-
σῃς παρ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦτο ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ
Παῦλος ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· Πάντα 25
ποιήσω ὅσα ἂν προστάξεις. καὶ τοιαύ-
την ἀνέλαβεν πολιτεῖαν σκληραγωγίας ἐν
ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅταν οὔτε
ὄτε ἦν ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῆς νεότητος. δοκιμάζων
οὖν αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην ὁ Ἀντώνιος, 30
εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Στήθι καὶ πρόσ-
ευξαι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἕως εἰσέλθω
καὶ ἐνέγκω σοι ἔργον ὅπερ ἐργάση.

B.

Paris Gr. 1597 (cent. xiii): cf. Meurs.
70—75.

Διηγείτο δὲ κ.τ.λ....καὶ τοῦτο λιμώττων.

As in A.

τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ῥήμασιν ἀπεσοβεί
τὸν Παῦλον. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο αὐτοῦ,
κλείσας τὴν θύραν ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐξῆλθεν
ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς δι' αὐτόν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν
ἰδίαν χρεῖαν. ὁ δὲ γέρων παρέμενε
οὐκ ἀναχωρῶν. τῇ οὖν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
χρεῖας αὐτὸν ἀναγκασθῆς ἀνοίξας ἐξῆλθε,
καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγει τῷ Παύλῳ·
"Ἀπελθε ἐνθεν, γέρων, τί με ὑποπιάξεις; οὐ
δύνασαι ὡδε μείναι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος·
Ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν ἀλλαχοῦ με ἀποθανεῖν
ἢ ὡδε. περιβλεψάμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος,
καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τροφήν οὐ βαστάζει,
οὐκ ἄρτον, οὐχ ὕδωρ, οὐχ ἑτερόν τι, καὶ
τετάρτην ἔχει καρτερήσας νηστis,
ἐλογίσατο ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος, ὅτι μὴ ποτε
καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ἀπειρος ὢν τοῦ νηστεύειν, καὶ
κηλιδώσω μου τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰσδέχεται αὐτόν
τότε.

καὶ τοιαύτην ἀνέ-
λαβεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος σκληραγωγίαν πολιτείας
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ὅταν οὐδέποτε ἐν
ἀρχαῖς τῆς νεότητος.

A. Readings of Hervet's ms.

14 ἀπελθεῖν] so also the other Greek mss of this redaction; Hervet's *moriar* need
not imply ἀποθανεῖν 28 οὐτε] om. H

B. Readings of Paris Gr. 1626, P (and of Coislin 262, C, but only where it
differs from standard text).

1 λιμώττων] λιμῶν 4 ἠνέσχετο] ἠνέχθητο 6 οὐδέ] (ms 1597 οὐτε) 7 ἰδίαν]
om. P (ἐαυτοῦ C) ὁ δὲ γέρων—8 ἀναχωρῶν] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνεχώρησε 8 οὖν] δὲ (ms 1597
τὴν οὖν τετάρτην ἡμέραν) 9 ἀναγκασθῆς] ἀναγκαζούσης 10 καὶ ἰδὼν—τῷ Παύλῳ]
καὶ πάλιν λέγει αὐτῷ 13 ἀμήχανον] add. μοι με] om. P ἀποθανεῖν] τελευτήσας]

C.

Paris Gr. 1600 (cent. xi): cf. Preuschen 92—94.

Γέγνε δὲ τις Παῦλος ὀνόματι, ἀπλοῦς 15
λεγόμενος. οὗτος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμετὴν ἐπ'
αὐτοφώρῳ καταλαβὼν μοιχευομένην, μηδενί
μηδὲν εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον πρὸς Ἀντώνιον
ἤρμησεν καὶ προσπεσὼν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσίν,
παρεκάλει συνεῖναι αὐτῷ σωθῆναι βουλό- 20
μενος. ἔφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος·
Δυσήσει σωθῆναι ἐὰν ἔχεις ὑπακοήν, καὶ
ὅπερ ἂν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούσης τοῦτο ποιεῖς.
ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· Πάντα
ποιήσω ὅσαπερ ἂν προστάξῃς. 25

δοκιμάζων
δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην ὁ Ἀντώνιος λέγει 30
πρὸς αὐτὸν· Στήθι καὶ πρόσευξαι ἐν τῷ
τύπῳ τούτῳ ἕως οὗ εἰσελθῶν ἐξεπέγκω
σοι ἔργον ὅπερ ἂν ἐργάσῃ. καὶ εἰσελθῶν

15 ἰδῶν] θεασάμενος 16 οὐχ ἑτερόν τι] om. P 17 νῆστις] (many mss νήστης)
18 ἐλογίσαστο—στι] om. P 19 ἀποθάνη] add. φησί ἀπειρος—νηστεύειν] om. P
20 κηλιδώσω] κηλιδώσει (alii κηλιδώσῃ) 21 τότε] om. P 27 σκληραγωγίαν
πολιτείας] om. P (πολιτείαν σκληραγωγίας C et alii) 28 ἐκείναις] add. πολιτείας
29 ἐν —29 νεότητος] (add. αὐτοῦ C) ἐν νεότητι

C. Readings of Coislin 88 (cent. x).

15 Παῦλος] add. μαθητῆς Ἀντωνίου 19 ποσίν] γόνασι 22 δυσήσει] δύση ἔχεις]
ἔχρη 23 ποιείς] ποιήσης 25 προστάξεις] προστάξης 30 λέγει] εἶρηκεν
32 ἕως οὗ] ἕπει 33 ἂν] om.

NOTES.

A. The readings of Hervey's Greek ms are again recorded; they bear out the statement that it was a better ms than 1626.

B. The text is printed from Paris Gr. 1597, because the earlier 1596 is imperfect, beginning only at the middle of the Life of Paul the Simple.

Coislin 282 contains in this part a text almost the same as the standard B text only its departures from this text are indicated in the critical notes, under the sign C. It will be observed that it sometimes agrees with A, and in a few cases with the peculiar readings of 1628 (P). Here again it will be of interest to compare the readings of 1628 with those of A.

C. The text is a typical representative of the standard text. The readings of Coislin 83 (cent. x) are recorded as an example of the variations in the mss. The Life of Paul the Simple in 1627 is of redaction A.

C. It may be useful to have Rufinus' Latin corresponding to C (Rosw. 483):

Fuit quidam inter discipulos sancti Antonii Paulus nomine, cognominatus Simplex. hic initium conuersionis suae hujusmodi habuit. cum uxorem suam oculis suis cum adultero cubantem uidisset, nulli quidquam dicens, egressus est domum, et moestitia animi tactus in eremum semetipsum dedit, ubi cum anxius

A.

καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον προσ-
εἶχεν αὐτῷ διὰ θυρίδος ἀκινήτω
μένοντι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὄλην τὴν ἐβδο-
μάδα, ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος φρυγομένῳ.
ἐξελθὼν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐβδομάδα, βρέξας 5
θάλλους ἐκ φοινίκων, λέγει αὐτῷ· Δέξαι,
καὶ πλέξον σειρᾶν, ὡς βλέπεις με. πλέκει
ὁ γέρον ἕως ἐνάτης ὀργυίας δεκαπέντε
μόχθῳ πολλῷ. θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ μέγας
'Αντώνιος δυσχεραίνθη καὶ 10

λέγει αὐτῷ· Κακῶς ἐπλεξας·
ἀπόπλεξον, καὶ ἀνωθεν πλέξον· νῆσται αὐτῷ
ὄντι ἰβδόμην ἡμέραν ἄγοντι, καὶ ἡλι-
κιώτη, τοσαύτην αὐτῷ ἐπάγων σῆψιν, ἵνα
δυσφορήσας ὁ γέρον φύγη τὸν 'Αντώνιον καὶ 15
τὸν βίον τῶν μοναχῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀπέπλεξεν,
καὶ πάλιν ἐπλεξεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς θάλλους πᾶν
δυσχεραίνων διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
πρώτης πλοκῆς ἐρυσιδωμένους. θεασάμενος
οὖν ὁ μέγας 'Αντώνιος ὅτι οὐτε 20
ἐγόγγυσεν, οὐτε ἐμικροψύχησεν, οὐτε κἄν
πρὸς βραχὺ ἠγανάκτησεν,

κατενύγει ἐπ'
αὐτῷ. καὶ δύναντος τοῦ ἡλίου, λέγει αὐτῷ·
Παπία, θέλεις φάγωμεν ἄρτου 25
κλάσμα; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ὡς δοκεῖ σοι,
ἄββα. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν κατέκαμψεν
τὸν 'Αντώνιον, τὸ μὴ προσδραμεῖν προθύμως
τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀγγελίᾳ ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐπιρρίψαι
τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Θὲς οὖν φησι 30
τράπεζαν. καὶ ὑπήκουσεν.
φέρει ἄρτους ὁ 'Αντώνιος, καὶ ἐπιτίθησι τῇ
τραπέζῃ παζαμίτας τέσσαρας ἐξ οὐγκιῶν
ἐξ. καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐβρεξεν ἕνα, ξηροὶ γὰρ
ἦσαν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τρεῖς. βάλλει ψαλμὸν ὁ 35
'Αντώνιος ὃν ᾗδει, καὶ δωδέκατον αὐτὸν
ψάλας, δωδέκατον ἠΐσατο, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
δοκιμάσει τὸν Παῦλον. ὁ δὲ γέρον προ-

B.

καὶ βρέξας
θάλλους ἐκ φοινίκων, λέγει αὐτῷ· Δέξαι,
πλέξον σειρᾶν, ὡς βλέπεις με. πλέκει
ὁ γέρον ἕως ἐνάτης ὀργυίας δεκαπέντε
μόχθῳ πολλῷ. θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ μέγας
'Αντώνιος τὸ πλέγμα δυσχεραίνθη καὶ ἐπι-
φερόμενος λέγει αὐτῷ· Κακῶς ἐπλεξας·
ἀπόπλεξον, καὶ ἀνωθεν πλέξον· νῆσται
αὐτῷ ὄντι τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἄγοντι, καὶ
ἡλικιώτη, τοσαύτην ἐπάγων σῆψιν ἵνα
δυσφορήσας ὁ γέρον φύγη τὸν 'Αντώνιον καὶ
τὸν βίον τῶν μοναχῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀπέπλεξε, καὶ
πάλιν ἐπλεξεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς θάλλους πᾶν
δυσχερετέρας διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς
πρώτης πλοκῆς ἐρυσιδωμένους. θεασάμενος
οὖν ὁ μέγας 'Αντώνιος, ὅτι ὁ γέρον οὐτε
ἐγόγγυσεν, οὐτε ἐμικροψύχησεν, οὐτε κἄν
πρὸς βραχὺ ἠγανάκτησεν, οὐδ' ὅλως τὸ
πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ διέστρεψε, κατενύγει ἐπ'
αὐτῷ. καὶ δύναντος τοῦ ἡλίου, λέγει αὐτῷ
ὁ 'Αντώνιος· Παπία, θέλεις φάγωμεν ἄρτου
κλάσμα; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ὡς δοκεῖ σοι,
ἄββα. καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν ἐπὶ πλείον ἐκαμψε
τὸν 'Αντώνιον, τὸ μὴ προσδραμεῖν προθύμως
τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀγγελίᾳ ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέψαι
τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Θὲς οὖν φησι ὁ 'Αντώνιος
τῷ γέροντι τὴν τράπεζαν. καὶ ὑπήκουσε.
φέρει ἄρτους ὁ 'Αντώνιος, καὶ ἐπιτίθησι τῇ
τραπέζῃ παζαμάτας τέσσαρας ἔχοντας ὡς
ἀπὸ ἐξ οὐγκιῶν. καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐβρεξεν ἕνα,
ξηροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τρεῖς. βάλλει
ψαλμὸν ὁ 'Αντώνιος ὃν ᾗδει, καὶ δωδέκατον
αὐτὸν ψάλας, δωδέκατον ἠΐσατο, ἵνα καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ δοκιμάσῃ τὸν Παῦλον. ὁ δὲ γέρον προ-

A. 10 'Αντώνιος] add. τὸ πλέγμα (id quod contexuerat) 21 ἐμικροψύχησεν] add.
οὐδ' ὅλως—διέστρεψε (neque uultum suum omnino auertisse), cf. B 22; then the clause
οὐτε κἄν—ἠγανάκτησεν

B. 6 ἐκ φοινίκων] om. P δέξαι] add. καὶ C (ms 1597 βρέξας) 7 ὡς βλέπεις
με] ὡς κἀγώ 9 μόχθῳ πολλῷ] μοχθήσας PC δέ] οὖν 10 τὸ πλέγμα] om. P
ἐπιφερόμενος] om. P 12 νῆσται] νῆσται 13 τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἄγοντι] om. PC
14 τοσαύτην ἐπάγων σῆψιν] ταύτην ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν σῆψιν 15 καὶ—16 μοναχῶν] om. P

C.

εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ διὰ θυρίδος
ἀκινήτου μένοντος ἐκ τοῦ τόπου ὄλην τὴν
ἑβδομάδα, ὑπὸ καύματος φρυγομένου. ἐξ- 3
ελθὼν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἑβδομάδα,

NOTES.

(Rufinus' Latin of C.)

oberraret, ad monasterium peruenit Antonii, ibique ex loci admonitione et opportunitate consilium capit. cumque adisset Antonium, ut iter ab eo salutis inquireret, ille intuens hominem simplicis naturae esse, respondit ei ita demum eum posse saluari si his quae a se dicerentur obediret. tunc ille omnia quaecumque sibi praeciperet facturum se esse respondit. ut ergo promissionem ejus probaret Antonius ante fores cellulae stanti, Hic, inquit, expecta me orans donec egrediar. et egrediens Antonius mansit intrinsecus per totum diem et per totam noctem; per fenestram tamen ex occulto frequentius respiciens uidebat eum indesinenter orantem et nusquam prorsus moueri, sed stare in aestu diei et rore noctis, et ita esse mandati memorem ut ne parum quidem loco moueretur. egressus autem die postero Antonius,

17 πάνυ—19 ἐρυσιδωμένους] εἰ καὶ δυσχερέστερον διὰ τὸ ἐρυτιδῶσθαι 20 οὐδ' δέ μέγας]
om. P ὁ γέρον] om. P 21 κἀν πρὸς βραχὺ] om. PC 22 οὐδ' ὄλωσ—23 διέ-
στρεψε] om. PC κατενόγει] κατενόγη ἐπ' αὐτῷ] om. P 25 ὁ Ἀντώνιος Πάπια]
om. P 27 ἐπὶ πλείων] om. P 29 ἐπιτρέψαι] ἐπιρρίψαι 30 θές—31 οὐγγιῶν]
θεῖς οὖν τὴν τράπεζαν φέρει ἄρτους. καὶ θεῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς παζαμάδας ἔχοντας ἀνὰ ἑξ
οὐγγιῶν 33 ὡς (om. ms 1597) 34 οὐγγιῶν] (ms 1597 οὐγγίλας) καὶ] om. P
35 ξηροί] (ms 1597 ξηρά) τρεῖς] add. καὶ 37 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ] om. P 38 δοκιμάση]
(ms 1597 δομάση) ὁ δὲ γέρον—1 (p. 34) συνηύξατο] ὁ δὲ πάλιν προθύμως συνηύχεται

C. 3 φρυγομένος

B. P.

A.

θυμώτερον τῷ μεγάλῳ συνηύξατο. ἤρείτο γὰρ μᾶλλον ὡς οἶμαι σκορπίους ποιμᾶναι, ἢ μοιχαλλίδη συζῆσαι. μετὰ δὲ τὰς δώδεκα προσευχὰς, λέγει τῷ Παύλῳ ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος·

5

B.

θυμώτερον τῷ μεγάλῳ συνηύξατο. ἤρείτο γὰρ ὡς οἶμαι σκορπίους μᾶλλον ποιμᾶναι, ἢ μοιχαλίδη συζῆσαι. μετὰ δὲ τὰς δώδεκα προσειχὰς,

κάθισον, φησί, καὶ μὴ φάγεις ἕως ἑσπέρας, ἀλλὰ πρόσχε μόνον τοῖς ἐδωδιμοῖς. ἑσπέρας δὲ 10 γενομένης, καὶ τοῦ Παύλου μὴ βεβρωκότος, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Ἀνάστα, εἰς εὐχὰς, καὶ κάθευθε. ὁ δὲ καταλιπὼν τὴν τράπεζαν ἐποίησεν οὕτως. μεσοῦσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς 15 ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν εἰς εὐχὴν, καὶ ἄχρις ἐνάτης ὥρας ἡμερινῆς παρέτεινεν τὰς εὐχὰς. παραθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τράπεζαν, καὶ πάλιν ψάλας καὶ προσευξάμενος,

ἐκαθέσθησαν τοῦ φαγεῖν 20

ἑσπέραν βαθεῖαν. φαγὼν οὖν ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος κ.τ.λ.....ἀπὸ μεσονυκτίου ἕως ἡμέρας. P.G. xxxiv. 1082 B, init. ad fin.

καὶ ἔπεμψεν

αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον κ.τ.λ....τὴν κατὰ 25 τῶν δαιμόνων ἑλασίαν. 1082 C and D.

Ὡς οὖν ἶδεν τὸν γέροντα κ.τ.λ....παρὰ πάσης τῆ ἀδελφότητι. 1082 D, to 1084 A.

FINIS.

B. 2 μᾶλλον] after γὰρ, as in A
21 οσσης] om. P μέγας] om. PC

ἐκαθέσθησαν τοῦ φαγεῖν

ἑσπέρας οσσης βαθείας. φαγὼν οὖν ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος κ.τ.λ.....ἀπὸ μεσονυκτίου ἕως ἡμέρας. As in A.

FINIS.

3 μοιχαλίδη] add. γυναικί 20 τοῦ] om. PC
22 ἀπὸ] om. PC

It is hardly necessary to point out that the accounts in B and C, though evidently variants of the same tradition, differ considerably in detail. According to B, Paul is represented as breaking his fast on the evening of the fourth day; and after a night spent in prayer St Anthony declares him to be a monk; according to C, the fast extends over full days, and St Anthony declares him to be a monk after a slight

C.

NOTES.

(Rufinus' Latin of C.)

instituire eum et docere coepit de singulis quomodo opere manuum solitudinem solaretur: et digitis quidem corporis opus carnale, cogitatione uero mentis et animi intentione operaretur quae Dei sunt. cibum quoque in uesperam ei sumere praecipit, sed obseruare ne umquam ad saturitatem usque perueniret, et praecipue in potu, confirmans non minus per aquae abundantiam phantasias fieri animi quam per unum calorem corporis crescere. et ubi plene eum qualiter se in singulis agere deberet instruxit, in uicino ei, hoc est tribus a se millibus, cellulam constituit.

εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν·
 Δεῦρο, μετάλαβε τροφῆς. ὡς δὲ παρέθηκεν
 τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ σιτὰ, Κάθισον, φησί, καὶ
 μὴ φάγῃς ἄχρις ἑσπέρας, ἀλλὰ πρόσεχε
 μόνον τοῖς ἰδωδιμοῖς. ἑσπέρας δὲ γενο- 10
 μένης, καὶ τοῦ Παύλου μὴ βεβρωκότος,
 λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Ἀνάστα,
 εὗξαι, καὶ κάθευθε. ὁ δὲ καταλείπων
 τὴν τράπεζαν ἐποίησεν οὕτως. μεσα-
 ζούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐγείρας αὐτὸν εἰς 15
 προσευχῆν, ἄχρις ἑννάτης ὥρας ἡμερικῆς
 παρέτεινεν τὰς εὐχάς. παραθεῖς δὲ πάλιν
 τράπεζαν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν μεταλαβεῖν. ὡς
 δὲ τρίτον τὸν ἄρτον τῷ στόματι προσενή-
 νοχεν, ἀναστῆναι προστάξας αὐτῷ καὶ 20
 ὕδατος μὴ ἄπτεσθαι,

ἐπεμπεν
 εἰς τὴν ἐρημον κ.τ.λ.....τὴν κατὰ τῶν 25
 δαιμόνων ἑλασιν. As in A.

ὅς γὰρ οὐκ ἤδυνάτο ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος
 ἐκβαλεῖν δαίμονας, τούτους πρὸς Παῦλον 30
 ἀπέστειλεν· καὶ αὐθιρὸν ἐξεβάλλοντο.

FINIS.

C. 8 σιτὰ] σιτία	9 ἄχρις] ἕως	12 ἀνάστα] ἀναστάς	15 ἐγείρας]
ἐγείρει	17 παρέτεινεν] παρατείνας	18 τράπεζαν πάλιν	19 δέ] add. μόνον
τρίτον ἄπειρ ἄρτον	21 ὕδατος] ὕδωρ		

meal, St Anthony sends him to the desert for three days. In A the periods of fasting are added together, so that they become twelve days in all; the two accounts of the other tests imposed on Paul by St Anthony are similarly combined; and Paul is represented as being sent into the desert twice.

(c) *Amoun, the First Monk of Nitria.*

In the Latin versions Amoun is found in A 8, B 2, C 30.

When we turn to the Greek texts, we see that the first half of A's account (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1025) coincides with B. The next two paragraphs (1026: *Μόνου οὖν αὐτοῦ.....ὁ ἀνὴρ διεπράξατο*; in Hervet's Latin: *Cum is ergo solus.....hic vir fecit*, Rosweyd, p. 714) are from C; but as they are incorporated bodily without any adjustments, it would throw no light on the

A.

Paris Coisl. 370 (cent. x): cf. Migne
P.G. xxxiv. 1026.

Τούτο οὖν τὸ θαῦμα διηγήσατο ὁ μακάριος
'Αθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος 'Αλεξανδρείας,
γράφας εἰς τὸν περὶ 'Αντωνίου βίον, ὅτι πέρ
ποτε μοναχῶν ἀποσταλέντων παρὰ
'Αντωνίου πρὸς Ἀμοῦν φωνῆσαι αὐτόν· 5
ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ ἐρήμῳ ὁ
'Αντώνιος. ὡς δὲ ἀπίεσαν πρὸς αὐτόν
οἱ δδελφοί, ἀναστὰς ὁ γέρον συνπορεύετο
αὐτοῖς· καὶ μέλλων παρέρχεσθαι τὸν Λύκον
τὸν ποταμὸν ἅμα Θεοδώρῳ τῷ μαθητῇ 10
αὐτοῦ, εὐλαβεῖτο οὖν ὁ ἄγιος ἀποδύσασθαι,
ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸν ἑαυτὸν τις ἴδῃ ποτέ. καὶ ἐν
τῷ αὐτὸν διαλογίζεσθαι περὶ τούτου εἰς τὸ
πέραν εὐρέθη τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει
διαπεράσας διὰ πορθμίου ὑπ' ἀγγέλου 15
μετενεχθεῖς. οἱ δὲ δδελφοί κολύμβῳ
διεπρόβημεσαν. ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο
πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, πρῶτος ὁ Ἀντώνιος
εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπο-
καλύψαντός μοι πολλὰ περὶ σου, καὶ 20
τὴν μετάρθεσί σου δηλώσαντός μοι,
ἀναγκαίως σε πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν προσεκα-
λεσάμην, ἵνα ἀλλήλων ἀπολαύσαντες,
ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων πρεσβεύσωμεν. τάξας
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ κεχωρισμένῳ 25
μακρὰν, μὴ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκεῖθεν ἄχρι

B.

Paris Gr. 1597 (cent. xiii): cf. Meurs.
23—4.

Τούτου θαῦμα διηγήσατο ὁ μακάριος
'Αθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος 'Αλεξανδρείας,
γράφας εἰς τὸν περὶ 'Αντωνίου βίον, ὅτι περ

μέλλων παρέρχεσθαι τὸν Λύκον
τὸν ποταμὸν ποτε ἅμα Θεοδώρῳ μαθητῇ
ἑαυτοῦ, εὐλαβεῖτο ἀποδύσασθαι,
ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸν ἑαυτὸν ἴδοι ποτέ. καὶ ἐν
τῷ ἀπορεῖν εἰς τὸ
πέραν εὐρέθη τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει
περάσας διὰ πορθμίου ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου μετε-
νεχθεῖς.

A. Readings of Paris Gr. 1626 (p) and of Hervet's MS (H).

1 τούτο—θαῦμα] τούτου θαῦμα τοιοῦτον p; Hoc miraculum H 5 πρὸς Ἀμ. φωνῆσαι
αὐτόν] πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ φωνοῦντες αὐτόν p; H has πρὸς αὐτόν (ad ipsum) and omits the
rest 8 οἱ δδελφοί] om. pH 9 μέλλων] (Coisl. 370 μέλλοντα) 11 οὖν ὁ ἄγιος]
om. pH 12 τις] om. pH 15 διαπεράσας] περάσας p διὰ] so p and Coisl.
390, 295, 282; H had the true reading δίχα (abscque) 22 ἀναγκαίως] (Coisl. 370
ἀναγκαῖος) 26 ἄχρι] μέχρι p

present investigation to print them here. Not so, however, when we come to the conclusion of the Life, where the independent and materially different versions of the same tradition, which are found in B and C, are interwoven into a single narrative in A.

C.

Paris Gr. 1600 (cent. xi): cf. Preuschen 91.

Ἦλλον δὲ ποτε μοναχοὶ τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν
παρὰ Ἀντωνίου ἀποσταλέντες, καὶ φω- 5
ρούντες αὐτὸν ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρῃ
ἐρήμῳ ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ὡς δὲ ἀπήσαν πρὸς
αὐτὸν, διώρξ τις τοῦ Νεΐλου ἠβρετο μέση.
οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἐξαίφνης ἴδον αὐτὸν μετατε-
θέντα ἐν τῷ πέρατι. 10

αὐτοὶ κολύμβῳ
διαπεράσαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον
παρεγένοντο, πρῶτος Ἀντώνιος λέγει πρὸς
αὐτὸν· Τοῦ θεοῦ μου περὶ σου πολλὰ μοι
ἀποκαλύψαντος, καὶ τὴν μετάθεσίν σου 20
δηλώσαντος, ἀναγκάϊόν σε πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν
μετεκαλεσάμην, ἵνα ἀλλήλων ἀπολαύσαντες,
ὅπερ ἀλλήλων προσβέυσωμεν. τάξας δὲ
αὐτὸν ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ κεχωρισμένῳ μακρὰν,
μὴ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκεῖθεν ἄχρι τῆς μεταθέσεως 25
προετρίψατο. τελειωθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ

NOTES.

A. Coislin 370 has been chosen as it is the oldest ms known to me that contains a portion of redaction A; its text is not as good as that of Paris Gr. 1626, or of Hervet's ms; the readings of these two mss are given in the critical notes. This portion of Coislin 282 is from redaction A; thus this single ms contains in different parts three distinct types of the text.

B 14, 15, and 6—11 on next page. The words in small type have fallen out of 1597, but occur in the ordinary B mss; (cf. Meursius).

C. The following is the Latin of Rufinus, corresponding to C (Rosw. 483):

Sed et multa alia per eum signa Dominus ostendit. nam et fluvium Nilum cum transire uellet, et exuere se erubesceret, uirtute Dei subito in alteram ripam translatus dicitur. beatus autem Antonius in summa admiratione uitae eius iustitiam atque animi uirtutes habuisse memoratur.

B. Readings of Paris Gr. 1628.

2 (ms 1597 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος)	Ἀλεξανδρείας, γράψας] om. P	3 ὅτι περ] ὅτι
9 μέλλων παρέρχεσθαι] παρερχόμενος	10 τὸν] om. ποτε] om.	θεοδώρῳ] add. τῷ
11 ἐαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ	εὐλαβεῖτο] καὶ εὐλαβόμενος	12 ἐαυτὸν] αὐτὸν
(sic alii) ποτε—18 ἀπορεῖν] om.	14 τοῦ—15 περάσας] om.	15 ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου

αἰσῶν μετερχθείς

A.

τῆς μεταθέσεως διεκελεύσατο. τελει-
ωθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ μνάς, εἶδεν
αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνα-
λαμβανομένην εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπὸ
ἀγίων ἀγγέλων. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀμοῦν ὁ ὅς
οὕτως βιώσας καὶ οὕτως τελευτήσας.

τούτων τὸν Λύκον τὸν ποταμὸν μετὰ
δειλίας ἐγὼ πορθμίῳ διεπέρασα ποτε. 10
διῶρυξ γὰρ ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου Νείλου.

A. 1 διεκελεύσατο] προτρέψατο pH (*hortatus est*)
9 τούτων to end om. p, found in the other four authorities
Coisl. 295

B.

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀμοῦν ὁ οὕτως
βιώσας καὶ οὕτως τελευτήσας, ὡς τὸν
μακάριον Ἀντώνιον ἰδεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ
ἀγγέλων ἀναγομένην εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. τούτων
τὸν Λύκον ποταμὸν μετὰ δειλίας ἐγὼ πορθμίῳ
παρήλθον ποτε. διῶρυξ γὰρ ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου
Νείλου.

5 ἀγίων] om. pH
10 διεπέρασα] παρήλθον

A study of these three sets of parallel passages will probably have sufficed to convince the reader that the Long Recension of the Lausiaca History is not an original work, but a conglomerate fashioned out of the Short Recension and the *Historia Monachorum*. But since A has been in unchallenged possession for so long a time, and has in our own day been accepted without suspicion as the genuine work of Palladius, even by prominent critics who have made a special study of the subject, it seems desirable that the case against this recension should here once for all be fully stated, so that one prolific source of misconception and confusion in the investigation of monastic origins may be finally removed. In the following section, therefore, it will be shown that A contains the recognised marks of a text that is not original, but composite and derived.

§ 6. ORGANIC CORRUPTIONS IN THE LONG RECENSION OF THE 'HISTORIA LAUSIACA.'

It is not necessary to multiply examples of such corruptions as the above, for they are so numerous that they are inherent in the very text. The following examples are chosen to illustrate contradictions, confusions, and other organic corruptions which are so numerous that they are

C.

μόνας, ἰδεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος
ἀναλαμβάνομένην ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν
οὐρανόν.

B 6—11. Cf. NOTE, p. 37.

B. 5 οὗτος—6 βιώσας] οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Ἄμμουσ οὕτως ἐβίωσε 6 τελευτήσας]
ἐτελεύθη (sic) 7 ἰδεῖν after αὐτοῦ 8 εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν] om. 9 Λύκων] om.
πορθμῶ] πορθμῶ 10 ποτε] om.

in the account of Abbot Or, in the Latin A 9, B 2, C 2. The phenomena presented are quite different from those of the cases already considered, and it will be enough to print just so much of the texts as may enable the reader to reconstruct the three accounts out of *P. G.* xxxiv. 1026—1028.

A.	B.	C.
<p>Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ τῆς Νιτρίας γέγονεν ἀνὴρ θαυ- μάσιος ἀββᾶ Ὀρ ὄνομα αὐτῷ πατὴρ μονᾶς ἔχων ἀδελφῶν χιλίων, κ.τ.λ. ἰδὼν δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀνὴρ κ.τ.λ. ὡς ἀγγέλων χοροῦς ὑμνούντων τὸν θεόν. ᾧ πολλὴν προσε- μαρτύρει ἀρετὴν πᾶσα μὲν ἢ ἀδελφότης κ.τ.λ. [1028 A] Ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ κατέ- ληφα ζῶντα κ.τ.λ. ἐλάλησέν τί ποτε.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FINIS.</p>	<p>Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ τῆς Νιτρίας γέγονεν ἀνὴρ τις θαυμάσιος ἀσκητῆς ὀνόματι Ἄορ. ᾧ πολλὴν προσε- μαρτύρει ἀρετὴν πᾶσα μὲν ἢ ἀδελφότης κ.τ.λ. [as A] ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ κατέ- ληφα ζῶντα κ.τ.λ. ἐλάλησέν τί ποτε.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FINIS.</p>	<p>Ἐθεάσαμεθα δὲ καὶ ἔτε- ρον ἀνδρα θαυμαστὸν ἐν Θηβαίδι ἀββᾶ Ὀρ ὄνομα αὐτῷ πατὴρ μοναστηρίων ἀδελφῶν χιλίων κ.τ.λ. ἰδὼν δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀνὴρ, κ.τ.λ. ὡς ἀγγέλων χοροῦς ὑμνούντων τὸν θεόν.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FINIS.</p>

(A 4 μονᾶς ἔχων, so Paris 1626 and Hernet.)

We learn from B that a certain Or had dwelt in Mount Nitria (near Alexandria), but was dead before Palladius came there; the

account is quite short, and professes to be based on what Palladius learned from Melania, who had visited Nitria at an earlier date and had seen Or. The party of seven whose tour is described in C visited a monk named Hor near Lycopolis in the Thebaid (Upper Egypt). Now Palladius retired to Mount Nitria in 390 or 391 at the latest; whereas the tour described in C has been fixed at the end of 394. Hence it appears that B and C speak of different men with similar names, or perhaps the same name¹, one of whom was dead before 390, the other still alive in 394; one of whom lived in Nitria, the other in the Thebaid. But in A the two accounts are combined and the two men are made into one. Besides the anachronism, a contradiction stands in the Greek text of Migne. For in the part taken from C the personal character of the interview is retained throughout, even the clause: *ἰδὼν δὲ ἡμᾶς*, "seeing us he rejoiced and embraced us, and washed our feet with his own hands"; while at the end the statement of B is introduced: *ἐγὼ αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλιφα ζῶντα*, "I did not find him alive." I have already stated that Migne's text is not a true text of A but a manufactured text; and in the extant MS. copies of A now at Paris the open contradiction has been removed by the elimination of the clause in B: *ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.* But that the original text of A contained the contradiction may be seen from the Latin of Hervet, where the clause of B still stands: *ego eum non offendi vivum*. A clumsy effort has indeed been made here also to remove the contradiction, by reading *αὐτούς* and *αὐτῶν* instead of *ἡμᾶς* and *ἡμῶν* in the above cited clause taken from C, thus making Or embrace and wash the feet not of the seven travellers, but of a troop of three thousand monks who came to live with him.

We pass from a case in which two men are turned into one in A, to a case of the converse, where one man is made into two. B 2 and C 23 give independent accounts of Ammonius, one of the famous "Four Tall Brothers." That this is the Ammonius in question in both places seems beyond doubt; for in B, and in the Latin version of C, his three brothers are mentioned by name. The Greek manuscripts of C indeed omit the first half of the Life

¹ The distinction between the two forms of the name, Or and Hor, is not consistently maintained by the authorities for the texts.

as it stands in Rufinus, the part containing this explicit identification. But from what is said in Appendix I. there is ground for believing that the Latin here represents the original text. In any case, it will hardly be questioned that Ammonius the Tall is the one intended. Now B 2 is reproduced in A 12, and the second half of the Latin C 23 in A 70; so that they appear as biographies of different men.

Similarly A contains a double account of the Nitrian monks, one in c. 7 from B 2, the other in c. 69 from C 21 and 22; also a double account of the Tabennisiote monks, one in cc. 38 and 39 from B 19, the other in c. 48 from C 3.

Moreover, whereas each of the recensions B and C has its own Epilogue, perfectly natural and in place; at the end of A we find both these Epilogues, one after the other, so that the work has a double conclusion. C's Epilogue is an enumeration of the dangers encountered by the party of seven on their journey through Egypt from Lycopolis to Alexandria, and is utterly out of place in A, being separated from its context by some seventy chapters, which deal with monks visited by Palladius in Asia Minor, Palestine, and Italy.

An examination of the parallel texts printed in the preceding section shows that the words and clauses found only in A are of the nature of mere connecting links or transitional phrases, such as a Redactor would have to insert in the process of combining two narratives; and that the alterations and omissions also are for the most part manifest devices of the same kind. At times however the Redactor has not been at the pains to make the necessary readjustments. For instance, c. 125 of A begins thus: *Ἐν αἰς καὶ Παύλῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ Τοξοτίου, γυναικὶ εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν πολιτείαν ἀστειοτάτῃ.* Here the gender of the relative is at fault, for the preceding four chapters are all about men; the datives *Παύλῃ*, etc., are unexplained; and the sentence has no verb. Restore the passage to its context in B 29, and all is right: *Πλείσταις δὲ ἀστέαις εἰς ἀρετὴν συντετύχηκα παρθένους τε καὶ χήραις· ἐν αἰς καὶ Παύλῃ κ.τ.λ.*¹

And not only have we here bad grammar, but also bad history.

¹ The full context in B is: *Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην κ.τ.λ. (= P.G. xxxiv. 1220 D). . . παρθένους τε καὶ χήραις (1225 A) ἐν αἰς καὶ Παύλῃ κ.τ.λ. (1233 C).*

For in cc. 117—124 of A, Palladius has been giving an account of a group of persons who were leading ascetic lives in Rome and its neighbourhood and whom he had met on the occasion of his visit to that city (405)—the younger Melania, Pinianus her husband, Pammachius, Macarius and Constantius. A makes Palladius continue (c. 125): "Among whom was also Paula." This implies that Paula was living at Rome at the same time as the others, and that Palladius had met her there—a double anachronism. She had left Rome and Italy for ever in 385 and had died in 404.

Similarly B supplies the key to another chronological difficulty presented by A. A 142 begins: "At that time it fell out that we were travelling together from Jerusalem to Egypt." But there is nothing in the preceding chapter of A, or indeed for several chapters back, to afford any chronological note. On turning to the same passage in B, it is found to form part of an account of the two Melanias (c. 42), and the passage immediately preceding the words "At that time," relates their departure from Rome and the subsequent sack of the city by Alaric. Thus the note of time becomes quite clear. Moreover we can see how the mistake crept into A. B treats of the two Melanias in c. 33, in the first half of 42, and in 49. A throws these detached accounts into one narrative (117, 118, 119), and takes up later the second half of B 42 (142, 143), retaining the words "At that time," though they are now detached from the original context which explained them.

From the Table given at the beginning of § 5 for the analysis of the accounts of John of Lycopolis in A, B and C, it appears that B and C each contain a personal account of a visit of the writer to John; in B the visit is paid by Palladius alone, in C by a party of seven, none of whom are named. The two distinct accounts of the two different personal visits in B and C are combined in A thus:—Palladius tells us in B how on his return to Evagrius and his friends he related to them all he had seen and heard; and it is added that after two months they also went to visit John. In A the party of seven (whose tour in the Thebaid and visit to John is described in C) is identified with Evagrius' party; and the narrative of the interview of the seven with John (C 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) is introduced as being what Evagrius and his friends afterwards related to Palladius: "And they told us the

following,"—a clause not found in B. But it can be demonstrated that the party in C cannot have been that of Evagrius. For the statement made in C is preserved in A, that the party had come from Jerusalem; whereas Evagrius and his disciples came from Nitria, where Evagrius had been for upwards of ten years. Moreover, in the interview described in C, John asked his visitors if there was any cleric among them. They replied in the negative. Now one member of the party was a deacon, though the circumstance was known to one only of his companions, and out of modesty he like the rest said that he was not a cleric, wishing to conceal his dignity; John, however, disclosed his secret. Now as it stands in A, this deacon must needs be identified with Evagrius himself. He was fifty years of age at the time; and it is quite impossible to suppose that the fact of his being a deacon should have been unknown to his own disciples, who are represented both in B and A as being his companions on his visit to John. Evagrius therefore cannot have been the subject of the incident related by C, and the application in A of the anecdote to him and his disciples evidently betrays the hand of one who was not personally acquainted with him. Again, the party of seven, whose tour is described in C, paid a visit to Evagrius himself¹ who therefore cannot have been of their number. And there was a second deacon among those who are said in B to have gone to see John after Palladius' return; for according to the Greek manuscripts of B, and according to the manuscript of A used by Hervet, one of Evagrius' companions on the journey was his disciple Albinus, who is known to have been a deacon²; whereas in the party of seven who visited John there was only one cleric. Lastly, the true text in A reads: "We were *seven* brothers in the desert of Nitria, I and Evagrius and Albinus and Ammonius." Thus A's attempt to combine the two narratives by identifying the seven unknown travellers of C with Evagrius and his friends, involves no fewer than five contradictions.

It is certainly a matter of surprise that a text thus teeming with palpable corruptions of all kinds, should not only have passed muster up to the present, but should in our day have been defended

¹ *Historia Monachorum*, 27.

² *Historia Lausiaca*, A 91, B 85.

as genuine even by such critics as Weingarten, Lucius and Zöckler, the latter declaring it to be a "better text" than that of Meursius (B)¹.

I have already said that this Study was commenced on the basis of the Latin translations. Naturally the evidence did not stand out with the same clearness and force as it now does from the Greek texts. But yet an independent study of the Latin had satisfied me, before I investigated the labours of others, that A could not be the authentic text of Palladius, but was a fusion by a later Redactor of the two independent works, B and C. It was not until I had reached this position that I looked to see what others had said upon the subject. It was no small satisfaction to find that Tillemont had anticipated my results on the main point; his treatment of the question fills only one page, but he decides without hesitation in favour of what is practically the view enunciated above². Unfortunately he complicated it by the hypothesis that the original of C was the Latin of Rufinus, and that the Greek manuscripts of C represented a translation of the Latin. Ceillier³ (1742) and Fontanini⁴ (1745) adopt Tillemont's view; and as late as 1851 Fessler still puts it forward⁵. But this partial recognition has had no practical effect; since A, not B, has invariably been used by historians and theologians as if it were the authentic text. Nay more; two eminent critics who have set themselves to study the Greek sources of Egyptian monastic history, Dr Weingarten and Dr Lucius, actually face the question, and mention Tillemont's hypothesis only to set it aside as quite untenable⁶. Weingarten's argument—Why have recourse to a

¹ *Askese und Mönchtum*, 220.

² *Mémoires*, xi. 641 (Note vii.); p. 647 in Venice edition. (The difference is due to the fact that in this volume the numbers 547—552 are repeated with a * in the Paris edition.)

³ *Auteurs Sacrés*, x. 72.

⁴ *Vita Rufini*, Lib. ii. cap. xii. § vi.; cf. *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi (Migne, *P. L.* xxi. 240—243). Fontanini indulges in a hope that now that the genuine Lausiaca History has been pointed out, "nemo amplius cum larvis luctabitur."

⁵ *Institutiones Patrologiae*, ii. 214 (note); in bringing this work up to date Guggemann preserves the note indeed, but introduces Amélineau's theory in the text (ii. pars prior, pp. 202, 211, 212).

⁶ Weingarten: "An eine Interpolation durch einen Späteren, der etwa das Griechische von Rufinus ins Griechische übersetzt ... von Palladius hineingetragen."

theory of interpolation, since Palladius shows himself credulous enough to accept wonders wherever he found them¹?—need not be discussed in face of the positive evidence that has been adduced in proof of the fact that A is an interpolated text. It is necessary, however, to examine in detail the arguments put forward by Lucius.

Before I proceed to this discussion, I shall earn the thanks of my readers by reprinting in full the Note in which Tillemont discusses the various documents. It will afford a succinct exposition of the whole problem.

Diverses choses ajoutées à la Lausique: Du Paradis d'Heraclide.

Nous trouvons presque mot à mot dans Pallade l'histoire que Rufin a faite des solitaires : et cela tient depuis le 43^e chapitre en partie jusqu'au 76. Il y a peu d'apparence que Pallade qui paroist partout avoir eu beaucoup de simplicité et de fidélité, et beaucoup de soin à marquer d'où il avoit appris ce qu'il disoit, ait inseré toute l'histoire de Rufin dans la sienne, sans en avertir en aucun endroit ; surtout y ayant beaucoup de choses personnelles qu'il se seroit attribuées par ce mélange contre la verité et la vraisemblance. Car par exemple, Pallade qui avoit rapporté fort au long la visite qu'il avoit faite à Saint Jean de Lycople, ne peut pas s'attribuer celle que d'autres luy firent ensuite ni dire qu'il estoit avec luy lorsqu'il vit par esprit de prophetie qu'on apportoit à Alexandrie les nouvelles de la victoire de Theodose contre Eugène. Je croy qu'il suffit de lire ce chapitre pour demeurer convaincu que ce n'est point Pallade qui a mêlé l'histoire de Rufin avec la sienne ; et qu'on ne peut point dire non plus comme l'a cru Rosweide, que Pallade ayant écrit cette histoire telle que nous l'avons aujourd'hui en grec, Rufin en traduisit une partie en latin ; quand nous ne saurions pas d'ailleurs que Rufin a fait son histoire longtemps avant l'an 420. Et mesme il est mort dès 410.

La vérité est donc apparemment que les Vies des Pères écrites par Rufin ayant esté traduites en grec : (et on en a encore plusieurs manuscrits sous differens titres et non sous le nom de Rufin;) il s'est trouvé quelqu'un qui voyant que cet ouvrage estoit sur le mesme sujet que celui de Pallade, en a voulu faire un seul corps ; et peut-estre que d'autres ensuite y ont entremêlé d'autres choses comme l'histoire qu'en cite Saint Jean de Damas, et qui ne s'y trouve point que dans un manuscrit dont nous parlerons bientost. On

braucht man kaum zu denken ; denn aus dem allein, was Palladius von sich selbst berichtet, ergibt sich ein Charakter, der Wunder hernahm, wo er sie fand." (*Op. cit.* p. 26, note.) Lucius : "Das System Tillemonts ist jedoch nicht haltbar." (*Op. cit.* p. 174, note.)

¹ Cf. preceding note.

pourroit encore sans doute trouver d'autres preuves de cette confusion, comme de ce qu'il y est parlé en deux endroits, des moines de Nitrie et de ceux de Tabenne.

Mais ce qui est bien remarquable, c'est que nous avons une ancienne traduction de Pallade, où toutes ces additions tirées de Rufin ne se trouvent point. Il y a encore quelques autres endroits différens du grec que nous avons, soit pour le sens, soit pour l'ordre. De sorte qu'il est visible qu'elle a esté faite sur d'autres copies, qu'on ne peut douter avoir esté plus correctes en quelques endroits. Mais dans ceux où elles estoient conformes à la nostre, cette traduction suit et exprime fort bien son texte. Je ne sçay d'où vient qu'on luy a donné le nom de Paradis ou de Jardin d'Heraclide. Il est certain qu'on n'a jamais pu pretendre l'attribuer à Heraclide Évêque d'Éphèse, puisqu'on y voit, aussibien que dans le grec que l'auteur estoit Évêque dans la Bithynie. Mais je ne pense pas que personne fasse difficulté de reconnoistre avec Baronius et Rosweide, que cet Heraclide est la mesme chose que Pallade. Il s'en trouve des manuscrits qui portent le nom de Pallade.

Rosweide donne encore une traduction de Pallade d'un auteur inconnu, qu'il croit estre ancien : mais il y manque diverses choses : et on n'y trouve rien des saintes que Socrate nous assure avoir fait une partie considerable de l'ouvrage de Pallade. C'est sans doute cette traduction qu'on dit avoir esté donnée dès le commencement de l'impression, et réimprimée à Cologne en 1547.

Dans la traduction ordinaire de Pallade, qui est de Gentien Hervet, il y a des endroits qu'on n'avoit point eus en grec, jusqu'à ce que M^r. Cotelier les a trouvez dans des manuscrits, et les a fait imprimer en 1686. Il y ajoute mesme quelquefois au latin d'Hervet. Mais rien de tout cela ne se trouve dans Heraclide : de sorte que nous n'avons garde ni de nous assurer nous mesmes, ni d'assurer les autres que ces endroits viennent de Pallade. Il y en a plusieurs qui viennent de Rufin : et je pense qu'on auroit peine à recevoir ce qui y est dit de la mort de S. Amon. Dans l'un des manuscrits de M^r. Cotelier on trouve l'histoire que S. Jean de Damas cite de Pallade : et cela suffit pour justifier la bonne foy de ce Saint, qui a mis ce qu'il a trouvé dans ses livres, mais non pas pour trouver que cet endroit soit de Pallade. M^r. Cotelier mesme ne l'a point donné sous son nom en donnant les autres.

On trouve aussi dans Heraclide quelques endroits qui ne sont point dans le grec : et ils sont marquez dans l'édition de Rosweide. Celui qui regarde Sabinienne, paroist tout à fait venir de Pallade.

§ 7. THE SHORT RECENSION NOT AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE LONG; NOR THE LONG AN AUTHOR'S SECOND EDITION OF THE SHORT.

The discussion of Dr Lucius' position may best be opened by the question : If A is the true Lausiaca History, what is B? Dr

Lucius replies: An abridgment of A. We must begin by testing the four arguments on which he bases this theory¹.

(1) He says that B is an arbitrary abridgment of A, made in the interests of later orthodoxy, so that all passages favourable to Origenism are eliminated; and in proof he mentions pp. 941, 962, 971, 972².—The Greek text of B refutes this argument; if any such tendency really has been at work in the Latin, it is due to the translator, or to the copyists.

(2) All superfluous matter is cut out and its place is supplied by more interesting notices from other sources³.—Lucius gives no references to instances of this process; nor am I able to find any.

(3) There is matter common to B and C, e.g. the accounts of Amoun, the Macarii, and Paul the Simple; this shows that B and C are not independent works fused together in A.—This statement is not in accord with the facts. There are indeed in B and C lives of the same person, or of persons of the same name; but they are in all cases perfectly independent accounts.

(4) The account given by Socrates of the Lausiac History shows that his text was identical with A, and already contained the matter of C. Lucius refers in particular to Socrates' statement that in the Lausiac History may be seen how wild beasts were obedient to the solitaries⁴; he says that this can apply only to A 49, 50, 53⁵ = C 4, 6, 8.—The anecdotes, however, about an antelope and a hyena in the Life of Macarius of Alexandria (B 6),

¹ *Die Quellen*, etc. (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1885), p. 174, note.

² The pages refer to ed. 1 of Rosweyd.

³ Lucius' words are "Alles Nebensächliche wird beseitigt, und durch interessantere Notizen aus anderen Quellen ersetzt."

⁴ "Ὅπως τε ἀβροῖς τὰ θηρία ὑπήκουον" (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23). This is the only part of Socrates' description of the work adduced in proof by Lucius. But it will be proper to notice here that Rosweyd based his verdict in favour of A on another statement made by Socrates in the same place—that in the Lausiac History "an account is given of women also who undertook the same course of life as the men there recorded." Rosweyd adds: "There is more about women as well as men in Hervet's edition [=A], as very little is said about women in the other editions" (*Vitae Patrum*, Prolegomenon xiv., Migne, P. L. LXXIII. 52); and he decides the question on this single consideration. But his premiss is incorrect; for the information given in B concerning the female solitaries is precisely the same as that in A.

⁵ Lucius erroneously gives A 59 as corresponding to C 8.

and anecdotes in the Lives of Didymus (B 1) and of Pachon (B 11), seem enough to account for Socrates' words.

While the arguments of Lucius are thus found to be invalid, there exist on the other hand strong positive arguments against the hypothesis that B is an abridgment of A. In the first place, it is evident that "abridgment" is not a correct description of the process to which A would have been subjected; for the process would have been this:—that the operator, having before him the work A and the work C, simply cut out from A all the matter which its author had taken from C. On this theory, to take a single example, in the case of Paul the Simple the removal of matter borrowed from C left behind in B, not the mere mangled remains of A, but another life of different tenor, yet self-consistent and complete, constructed without change of word or clause, and bearing no trace of the dislocation which the text had undergone¹. It is impossible to conceive that B's Life of Paul the Simple had not a prior independent existence; or that the fact that A is thus divisible into two distinct Lives is not due to its being a fusion of two pre-existing documents. Moreover, B contains matter not found in A; and this not simply in cases that might be accounted for by mere faults in MSS., but in matter that enters into the very organism of B; for instance, the prophecy of John of Lycopolis about Theodosius' victories and death, and St Anthony's vision of Amoun's soul going up to heaven (both printed in § 5). Again, if B is abridged from A, the man who made the abridgment must have been a critic of no ordinary penetration; for he must again and again have detected and silently rectified blunders and confusions of A, and have removed contradictions which seem to have escaped the notice even of the critics of our day. M. Amélineau is quite satisfied with A's identification of the two parties who visited John of Lycopolis²; while Dr Lucius twice follows A in confusing together the two abbots Hor³. Lastly, the difference of order and grouping in the second portion of the two recensions has already been mentioned (§ 6). The order in B is certainly in places the right order, for it places the two anachronisms

which are there pointed out as following from A's arrangement. It will hardly be maintained that the wrong order, which involves anachronisms and absurdities, is the author's order, and that the true order is due to the insight of the later writer who merely made an abridgment.

And yet this is the position which Dr Zöckler must be prepared to defend; for in speaking of its relation to the Greek texts, he pronounces the *Paradisus Heraclidis* to be "a miserable secondary source," which has "transposed and greatly abridged the matter of Palladius": he declares that "its later origin and inferior historical worth cannot on the whole be doubted," and that "alongside of the canonical Palladius it exhibits an essentially apocryphal character".¹ It must be noted that Zöckler is professing to compare the *Paradisus* not only with Du Duc's text but also with that of Meursius: but it is evident that he cannot have instituted the comparison even in a cursory way; for, as has been pointed out, in subject-matter and structure the *Paradisus Heraclidis* and Meursius are practically identical. And I am at a loss to imagine what can be the signs of the apocryphal character of B, either in its Greek or in its Latin form, as compared with A. For, to repeat what has already been demonstrated, the only difference in regard of subject-matter between A and B is the absence from B of all matter belonging to C.

I conceive that it must be taken as certain that B is not an abridgment of A, nor derived from A by any discoverable process.

The only remaining hypothesis whereby the Palladian authorship of A could be maintained is that B is a first edition, and A a

¹ "Die Frage, wie unser griechischer Palladiustext (veröffentlicht zuerst 1616 durch Meursius, dann besser in demselben Jahrhundert durch Ducäus und Cotelier) zu den aus alter Zeit überlieferten Parallelrecensionen, insbesondere zu der unter eines gewissen Heraklides Namen gehenden (die den Namen *Paradisus* führt und das Palladianische Material teils vielfach umstellt, teils stark verkürzt), sich verhalte, ist für unseren Zweck von geringem Interesse. Am jüngeren Ursprung und geringeren Geschichtswert derselben kann im allgemeinen nicht gezweifelt werden; die Heraklides-Relation insbesondere zeigt gegenüber dem kanonischen Palladius wesentlich apokryphen Charakter. Wir überlassen, zumal selbständig bedeutsames Geschichtsmaterial diesen trüben Nebenquellen sich nicht oder kaum abgewinnen lässt, die Lösung des literar-kritischen Problems anderen Händen." (*Askese und Mönchtum*, 220.) This is the most recent critical utterance upon the subject.

second edition, "enlarged and improved," by Palladius himself. If this hypothesis fails, it only remains to conclude that the incorporation of C in the Lausiaca History was not the handiwork of Palladius.

The idea that B and A are successive editions of the work, made by the author himself, has not been hitherto put forward; but it is a possible one, and must be examined¹. Let us briefly consider what is involved in the theory.

It would have to be supposed that in the account of John of Lycopolis it is Palladius who represents the "great" Evagrius' own disciples as not knowing that their master was a deacon; an absurdity which Palladius, the close friend and enthusiastic admirer of Evagrius, would have felt much more keenly than we do. It would have to be supposed that Palladius inserted the second account of Ammonius the Tall, as if it related to some one else, failing to recognise C's picture of his illustrious friend. It would have to be supposed that Palladius re-arranged the latter portion of his work in such a way as to introduce a gross anachronism and misstatement about one episode in his own life, and to separate another from an event so striking as the Sack of Rome, thereby making meaningless the chronological note which he gives to fix the date. It would have to be supposed that it was Palladius who disfigured his own work by all the errors, confusions, doublets and solecisms which have been pointed out in these pages as existing in A but not in B.

That these errors exist in A is certain; but of all men Palladius is the least likely to have made them. And seeing that B, taken by itself, and C, taken by itself, are straightforward and consistent narratives, the conclusion seems inevitable that

¹ Tillemont, indeed, is disposed to believe that Palladius "retouched" his work some time after its publication in 420 (*Mémoires*, xi. 640 [ed. Paris], 646 [ed. Venice]). His reason for so thinking is that in the Greek of A, in the body of the life of Philoromus (A 113, B 32), and of that of a monk of Ancyra (A 115, B 56), these persons are spoken of as still alive; whereas at the end of the two accounts they seem to be spoken of as already dead; and he points out that in the Latin version of B these discrepancies are avoided. Whatever may be the explanation of the discrepancies, they lend no countenance to the theory that B is the first edition and A the second; for the Greek text of B, both in Meursius' edition and in the mss., agrees in these places with A.

the errors of A are due, not to the author, but to a later and blundering Redactor, who fused together pre-existing works relating to matters concerning which he had no personal experience or knowledge.

And, after all, this recension A is but one, and the most ingenious, out of upwards of half-a-dozen different attempts to fuse the same two works, to be found among the Greek MSS. at Paris alone.

§ 8. SOZOMEN AND THE 'HISTORIA LAUSIACA.'

So far we have been occupied in removing long standing sources of confusion in regard of the *Historia Lausiaca*; we come now to one that has originated in our own day. It has generally been recognised that the accounts of the Egyptian monks found in the Latin *Historia Monachorum*, in the Lausiatic History, and in Sozomen are closely related; and hitherto it had been accepted by critics old and new that Sozomen's notices were directly derived from these two Histories. Dr Lucius, however, in his article so often referred to, started a new theory, viz. that Sozomen had not before him either the *Historia Monachorum* or the *Historia Lausiaca*; but that all three writers made independent use of a common Greek source no longer extant. It must be remembered that Lucius laboured under the disadvantage of not knowing of the existence of the Greek MSS. of either B or C, although one of the former had been printed by Meursius in 1616, and four of the latter described and in part printed by Cotelier in 1686. He assumes, moreover, that A is the authentic Lausiatic History, and that it was Palladius himself who in writing it introduced the matter which is found also in C, and which, so Lucius maintains, was taken alike by him and Rufinus from the hypothetical common source. Lucius' theory has quite recently been endorsed by Grützmacher¹ and Zöckler²; the former of whom, however, so far modifies it, in

¹ *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben* (pp. 1—4).

² In 1893 Zöckler argued vigorously against Lucius' theory (*Evagrius Ponticus*, 99—106); but by 1897 he was converted to it (*Askese und Mönchtum*, 218, 220).

deference to Amélineau's publications, as to believe that the lost Greek work was itself but a translation of Coptic materials. As a corollary of the theory, Grützmacher leaves on one side as of no value the notices of St Pachomius and his monasteries found in Palladius and Sozomen. Basset, too, in the Introduction to his translation of the Ethiopic Rules of St Pachomius, accepts the Lucius-Amélineau hypothesis as an ascertained fact, and draws from it the same practical conclusions as Grützmacher in regard to Palladius and Sozomen¹. Thus Lucius' speculations are a living influence, and (as I believe) a source of error and misconception in the investigation of early monastic history; and this fact is an additional reason why it is necessary to examine carefully and in some detail the whole position. Moreover, the solution of an important problem in the textual criticism of the Lausiaca History depends upon the question in hand.

Dr Lucius maintains, then: (1) that there existed a Greek book, now lost, containing the matter of the *Historia Monachorum*, the bulk of that of the *Historia Lausiaca*, and an indefinite quantity of additional matter, including probably information about monks of Asia Minor, Palestine, and the East; (2) that Rufinus translated into Latin a section of this book; (3) that Palladius made up his Lausiaca History out of the same section and other portions of the same book (together with a small amount of matter from a second lost hypothetical source, and from various lost writings of Evagrius²); (4) that Sozomen's chapters on the monks were also based upon this same lost book.

A detailed examination of the minute discrepancies adduced by Lucius, as showing that Sozomen's account is not derived from the *Historia Monachorum* or the *Historia Lausiaca*, is made in Appendix II. Here it is enough to state the general result: viz. that by the establishment of B as the true Lausiaca History, and the production of the Greek MSS. of C, nearly all the alleged discrepancies vanish. Of the difficulties that remain, no one is of any serious weight; nor taken together do they raise even a cumulative presumption that the portions of Sozomen containing

¹ *Revue de Théologie*, t. 1, p. 100. ² *Revue de Théologie*, t. 1, p. 100. *Revue de Théologie*, t. 1, p. 100.

abridgments of matter found in B and C were derived from any other source than these two documents.

On the other hand, when we examine the text of Sozomen, Book VI. cc. 28, 29, 30, and the first half of 31, and compare it with B and C, we find positive reasons for holding that he derived his information directly from these two works¹. In order to make what follows more easily intelligible a Table is drawn out, comparing Sozomen's order and grouping of the names first with B and C, and then with A.

Cap.	SOZOMEN (BOOK VI.).	B or C	A
28.	John of Lycopolis	C 1	43
	Or	2	9
	Ammoun the Tabennesiot	3	48
	Be	4	49
	Theonas	6	50
	Copres	9	54
	Helles	11	59
	Elias.....	12	51
	Apelles	15	60
	Isidore.....	17	71
	Serapion	18	76
	Dioscorus	20	68
	Eulogius	14	75
29.	Apollo	7	52
	Dorotheus	B 2	2
	Piammon	C 32	72
	John of Diolcos	33	73
	Benjamine	B 14	13
	Marcus.....	21	21
	Macarius (the Homicide)	17	17
	Apollonius (the Merchant)	15	14
	Moses (the Robber)	22	22
	Paul in Ferme	23	23
	Pachon.....	27	29
	Stephen	28	30
	Moses (the Libyan)	46	88
	Pior	45 & 46	87 & 88

¹ This is the section of Sozomen which best illustrates the point under discussion; but he used B and C also in i. 13 and 14, III. 14, and elsewhere. In Appendix II. a list is given of the various sources of the monastic portions of his *Ecclesiastical History*. Sozomen's account of Pachomius (III. 14) will be examined separately in that appendix.

Cap.	SOZOMEN (Book VI.)	B or C	A
30.	Origenes	C	26
	Didymus		24
	Chronius		25
	Arsisius, Putubastes, Arsion, Serapion ...	B	7 7
	Ammonius the Tall (and his brothers) ...		13 12
	Evagrius	C	27 & B 45 86
31.	Nitria and Cellia (general sketch)	C	21 & 22 69

NOTE.—The numbers of the chapters in B are given not from the Latin translation but from Meursius' Greek text, in which the work is broken up into chapters agreeing almost entirely with those in A, so that the comparison is more accurate. In the case of C, I have given the numbers from the Latin version by Rufinus as found in Rosweyd, and not from the Greek mss.; for the copies used by Rufinus and Sozomen agreed in a number of clearly marked characteristics, which differentiate them from the extant Greek texts (cf. Appendix I.).

I shall begin the investigation in hand by showing that whatever source Sozomen may have used, certainly it was not A. For:—

(1) There is matter in Sozomen which is found in C in its independent state, but not as incorporated in A. Instances are:

(i) The brief accounts of Origenes, Didymus and Chronius, which occur together in C, just as in Sozomen, but do not occur in A.

(ii) The parallel descriptions of the Nitrian desert and Cellia which are found in Rufinus' translation of C 21, 22, in A 69 (the same here as the extant Greek mss. of C), and in Sozomen (vi. 31), show that the latter account contains a number of details to be found in Rufinus but not in the parallel passage of A; so that A cannot have been Sozomen's source, since both he and A give us in this part independent abridgments of the original Greek text of C (the three passages are printed in parallel columns in Appendix I.).

(iii) The opening sentence of Sozomen's sketch of Evagrius seems evidently inspired by words of C not incorporated in A¹.

(2) The fact that Sozomen begins this section of his history of the monks with John of Lycopolis and Or shows that he is following C and not A; for John and Or (or Hor) without any doubt stood first and second in C, whereas in A they are 43 and 9 respectively; moreover Sozomen rightly places this Or

¹ *Hist. Mon.* (cf. *P. G.* LXV. 448).

Ἴδομεν Εὐάγριον ἄνδρα σοφὸν καὶ λόγιον, ὃς τῶν λογισμῶν ἱκανὴν εἶχεν διακρίσιν.

Sozomen vi. 30.

Εὐάγριος σοφός, ἐλλόγιμος ἀνὴρ, . . . καὶ ἐπιβολὸς διακρίναι τοῦτο . . . λογισμοῦ, καὶ ἱκανὸς ὑποθέσθαι κ.τ.λ.

in the Thebaid and not in Nitria, thus again following C against A, and avoiding the latter's confusion of the two men.

(3) Lastly, looking back at the Table, we see that the column comparing A with Sozomen seems to defy all attempts at explanation on any rational principle; a writer abridging a single work can hardly be imagined to have gone up and down, backwards and forwards, in so purely arbitrary a manner.

After thus demonstrating that Sozomen did not use A, I proceed to show that it was from the two books B and C that he derived his materials in this portion of his History.

The Table just printed enables us to give the following analysis of the contents of these chapters of Sozomen:

CHAPTER 28.

(a) A brief account of thirteen monks of the Thebaid. These monks all occur in C, and (allowing for omissions) in the same order (except Eulogius). Moreover Sozomen says nothing about them which is not found in C.

CHAPTER 29.

(β) The first monk named is Apollos, the account being again abridged from C; where, however, he comes seventh.

(γ) Sozomen then passes on to speak of monks who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and begins with Dorotheus, of whom he gives an account substantially the same as that of B 2.

(δ) A brief notice of two ascetics, John of Diolcos and Piammon, who also dwelt near Alexandria by the sea-shore; an abridgment of the last two chapters of C¹.

(ε) The rest of the chapter describes ten more monks, all inhabiting the contiguous deserts of Nitria and Scete, the matter being abridged from B, with a few unimportant changes of order.

CHAPTER 30.

(ζ) This chapter and the first half of the succeeding one are devoted to an account of Nitria and its monks. First are named Origen, Didymus and Chronius, with just enough detail to show that this part is based upon C.

(η) Next, four others are merely named without any details at all; they are similarly named, and in the same order, in the general description of Nitria given in B 7.

(θ) (B 8—12 deal with monks of an earlier generation.) B 13 just alludes to the Tall Brothers, and gives a detailed account of Ammonius the

¹ Sozomen's account of John of Diolcos follows the Greek mss. (and A), not the Latin; Rufinus probably here took liberties with his text.

Tall; and similarly in Sozomen we have a passing reference to the Tall Brothers and a fuller account of Ammonius, the matter being taken from B.

(ι) B's account of Ammonius ends with a saying of Evagrius, testifying to his holiness; this circumstance presumably leads up to Sozomen's notice of Evagrius, the first sentence of which is inspired by the Greek of C (not incorporated in A), and the body of the notice is taken from B.

CHAPTER 31.

(κ) In the first half of this chapter Sozomen gives a general description of Nitria and Cellia, founded upon the recension of C translated by Rufinus.

(λ) At this point he leaves both B and C, and introduces what he has to say of the monks of Rhinocorura in Egypt by words calculated to make us suppose that he had more direct, nay, even personal sources of information,—*ἐπιυθόμην, ἔγνων*¹.

(μ) The chapters that immediately follow in Sozomen (32—34) treat of the monks of Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor and the East, and are not based on Palladius' work.

I submit that the natural conclusion to which this analysis points, is that these chapters (vi. 28, 29, 30 and half of 31) are founded upon the two works B and C, used alternately: not slavishly indeed, but with the freedom natural to a writer compiling a history out of two or more sources. On the other hand, on Lucius' theory, it would have to be supposed that Palladius and the author of the *Historia Monachorum*, in making independent use of a common source, so chanced to select their matter from it as to take alternate passages, without ever trespassing in the least on each other's ground, even when dealing with the same Life.

Furthermore, if we look back to the analysis of cc. 28 and 29, we see that Sozomen has taken a group of sixteen lives from C (α, β, δ), and then a group of eleven lives from B (γ, ε), the two groups just overlapping, inasmuch as one life from the very beginning of B (γ) comes before the last two lives of C (δ). And a reason can be given for the overlapping. After the account of Apollon (β, Sozomen refers his readers for further information to a book of the same author about Timotheus, whom he describes as being a native of the same Patriarch of Alexandria

¹ It is not clear from the text whether this refers to the same source as the previous note, or to a different one. The text is somewhat obscure.

(cf. Appendix I.). This mention of Alexandria suggests to his mind the monks who dwelt there, and he singles out from the beginning of B Dorotheus (γ)—of whom there is no account in C—who dwelt in the environs of the city, and whom he calls "the most famous" of them. Continuing at Alexandria, he then returns to the last two chapters of C, and speaks of two ascetics who lived by the sea-shore near the city (δ). After this he gives from B the group in Nitria and Scete, also near Alexandria (ϵ). Chapter 30 gives further information on Nitria, taken from both B and C.

To sum up: the substance of the notices in Sozomen VI. 28 tallies perfectly with that of the lives in C; and the same may be said of the order and grouping¹. The first notice in c. 29, on Apollos, is also from C; and immediately after it comes a reference for further details about him to Timotheus, "who wrote lives of him and of many whom I have mentioned, and of other illustrious monks." Thus at the very point where for the first time he leaves the monks contained in C, and is about to pass to those in B, Sozomen refers for further information to a Greek work containing a set of the Lives of the solitaries, and describes it in words altogether applicable to C. In face of this, it would be mere fastidiousness, now that the original Greek text of C has been produced, to doubt that it was the work which Sozomen had in his hands. And this affords ground no less strong for the belief that the other portions of these chapters are taken from the other work B, to which the residue of Sozomen's matter similarly corresponds.

Thus Dr Lucius' position is shown to be untenable: the

¹ Eulogius, as has been pointed out (p. 55), is out of place; but his position is explained when we look at the context: Sozomen has just recorded the care taken by Dioscorus in admitting his monks to the Sacraments, and this makes him go back to Eulogius, who he says was still more strict. I can offer no explanation why Apollos is out of place, or why this second account of him is introduced; for another, also based on this same chapter of C, has already been given in Book III. 14. In that place, however, he is named Apollonius, as in Rufinus' Latin translation and in the Syriac versions; whereas in VI. 29 his name is given as Apollos, with the extant Greek mss. This phenomenon suggests the idea that Sozomen may have had a second copy, at least of this Life, and on coming across it in the *Historia Monachorum*, failed to recognise it as already used in his History.

hypothetical work which he postulates as the common source of Rufinus, Palladius, and Sozomen, is not pointed to by the facts of the case; indeed the evidence tells all the other way.

§ 9. THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE 'HISTORIA LAUSIACA.'

The general result of the discussions of the preceding eight sections is that of all printed forms of the *Historia Lausiaca*, that which is found in Meursius' Greek text and in the Latin *Paradisus Heraclidis* can alone claim to represent the authentic work of Palladius. The question now arises, whether this form of the work has faithfully and in all respects preserved the original type. The evidence at our disposal for answering this question is threefold: the Greek MSS., the Testimonia or citations and allusions of later writers, and the early versions. The evidence however of the Greek MSS. and the Testimonia (as dealing for the most part with points strictly textual) will be reserved for the *Introduction* to the Greek text which I hope to edit in a future number of this series. The versions will be dealt with here; for they throw light upon certain larger and more fundamental questions that have been raised in regard to the origin and nature of the Lausiaca History: they are indeed also our earliest witnesses to the text.

It is natural to begin with the Latin versions.

Three Latin translations of the Lausiaca History are printed in Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*. Of these, that of the Long Recension (A), which stands as Book VIII., need not detain us here; for it is merely a translation made by Hervet in the sixteenth century from a MS. of a type represented by existing Greek MSS. One point, however, in regard to this translation must be noted. It first appeared in 1555, and it was reprinted without alteration in various editions and collections before 1600, and in Rosweyde's first edition (1615). In 1624 Du Duc¹ published for the first time a Greek text purporting to be that of A; facing it he printed Hervet's Latin, but he made some changes so as to bring it into conformity

¹ *Auctarium to La Bigne's Bibliotheca*, Tom. II.

with the Greek MSS. which he used: instances of such changes are to be found at the beginning of c. 10 and at the end of c. 85. In his second edition (1628) Rosweyd adopted these changes; and this altered text is the one printed as Hervet's in all subsequent editions of the Latin,—in the Paris *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, XIII. (1644 and 1654), in Lamy's edition of Meursius' works, VIII. (1746), and in Migne's Patrology (*P. L.* LXXIII. and *P. G.* XXXIV.).

There remain two Latin versions properly so called.

Latin Version I.

This is the document printed as Appendix I. in Rosweyd, under the title *Paradisus Heraclidis* (cf. *P. L.* LXXIV. 243 ff.). It was first printed by Le Fèvre d'Estaples (Paris, 1504); but there are certain lacunae in that edition, and when Aloysius Lipomanus came to edit the book in Tom. III. of his *De Vitis Sanctorum* (Venice, 1554), he had the missing passages, with two exceptions, translated from a Greek MS. of the Bessarion Collection, now Cod. 338 of the Library of St Mark's, Venice. It is Lipomanus' edition, in which the lacunae are thus filled up, that is printed by Rosweyd and by Migne. The following is a list of the lacunae occurring in Le Fèvre's edition:

(a) The *Letter to Lausus* beginning Μακαρίζω σου τὴν προαίρεσιν (*P. G.* XXXIV. 1001).

(β) A passage hostile to St Jerome in c. 23, on Posidonius. After the words: 'Hujus viri etiam praenuntiationem aliquando cognovi' (Rosweyd, 987¹) should occur the passage: 'Ιερώνυμος γὰρ.....καὶ Συμεῶνα θαυμασίους ἀνδρας (*P. G.* 1180; A 78—82). This passage is not filled up from the Venice MS. in Lipomanus' edition.

(γ) A similar passage hostile to St Jerome in c. 29, on Paula of Rome (p. 971), corresponding to the Greek: ἥς ἐμπόδιον.....πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ σκοπὸν (*P. G.* 1233; A 125).

(δ) The first few lines in c. 37, on Elpidius (p. 975): ἴδον δὲ καὶ ἕτερον.....τὸ ἄρος τοῦ Λουκᾶ (*P. G.* 1211 B; A 106). Not inserted in Lipomanus' ed.

(ε) The concluding lines of the whole book (p. 983): ἀλλὰ τοῦτον κατήσχυεν κ.τ.λ. to the end (*P. G.* 1259).

¹ I give the pagination of ed. 2, indicated in Migne: for ed. 1 it is merely necessary to subtract 6.

The MSS. of this version are very numerous; I have been able to examine, or procure adequate information concerning the following. I am indebted to Mr Havelock Ramsay for the information concerning the Roman and Cassinese MSS.

- (i) **British Museum** *Cott. Faust.* A xi.
- (ii) " " *Royal* 5. F. v.
- (iii) **Paris** *Fonds lat.* 5314.
- (iv) **Cambridge** Trinity Coll. B. 2. 30.
- (v) " " King's Coll. 4.
- (vi) **Dublin** Trinity Coll. C. 2. 9.
- (vii) **Vatican** *Regin.* 432.
- (viii) **British Museum** *Harl.* 4719.
- (ix) **Vatican** *Urb.* 396.
- (x) " " *Lat.* 1199¹.
- (xi) **Paris** *Fonds lat.* 5386.
- (xii) **Vatican** *Regin.* 589.
- (xiii) **Paris** *Fonds lat.* 3588.
- (xiv) " " " 5623.
- (xv) " " " 12277.
- (xvi) **Biblioteca Vittore Emanuele** *S. Croce* 73.

(Bernard in his *Catalogi Librorum MSS. Angliae, etc.*, Oxford, 1697, mentions two copies at Oxford, two at Hereford, and one at Durham. Besides copies of the full work, several sets of selections are to be found: I may mention the Paris mss. 17568 and N. A. 1491 and 1492, 'Excerpta ex Libro Paschasii diaconi' (cf. *infra* on nos. xii—xv.); Paris 5406 and 5407, the *Sanctorale Guidonis*, a collection of Lives, etc., one section purporting to be taken from the *Paradisi*, but in reality containing also matter from the second Latin version and the *Hist. Mon.*)

Of these MSS., i—vii. present the same general phenomena and the same lacunae as Le Fèvre's text. In viii—xi., however, the two anti-Jerome passages (β , γ) are preserved; the three MSS. viii., ix., x. are closely related, as appears from the fact that they all contain in passage β the corruption *puella* for *Paula*, and that the book ends at the word *fecerunt*, a sentence earlier than in the other copies. In xii—xv. the passage β is altogether omitted, but γ stands in the text. These MSS. are akin to Rosmer's *Monach.* mss. 209 and 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

¹ See the list of MSS. in the *Index* for nos. 209 and 212 *et seq.*, where I have ascertained that the numbers 1199 and 12277 are contained in the two latter MSS.

they attribute the work to Paschasius the Deacon, and have prefixed his Letter to Eugypius the Presbyter. No. xvi. is an abridgment of the book, with some changes of order; at the end are appended a few extracts from Socrates IV. 23 in a Latin translation. These sixteen MSS. all represent the same text as the printed editions of the *Paradisus*. Certain corruptions run through these MSS. In the chapter on Pambo (A 10) there are four notices of a monk named Origen; in the Latin he is named only on the first occasion; on the second the name is altogether omitted, and on the third and fourth it is turned into Paul. Also the Pachon, who appears in A 29, is in the Latin turned into Pachomius, except in the three Paris 'Excerpta ex libro Paschasii diaconi' (see Note appended to list of MSS. p. 60), in which the true form of the name occurs.

The following four MSS. form a group quite by themselves:

- (xvii) **Monte Cassino** *Cod.* 50.
- (xviii) " " *Cod.* 348.
- (xix) **Biblioteca Vittore Emanuele** *S. Croce* 41.
- (xx) **Monte Cassino** *Cod.* 143.

In the *Bibl. Casinensis* II. 40—42 a full list is given of the chapters in xvii., and in Tabella I. a facsimile of the writing; but no extracts are printed in the *Florilegium*. Dom Amelli, the Claustral Prior of Monte Cassino, informs me that in the forthcoming part of the *Bibliotheca* considerable extracts will be printed from the other MS. (xviii.). Mr Ramsay has very kindly sent me several extracts from, and notes upon this group of MSS. The first point to be noticed is that the three MSS. xvii., xviii., xix. are clearly derived from a common ancestor, from which the leaf containing the passage in cc. 2 and 3 (= A 12—14): 'Esca vero ejus...necessarium exhibebat' (Rosweyd, 947—8; cf. *P. G.* xxxiv. 1034 B—1035 C), had been torn out; for the text in all three MSS. runs on continuously: 'semper ulceribus. uideres' etc. It is clear, too, that xvii. was copied directly from xviii.¹ The three MSS. are all written in a Lombard hand. Floss attributes xix. to the beginning of the ninth century²; but Reifferscheid (*Die römisch. Bibl.*, Sitz. Akad. Wien. L. 772) assigns it to the tenth. Dom

¹ A blank occurs in xvii., exactly corresponding to an erasure in xviii.

² *P. G.* xxxiv. 14.

Amelli places xvii. and xviii. in the eleventh century. No. xx. contains a large miscellaneous collection of *Apophthegmata*, extracts from the *Hist. Laus.* (both versions) and the *Hist. Mon.* and from other Lives. This MS. also is in Lombard writing of the eleventh century; its contents are enumerated in the *Bibl. Casinensis* (III. 271—281), and extracts are printed in the *Florilegium* attached to the volume. Dom Amelli tells me that the text of the passages from the *Paradisus* agrees with that of xvii. and xviii. We thus have the means of comparing the text of these MSS. with that found in the others. I give a list of the passages printed in the *Florilegium*:

<i>Florilegium.</i>		<i>cf. Rosweyd, ed. 2.</i>
p. 290	anecdote from A 20	p. 951
p. 299	A 15 and 16	p. 948
p. 305	A 35	p. 961
p. 306	A 83—85	p. 967
p. 313	A 86	p. 968
p. 314	A 6	p. 944

(The account of Pachon, A 29, printed from the end of this MS. on p. 332 of the *Florilegium*, is not taken from either of the Latin versions.)

The text is fundamentally the same as that of MSS. i—xvi. and the printed editions; but there are numerous differences throughout, and sometimes these are very considerable. Dom Amelli has entered the following note in the Monte Cassino Catalogue: "Quae autem hos inter codices et editionem (Migne) discrepantia intercedit, collationem cum Graeco textu et novam ex parte translationis recensionem innuere nobis videtur." After a careful study of the problem, Mr Ramsay writes: "The investigation has left me with very little doubt that the text of MSS. Cass. is the older and Rosweyd's the revision." This judgment is based mainly on a review of the Scripture citations, whereof Mr Ramsay sent me a full conspectus comparing the readings of both texts with the Vulgate and the *Septuaginta*. Mr Ramsay writes:

"I have compared the text of the MSS. of Cassino with the Vulgate and the *Septuaginta*, and find that the text of the MSS. is generally more correct than either of the other two. The Vulgate is often wrong, and the *Septuaginta* is often wrong, but the MSS. of Cassino is almost always right. The only instances in which the MSS. is wrong are those in which the Vulgate and the *Septuaginta* are both wrong, and in which the MSS. has adopted the wrong reading. These instances are very few, and they are all in the later part of the work."

very little flavour of Latin Versions of any sort, while the Rosweyd text inclines much more to the language of Latin Versions.

“(2) When the mss. Cass. give only the sense of a passage, Rosweyd gives a real quotation from Scripture.

“(3) When the mss. Cass. give part of a verse or sentence, Rosweyd has the whole.

“(4) Notice also that in several places where the mss. Cass. give only one quotation from Scripture, the Rosweyd text reinforces with a second.

“Is not progression in matters of this sort more likely than retrogression?”

An examination of the conspectus sent me by Mr Ramsay leads me to agree in his interpretation of the phenomena; and a comparison of the passages printed in the *Bibl. Casinensis* with the corresponding parts of Rosweyd's text confirms the view that the latter text is a revision of the former, made, as Dom Amelli suggests, by the aid of a Greek MS. And in regard to the Scripture citations, it is of importance to point out that the differences (2), (3) and (4) mentioned by Mr Ramsay, are due to the process of bringing the Latin more into conformity with the standard Greek text of the Lausiac History.

I think, therefore, it may be taken as established that the authentic text of this Latin version has been best preserved in the Cassinese mss. 50 and 348 and the *S. Croce* MS. 41; and that the text found in the other mss. is a revision in which (1) the Latin was made to approximate more nearly to the Greek text as found in the generality of extant mss., (2) certain roughnesses of style, due to excessive literalness, were smoothed over, and (3) the Scripture citations were to a great extent revised by recognised Latin Versions.

It appeared that the Biblical citations were likely to afford the best ground for a judgment as to the age of the version. Mr Burkitt has kindly made a careful study of them for me from Mr Ramsay's conspectus; and his study will be found in the Note appended to this section. His general conclusions are that the original translator did not definitely use any Latin version of the Bible but made his own translation of the Scripture texts occurring in the Lausiac History; his choice of renderings nowhere seems to be coloured by the Vulgate, but in places it does seem to be coloured by Old Latin, and especially by late African readings. Mr Burkitt thinks that on the whole the evidence points to the hypothesis that the version was made in Africa

and before the end of the fifth century. The revision is quite under Vulgate influence, and therefore the Biblical citations afford no clue to the time at which it was made.

Thus this Latin version in its pure form, as preserved in the Cassinese and *S. Croce* MSS., is seen to be of great value. The Greek text which it represents is in some respects different from any of the types of text that have come down to us; but the discussion of all such matters of detail must be reserved until the general question of the Greek MSS. comes to be treated in the *Introduction* to the Text. In the *S. Croce* MS. 41 the work is attributed to Palladius; so that the introduction of Heraclides' name in connection with the authorship is probably due to the Greek MS. used for the revision¹.

[The Hereford MSS. (O i 3 and P ii 5) are of the same type as i—vii. in the list: cf. p. 60. I have seen them since the above was written.]

Latin Version II.

This is the document which appears as Appendix II. in Rosweyd (cf. *P. L.* LXXIV. 343 ff.). It was the version printed in the earliest editions of the *Vitae Patrum*, copies of which, attributed conjecturally to the decade 1470—1480, are to be found in the British Museum. It is corrupt in various ways. In the first place it is very incomplete, in fact hardly more than a fragment of the work. Only a few lines of the Introductory matter have survived; and the body of the work may be said roughly to consist of the first thirty chapters of A, along with those on Evagrius and Innocent, and the story of the Lector who was calumniated². Thus it contains only about a third of the matter of the Short Recension. On the other hand a considerable amount of additional matter is found in the printed text. Some of these additions may at once be set aside as later interpolations: such are three passages

¹ The threefold corruption in the chapter on Pambo, noted above as occurring in all copies of the revision, does not occur in the original form of the version, which in this respect agrees with the printed Greek texts. Pachon's name, too, is rightly given. Lacunae (a) and (e) occur in the original version.

² The book is made up of the following chapters of A:—1, 2, 3, 29, 4, 5, 12, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21 (next come two chapters not found in any other redaction; then) 6, 22, 26, 25, 26, 27, 30, 103, 141.

in cc. 9 and 10 on the two Macarii, introduced verbally from cc. 28 and 29 of Rufinus' translation of the *Historia Monachorum*¹; and the whole of c. 20 (pp. 999—1001), which consists of nineteen *Apophthegmata*, some of which are from the version found in Books III. and VII. of Rosweyd. Other additions, which cannot perhaps be so summarily disposed of, are:

(a) Pp. 986, 987², c. 4, on Ammonius the Tall (A 12), in the first paragraph and the last three.

(β) P. 988, c. 6, on Benjamin (A 13), two apophthegmata are added; found also in a shorter form in Cotelier's Collection (*P. G.* LXV. 144, nos. 2 and 3).

(γ) Pp. 990, 991, c. 9, on Macarius of Egypt (A 19), two sermons are added, which I have not met with elsewhere; but the first is based upon apophthegma 23 of Macarius in Cotelier's Collection (*P. G.* LXV. 272, or XXXIV. 249).

(δ, ε) P. 994, cc. 11 and 12, on John Colob and Marcianus; these are not found in any other copy of the *Lausiac History*, but the second seems to be based upon a chapter of Theodoret's *Philotheus* (Rosweyd, p. 806).

(ζ) P. 995, c. 14, on Moses the Robber (A 22), a passage describing the circumstances of his conversion.

The following MSS. of this Version are known to me:

- (i) **British Museum Addit. ms. 22562.**
- (ii) **Paris Fonds lat. 10841.**
- (iii) **Vatican Urbin. 48.**
- (iv) **British Museum Addit. ms. 33518.**

(Selections are to be found in the *Sanctorale Guidonis* (Paris mss. 5406 and 5407); and in the *Monte Cassino Codd.* 143 and 324. The latter are of interest inasmuch as the extracts printed in the *Florilegium* attached to the *Bibl. Casinensis* are the only specimens of the version that have been edited from mss. since the first edition. Cod. 143 contains cc. 10 (part), 14 and 16 of the printed text (= A 20—22, 25—27); printed in Tom. III., pp. 294—299. Cod. 324 contains cc. 9, 10 and 4 (= A 19, 20, 12); printed in Tom. v., pp. 325—332:—I have to thank Dom Amelli for sending me an advance proof of this piece.)

Nos. i. and ii. differ only in unimportant points from the printed text³; no. iii. is a copy of the same text, but still more

¹ The interpolated pieces are: 'Alia quoque puella...infirmittatis obstaculo' (989, 990); 'dicebant enim aliquando venisse.....turbaverunt' (990); 'reversus ergo.....non posset' (992).

² The pages, as before, refer to the second edition of Rosweyd.

³ In i. the first and second of the pieces mentioned in Note ¹ as interpolated

corrupt,—cc. 9—13 are wanting, and there are additional interpolations from the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Apophthegmata*; the addition β, however, is not found in this ms. No. iv. (*Addit.* ms. 33518), on the other hand, is of considerable interest. Its date is late twelfth century, but it preserves a purer and earlier type of the text of this version than the other known copies. This appears from the following phenomena presented by it:

(a) In the printed text the Prologue consists only of some twenty lines, taken, in a slightly abridged form, from the beginning of the *Διήγησις*, Πολλῶν πολλὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πρὸς θεὸν ἐλπιδι (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1001); in this ms., while there are certain further compressions, the text comes down somewhat further, τὸ ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς τυγχάνοντας ὠφελήσωσιν (*ibid.* 1003). Moreover, prefixed to the *Διήγησις* are a few lines representing the opening sentence of the Epistle to Lausus: Μακαρίζω down to διδάσκεσθαι θέλεις (*ibid.* 1001).

(b) The story contained in A 6 comes in its proper place in this ms., and not after the Macarii, as in the printed text (c. 13).

(c) Of the additional matter found in the printed text, only the passages marked (a) and (ζ) above occur in the ms.¹ There are, however, throughout the ms. a great number of other interpolations from the *Historia Monachorum*, and one (in c. 10) from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Rufinus (ii. 4). It does not seem necessary to give a list of these manifest interpolations.

It is clear that all these copies of the version are descended from a single and very incomplete archetype, the main characteristics of which may be determined by a comparison of *Addit.* ms. 33518 with the printed text (Appendix II. in Rosweyd). In the archetype the Prologue (attributed in ms. 33518 to "Heraclius episcopus") consisted merely of fragments from the beginning of the Epistle to Lausus and the *Διήγησις*, the Prooemium, Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ, being omitted. The body of the work contained only those chapters of the Lausiaca History found in the printed text². The chapter on Pasco (= Pachon, A 29) had already been transferred to the second place (c. 2) in the archetype. The following

from Rufinus, do not occur; and c. 11 (on John Colob) is inserted between cc. 9 and 10 (on the Macarii). In ii. c. 11 (addition δ) does not occur at all.

¹ The first of the three passages indicated in the note on p. 65 as introduced verbally in c. 9 from Rufinus' *Historia Monachorum*, does indeed occur, but in a different place, at the end of the chapter.

² c. 19 (= A 141) is wanting in ms. 33518. It is noteworthy that in collections of extracts the collectors always turned to Version I. for the portions not found in our redaction of Version II., thus showing that it was imperfect from an early date.

are the only notable additions common to MS. 33518 and the printed text, and therefore derived from the archetype, but not found in any other redaction of the Lausiatic History :

(a) The first paragraph of the chapter on Ammonius the Tall and his Brothers and Sisters (c. 4 = A 12) 'Beatus Ammonius' (Rosweyd, 986) is much fuller than the corresponding part of any other known text.

(b) The conclusion of the same Life is quite different, the two paragraphs 'Quodam uero tempore' and 'Quodam tempore adueniens' taking the place of *P. G.* xxxiv. 1034 B, C: Παλαιὰν δὲ καὶ καινὴν Γραφὴν ἀπεστήθησεν to the end.

[The final paragraph of this chapter, however, as found in the printed text, 'Dicebat sanctus abbas Dioscorus,' does not occur in MS. 33518, and therefore is known to be an interpolation not belonging to the archetype whence our copies have been derived.]

(c) In the Life of Moses the Robber (c. 14 = A 22) there is a paragraph, 'Quodam tempore a quodam uiro religioso' (Rosweyd, 995), describing the circumstances of Moses' conversion, which is proper to this Latin version.

We must try to form some judgment on the nature of these additions. I shall begin with the two passages at the end of the account of Ammonius. It is necessary to print the first of these paragraphs, and I shall give the text as found in *Addit. MS.* 33518 (f. 108):

Quodam uero tempore in heremo edificanti ei cellam superuenit quidam frater et dixit ei: Cur in tali ardore estus affligis te ipsum abba? Respondensque beatus Ammonius, ait: Crede mihi, frater, quia donante gratia Dei sanctas Scripturas memoriae commendavi. *Nam uetus et nouum Testamentum ab ineunte etate ad plenum didici, necnon etiam et sanctorum antiquorum patrum orthodoxorum sacerdotum Domini sexcentas myriadas espositiōnum in lege diuina conscriptas perlegi—sic testabantur ei de hoc et pene omnes in heremo patres—et si uno die satiatu fuerō pane et minime in opere me exercuero, stolidus sensus meus¹ uelut irrationabilium animalium efficitur.*

The portion printed in italics is derived from the Greek text :

Παλαιὰν δὲ καὶ καινὴν Γραφὴν ἀπεστήθησεν· καὶ ἐν συγγράμμασιν ἀνδρῶν λογίων Ὁργάνου καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Πιερίου καὶ Στεφάνου διήλθεν μυριάδας ἑξακοσίας. ταῦτα δὲ μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι τῆς ἐρήμου πατέρες.

¹ Printed text: extollitur sensus meus et.

The Latin would be much improved by the omission of the part taken from the Greek, and it is perfectly evident that it has been made up out of the text of Palladius and an anecdote or apophthegm which I have not as yet been able to trace. Whether the corruption already existed in the Greek copy from which the version was made, or arose in the Latin, it is impossible to say: but it certainly cannot be looked upon as preserving a more authentic form of the text.

The next paragraph, 'Quodam tempore adueniens sanctus Euagrius' etc. (cf. Rosweyd, p. 987), is but a longer form of an anecdote given by Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* IV. 23 ad fin.); it may be an expansion of Socrates' story. Its position, appended to a piece evidently spurious, forbids us to even contemplate the possibility of its being authentic.

The additional passage in the chapter on Moses the Robber which purports to describe the circumstances of his conversion and repentance, is just the sort of commonplace which anyone wishing to improve the occasion might have written; it may safely be attributed to a scribe.

There remains only the opening passage in the account of Ammonius. Here the fresh information is really new and quite precise:—Ammonius' elder brother Dioscorus had been elected bishop; they had three sisters (not two); the elder sister was mighty in the Scriptures, and spent the night in reading and contemplation; three other women lived with the sisters, and three very erudite and eloquent men with the brothers; the brothers saw no other women, and the sisters no other men (Rosweyd, 986). I am unable to offer any suggestions that throw light upon the origin or source of this passage; but after seeing that all the other additional passages found in this version have turned out to be interpolations, we can hardly be disposed to look upon this as more authentic than its fellows¹.

¹ The copy found in the *Sanctorale Guidonis* (Paris ms. 5406 f. 238, or 5407 f. 257) might at first sight seem to afford a proof that this passage also had been subjected to interpolation; for it there approximates very nearly to the normal Greek form. But on inspection it is clear that the text of the *Sanctorale* had been reduced to that form by the aid of the *Paradisus*, and that in this place it is an amalgamation of the two Latin versions.

Mr Burkitt's examination of the Scripture citations leads him to the conclusion that the version is not later than the seventh century and may be much earlier, but there is no clue to the locality where it was made.

In § 12 it will be pointed out that there are clear affinities between the Greek text from which this Latin version was made and that which (as will there be shown) underlies the Coptic version. This type of the text was an early one; and the Latin version, after due allowance for corruptions has been made, bears witness to the fact that it differed in many of its readings from our extant Greek texts. Whence it appears that Tillemont's unfavourable estimate of Version II.—"généralement cette traduction est peu assurée" (*Mémoires* VIII. 812),—must be revised, in view of the fresh information now available.

To sum up the results of the investigation into the Latin versions:—

- (1) Latin Version I. in its primitive state must rank among the earliest and most important of the authorities for the text.
- (2) Latin Version II., although we are not able to arrive at equally definite conclusions regarding it, is of considerable antiquity and value.
- (3) Both versions represent lost Greek MSS. which contained types of the text at once early and in some respects unique.

NOTE.

The Biblical Text represented by the Rosweyd Recension and by the Monte Cassino MSS. of the Latin Version I.

(By F. C. BURKITT, M.A.)

R denotes the Rosweyd text, C that of the mss. *S. Croce* 41, *Monte Cass.* 50 and 348. (The references are to ed. 2 of Rosweyd, reprinted in Migne *P. L.* LXXIV. ; for ed. 1 of Rosweyd, subtract 6 in each reference.)

A careful comparison of C and R amply verifies the correctness of Mr Ramsay's general proposition. As far as the Biblical passages are concerned we may regard C as faithfully preserving the original translation, while R represents a revised text. It is also clear that R has been assimilated to the standard Greek text of the Lausiac History. But I doubt whether the reviser had anything but his memory to help him in correcting and translating the Greek, and I think it is improbable that he was accustomed to use any Latin Biblical text beyond the ordinary Vulgate.

We must think of the author of the Rosweyd text as sitting with a ms. of the ordinary Greek text of the 'History' before him, from which he from time to time corrects a Latin ms. akin to those of Monte Cassino. The resultant readings (R) of his ms. will thus be either (1) *literal translations of the ordinary Greek*, or (2) *the readings of C unchanged*, or (3) *a mixture of the peculiarities of C with corrections derived from the Greek*. The only readings of R that can tell us anything about the Biblical texts known to the reviser are those which differ from C. Out of these, only those which are not a literal rendering of the Greek or which strikingly coincide with some well marked Latin text have any significance.

... this standard, the ... which seems to shew the ... The quotation is ... the words that ... *spiritus meus* ...

several of the later Latin Fathers together with Novatian¹. It may possibly have been known to the reviser from Cassian, who quotes it together with the Vulgate text of the same passage. But a still more probable hypothesis is that the text of C has been abbreviated at this point. C does not present a rival variant to R, but simply leaves out the second quotation. Possibly, therefore, the fuller text of R is here that of the original translation, as in the parallel case of the quotation from Mc ix 35 (Mt xxiii 11) in R 964.

On the other hand there are abundant signs of the reviser's familiarity with the Vulgate. In four passages of the Psalms (xxiii 3, 4; xlix 16; xc 10; ciii 19—21) he alters C to agree verbally with the Greek, using the exact words of the ordinary Vulgate. In the long adaptation of Rom i 21—28 he sticks closely to the Vulgate renderings, and in the list of the Fruits of the Spirit (Gal v 22, 23) his alterations of C are all in the direction of the purer Vulgate text². At the same time, most of his Biblical passages contain some slight verbal deviations from the Vulgate, generally quite unsupported elsewhere. Thus in Ecclus vii 40 R gives us *in perpetuum* for *in aeternum*, and in Jn v 14 *noli amplius peccare* for *iam noli peccare*³. But these are just the sort of variations which characterise quotations made from memory; they do not go to prove the use of any special exemplar.

One variation between C and R seems to be due to palaeographical error. In Prov xxiv 27 (42) *ἐτοιμαζε εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ παρασκευάζου εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν* is rendered in C *praepara ad perfectionem opera tua et esto ad agrum paratus*, but for the last three words R has *in agro operator*, which is quite different both from the Vulgate and from the Old Latin⁴. It looks as if we had here a corruption of *in agro paratus*, which if written *inagropat* might easily be expanded into *in agro operator*⁵.

When we turn from the peculiarities of the Rosweyd text to the general character of the Latin translation in its original form, *i.e.* the text of C, we find ourselves in quite another atmosphere. In C, as in R, the translator is mainly following the Greek of the Lausiac History; but while the Biblical vocabulary of R is largely that of the Vulgate, there is no sign that the Vulgate was used in producing the text of C. On the whole, the choice of renderings in C seems to me to indicate an African source.

But it is obvious that there could have been no intention of assimilating the quotations to any form of the Latin Bible. Even where the quotation is fairly exact the renderings are often those of no Latin text, and in many

¹ The authorities are Novatian, S. Augustine, S. Fulgentius, Cassian, Cassiodorus, and S. Gregory.

² The true order according to *am, fuld*, S. Augustine's *Speculum*, etc., is:—*charitas, gaudium, pax, longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas, fides, modestia, continentia*.

³ The confusion in R 964 between Mc ix 35 and Mt xxiii 11 arises from the Greek text of the 'History,' which has *μέγας* for *πρόωτος* and *δοῦλος* for *ἐσχατος*.

⁴ *Speculum* 655: 'praeparare in agro.'

⁵ See Thompson's *Palaeography*, p. 102.

cases we find variants and corruptions which are scarcely characteristic of the Latin Bibles of the 4th and 5th centuries. A few examples will make this clear. In the list of the nine 'Fruits of the Spirit' (Gal v 22, 23) no less than four, viz. 'laetitia,' 'benevolentia,' 'abstinentia,' 'simplicitas,' are found in no other Latin text. In 1 Cor vii 16 'maritum' for 'uirum' is unbiblical; so also are 'pro uanitate' for 'in uano' in Ps xxiii 4 (= ἐπὶ ματαιῶν), 'relatio' for 'narratio' in Ecclesi viii 11, 'iam *desiste* peccare' for 'iam *noli* peccare' in Jn v 14, and many others¹. Other peculiarities of C can best be explained from the Greek of the Lausiac History. Thus *nullum in terris uocetis magistrum* is a literal translation of the Greek μὴ καλέσατε διδάσκαλον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς of the 'History,' (c. 32 of Migne's text,) a remarkable variant of Mt xxiii 8 also attested by Origen (*Delurue* iii 182). Again, in Ecclesi xix 27 the wording of C 942 is different from the Old Latin, but all the peculiarities of the text are reproduced in the printed Greek of Palladius. The variations in this verse are important, because they are supported by S. Clement of Alexandria, whose deviation here from the text of all our mss. of the Septuagint is thus shewn not to be the result of accident or carelessness².

With these examples before us we may go a step further, and charge the ordinary Greek text of the Lausiac History with occasional assimilation to the standard texts of the Bible. Thus there is a paraphrase of Mt ix 12 in both C and R 965, and in C 941 there is a paraphrase of Rom xiv 23; but the Greek gives us in each case an ordinary quotation from Scripture. But since in the passages previously mentioned the Latin paraphrastic quotation turned out to be a literal translation of the paraphrastic quotation of the Greek of the Lausiac History, we have definite grounds for supposing that in these other passages the Greek has suffered, and that an original allusion has become a strict quotation in the standard text³.

In at least one instance the Latin Palladius has a reading which certainly implies a different underlying Greek in the Biblical text from which the quotation was originally made. In C 950 we find *nec uerbera appropinquabunt corpori tuo* where the Greek of Ps xc 10 and the ordinary text of the Lausiac History have καὶ μάστιξ οὐκ ἐγγίει τῷ σκηνώματι σου. Evidently therefore, as Mr Ramsay points out, the text of C implies a variant σώματι for σκηνώματι. But this variant is no more supported in Latin than in Greek, so that there is not the slightest reason for taking *corpori* as the reading which is so familiar to the translator. With greater probability

¹ e.g. the allusions to Rom iv 13, Esai xl 12, 1 Cor ix 25.

² Similarly the wording of the allusion to Phil i 23 in C 940 comes nearer to the ἀγαθὴν ἐπιθυμίαν of Palladius than to any Biblical text, and in Gal i 18 *ascendi* corresponds to ἀνέβην, the word in the Vulgate being ἀνήλθον or ἀπήλθον. The allusion to Ecclesi xxxi. 10 in Palladius includes the phrase ἀνέμωσεν τὴν καρδίαν ἐξ ἧς ἐβλάστησεν ἡ ἀκαθάρτη ἐπιθυμία, the origin of which is *sententia* in C. The allusion to Ps lxxviii 10 in C 943 is also supported by the ordinary text of the Vulgate.

³ The allusion to Ps lxxviii 10 in C 943 is also supported by the ordinary text of the Vulgate.

we may here suppose that he here blindly followed his Greek copy of Palladius¹.

More than two-thirds of the quotations in the older Latin version of the Lausiatic History are thus seen to contain no element which throws light on the question of the Latin Bible known to the translator. We have learnt to believe that he faithfully rendered the Greek before him, and that this Greek was to some extent unlike that printed in Migne. We cannot therefore expect to find in the remaining quotations anything like accurate extracts from any Old Latin text. But the choice of renderings, especially in such parts of the Bible as the Psalms, may be considered here and there to afford some indication of the text familiar to the translator. Yet even so, the quotation of Ps cxlv 5 (C R 944) in the form *Dominus sapientes caecos facit* should make us especially cautious. This represents the Greek σοφοῖ, while according to S. Augustine and S. Jerome the specifically Latin reading was (as it still is) *Dominus illuminat caecos*².

The significant quotations and allusions are as follows :

Gen iii 1 (C 975)

Serpens autem *sapientissimus* ferarum omnium in terris erat.

sapientissimus Latin mss. known to Aug
sapientior Lucif Amb Aug $\frac{1}{3}$ Hier $\frac{1}{2}$
prudentissimus Aug $\frac{2}{3}$ Hier $\frac{1}{2}$

The Greek is φρονιμώτατος. 'sapiens' for φρόνιμος is a well-established O.L. rendering, e.g. 1 Regn ii 10 v, Sap vi 24 (26), Mt vii 24 (not in x 16).

In this verse *ferarum* for *bestiarum* is unsupported elsewhere.

Ps xlix 16 (C 975)

Quam ob rem *tu* iustitias *exponis* meas,
 et cur testamentum meum ex tuo ore procedit ?

exponis Tert Cypr Opt Aug $\frac{1}{4}$
enarras Hil Amb Aug $\frac{3}{4}$ Hier (and the Latin Psalters)

Except Tert, the authorities which have *exponis* also omit *tu*. Tert Cypr Aug $\frac{3}{4}$ have *iustificaciones* for *iustitias*.

In this verse *quam ob rem*, *cur*, and *ex tuo ore procedit* are unsupported elsewhere.

¹ The use of σκήνωμα (like σκῆνος) for the 'earthly tabernacle' of the body would facilitate the change to a Greek, but σκήνωμα is never rendered by *corpus* in any form of the Latin Bible (exc. in 2 Pet i 14, 15, where there is also a Greek variant).

² No argument can be drawn from Job xl 3 (975) or Prov xxiv 27 (940). They differ so much from the extant O. Latin (*Spec* 436, *Priscillian* 12; *Spec* 655) that there can be little doubt that they are mere independent renderings of the Greek of the Lausiatic History.

Ps ciii 20 (C 959)

Posuisti tenebras et facta est nox,
in ipsa discurrunt omnes *siluarum* ferae.

siluarum Hier $\frac{1}{2}$ (and the Latin Psalters)

siluae Aug Hier $\frac{1}{2}$

The Greek is $\rho\acute{o}\upsilon \delta\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\upsilon$ so that *siluarum* may be a reminiscence of the Latin Bible. But as the other Latin version of Palladius also has *siluarum*, the underlying Greek may have been a plural¹. *Discurrunt* and *ferae* are here unbiblical.

Mt iv 9 C (983)

Omnia tibi ista donabo, si me *pronus* uolueris adorare.

prostratus k Aug

procidens a b c f g Hil Amb

cadens d Vg

Here C comes somewhat nearer the 'African' *prostratus* than the 'European' *procidens*, but *donabo* for *dabo* is not found elsewhere in this passage (cf. Mt xviii 32 *ff*¹).

Mt vii 16 (C 941)

Ex fructibus eorum agnoscimus eos

ex fr. k c *ff*¹ Lucif Op. Impf

a fr. a b f g q Vg Hil Amb Aug

Here *ex* is 'African,' but the coincidence may be accidental. *Agnoscimus* for *cognoscetis* is here unbiblical.

Mc ii 18 ; Lc v 30 (C 941)

Magister uester cum publicanis et peccatoribus *epulatur* ac potat.

The mss. of the Gospels have *manducat et bibit*, but '*epulatur*' may have been suggested by '*epulum*,' the word used by the predominantly African mss. *c* and *e* in Lc v 29 instead of '*cenam*' or '*conuiuium*.'

Lc ix 62 (C 966)

Nemo super aratrum manum suam *posuit* et retro *aspiciens* aptus fuit regno *caelorum*

Aug. *Ioh* 122 and *Serm* 100 and *c. Faust* 22 has:—*Nemo ponens* ('imponens' *c. Faust*) *manum super aratrum et respiciens retro aptus est regno caelorum*. In this verse '*aspiciens*' for '*respiciens*' or '*attendens*' is only found elsewhere in the mss. of the Vulgate.

¹ The conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the only other mss. (containing) which contain this single character in the text (the text occurs), which is different from either of the two above, is the text which stands: *... nsa pertransi...* (the text is in the margin of the *III* *...ilegitus* ...)

The resemblance of C to S. Augustine is all the more striking, as the true Old Latin version had a text which transposed the clause, so that the verse ran: 'No man looking back and putting his hand to the plough is fit for the kingdom of God.' This reading is found in D a b c e q Cyp (Hil), as well as Clem. Alex.

On the other hand the reading of C 966 and Aug seems to be supported by S. Optatus, a 4th cent. African.

We must not however base too much on this verse. The occurrence of *aspiciens* in C 966 shews that the translator is not blindly following the Old Latin, and if (as is quite possible) the original Greek of the Lausiac History had τῶν οὐρανῶν for τοῦ θεοῦ the significant coincidences of C with Aug dwindle into the choice of *ponens* instead of *mittens* to render (ἐπι)βαλῶν. The verse was naturally much used in monastic circles at this period, and may well have been current in a non-biblical form with 'Kingdom of Heaven' for 'Kingdom of God'; as for instance when Marcus the Egyptian monk thus quotes it as the peroration of his book *De Lege Spirituali*. Palladius gives the verse in the conversation of John of Lycopolis, as conveyed to him through the interpreter, so that it hardly makes a claim to be considered as an exact quotation.

1 Cor iii 18 (C 966)

Si quis ex uobis *putat se esse sapientem* in hoc mundo, sit stultus ut sapiens fiat.

putat sapientem se esse Cypr ²/₂
uidetur sapiens d₂ Vg Amb Ambst Zeno

The Greek is δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι. The use of 'putare se' in C seems to suggest that the translator was influenced by the African text, but the position of *ex uobis* is not otherwise attested, nor the use of *ex* for *in*.

Slight as these indications are in comparison with the evidence which shews the translator's general independence of all Biblical texts, they all point in one direction, namely to Africa. In the absence therefore of anything to suggest another locality we may legitimately assume as a working hypothesis that the first Latin translation of the Lausiac History was made in Africa, some time before the end of the 5th century. Where the Rosweyd form of the translation was manufactured there is no evidence to shew, at least so far as the Biblical quotations are concerned.

Note on Latin Version II.

The few quotations in this version seem, like those in Version I, to have been made from the Greek without any marked assimilation to the Latin Bible. Thus in Ps xvii 38 (996) *quiescam* for ἀποστραφήσομαι is quite unbiblical. In Ps ciii 20 (985) we find the O. Latin readings *posuisti* and *siluarum* for *silvae*. Yet it seems more simple to take *siluarum* here as a literal translation of the original Greek, which must have once had a plural, as we have seen from Version I. In the Prophets a reference to Isai xl 12 (987) contains the Vulgate word *molem*.

From the New Testament there are only five passages alluded to or quoted, and of these only three are significant. It is evident that no certain conclusions can be built upon so small a foundation. At the same time we may notice *mansueti* for *mītes* in Mt v 4 (985); *iniusti* and *hereditabunt* for *iniqui* and *possidebunt* in 1 Cor vi 9 (995). In Mt v 7 (997) the phrase *ipsi misericordiam consequentur* is used as in the Vulgate. Of these renderings, the variants in 1 Cor vi 9 are both of them in *r* Aug and Iren^{lat}. The reference in S. Augustine is to the 4th book of *De Doctrina Christiana*, published in 426 AD, so that this form of the text was still current after the first quarter of the 5th century. *Mansueti* for *mītes* in Mt v 4 is a late non-African rendering which did not get taken up into the Vulgate; it is found in *f g h q* and Hilary, but not in the earlier European texts. The only one of the O. Latin authorities which has it and also has the Vulgate reading in Mt v 7 is Cod. Brixianus (*f*), usually supposed to represent a North Italian text.

Version II. thus seems to be earlier than the general victory of the Vulgate in the 7th century and may be much earlier, but the evidence is not sufficient for us to guess at the locality from the quotations alone. Moreover the renderings are chiefly attested by documents concerning the text of which more light is sadly needed by investigators of the history of the Bible in Latin.

F. C. B.

§ 10. THE SYRIAC VERSIONS.

Anan-Isho's "Paradise of the Fathers."

If it is possible to make here a more careful study than has hitherto been made of the Lausiac History in Syriac, and to clear up some confusions and misconceptions, this will be mainly due to the kindness of Dr Budge, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, who placed at my disposal his fine codex of the *Paradise* of Anan-Isho, described in his edition of Thomas of Marga's *Book of the Governors*¹.

This Thomas (who flourished about 840) relates that Anan-Isho, a monk of the great Nestorian monastery of Beth Abhe in Mesopotamia in the middle of the seventh century, made a collection of the current Syriac *Apophthegmata*, or Sayings and Anecdotes of the leading Egyptian monks, and incorporated this compilation in a larger collection, described by Thomas of Marga in these words: "He arranged the whole work in two volumes; in the first part were the histories of the holy Fathers composed by Palladius and Jerome, and in the second part were the Questions and Narratives of the Fathers which he himself had brought together. And he called this book 'Paradise'."²

¹ *The Book of the Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas of Marga* (3 Vols. 1898), II. 192—206. The contents of the *Paradise* are there given: a number of extracts are printed from it as illustrations in various parts of the work.

[This section was in print before the appearance of Père Bedjan's edition of the *Paradise: Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Tomus VII., vel *Paradisus Patrum*. Edidit Paulus Bedjan, Paris, 1897.]

² *Book of the Governors*, Book II. c. xv. The above translation is from Vol. II. of Dr Budge's edition, p. 191; a Latin translation is given by Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III. I. p. 146.

Besides Dr Budge's copy of the *Paradise* there is one in the Vatican Library (*Codex Syriacus* CXXVI.), whereof a table of contents is given by J. S. Assemani in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, and a much fuller account, with *initia* etc. of all the chapters, in the *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Catalogus* of S. E. and J. S. Assemani¹. I have not seen the Vatican MS.; but from the information supplied by the Assemanis, it is possible to determine how far it agrees in its contents with Dr Budge's copy, and how far it differs from it,—at any rate sufficiently for our present purpose².

Thomas of Marga says the *Paradise* was divided into two volumes or parts; in both MSS. however it is divided into four books. But this discrepancy causes no difficulty; for in the MSS. Book I. is the Lausiaca History, Book II. is a similar collection of lives also attributed to Palladius, and Book III. is the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* attributed, as is usual in the Syriac copies, to St Jerome; thus these three Books make up the first volume spoken of by Thomas of Marga as containing the Histories of Palladius and Jerome. Book IV. of the MSS. is Anan-Isho's own collection of *Apophthegmata*, and corresponds to the second volume in Thomas' description of the *Paradise*.

The character of Book III. and Book IV. is sufficiently evident from what has just been said, and they will be further discussed, Book III. in Appendix I., and Book IV. later on in the present section. But before we turn to Book I., the Lausiaca History, it will be well to ascertain the real nature of Book II., which also claims to be by Palladius. In the first place it is necessary to remark that whereas the other three Books are substantially the same in the two MSS., Book II. shows considerable differences. In the following comparison the Vatican MS. will be spoken of as *v*, Dr Budge's as *b*; it will usually be most convenient to cite the

¹ *Bibl. Orient.* i. 608—9; *Bibl. Apost. Vat. Catal.* iii. 156—171. *Codd. Syriaci* cclxxii.—ccclxxiv. contain a modern copy of *Cod.* cxxvi. (Mai, *Scriptorum veterum* Collectio, v. *45).

There is also a copy at Paris (*Fonds syriaque* 317), which Bedjan used as the basis of Books I., II. (in part) and III. of his edition. It is not included in the present edition, being no doubt a recent acquisition. Bedjan does not tell us how it differs from the Vatican MS., but he says that the redaction is identical with that of the Vatican MS. (see his *Introduction*, p. 100). The following list of differences is given by Bedjan (p. 100):

Long Recension (A) of Palladius. I proceed to compare Book II. in *v* and *b*.

<i>v</i> .	<i>b</i> .
c. 1. Blessed Mark the Ascete (from A 20, 21).	c. 1. = <i>v</i> 1.
c. 2. Eulogius and the Paralytic (A 25, 26).	c. 2. Jerome's <i>Vita Pauli</i> (Eulogius occurs in I. 65).
cc. 3—8. Stories not from Lausiac History.	} cc. 3—13. = <i>v</i> 3—13.
cc. 9—12. Lausiac History (A 104, 22, 87, 88).	
cc. 13—42. Chapters partly to be recognised as taken from the Greek collections of <i>Apophthegmata</i> , partly matter which I cannot identify.	c. 1 [*] . Evagrius (A 86). (Not in <i>v</i> at all.)
	c. 15. Jerome's <i>Vita Malchi</i> .
	cc. 16—20. = <i>v</i> 21, 22, 41, 42.
	cc. 21—40. The Ἀσκητικόν or History of Pachomius, found as an independent work in Syriac mss. at the British Museum, and printed by Bedjan (<i>Acta</i> , v. 122—176); it is a translation of the Greek work printed by the Bollandists under the title <i>Paralipomena de S. Pachomio</i> (<i>Acta SS. Maii</i> , Tom. III. App. 51*—62*). (Not in <i>v</i> .)
	c. 41. "Of Palladius the Writer," in reality A 151, "Of the Brother who lived with me," down to the Epilogue proper. (In <i>v</i> in its right place at end of Book I.) ¹

A Syriac ms. at Paris contains extracts from Book II. of the *Paradies*²: cc. 1—6 = *v* 14—19; 7 = *v* 25 (apparently); 8 and 9 differ from all in either *v* or *b*; 10—14 are from Book III. Thus the Paris ms. lends some support to the shape of Book II. as found in *v*. But, whatever be its true shape,—a point for the determination of which sufficient evidence is not yet forthcoming,—it is clear that the title ascribing the collection to Palladius cannot be

¹ [Bedjan's Bk II. is a mixture of *b* and *v*: he omits from *b* the *Vita Pauli* and *Asceticon Pachomi* (both printed already in vol. v. of his series), but retains all the other matter found in *b* or in *v*. Thus his Bk II. contains 47 chapters.]

² Zotenberg, *Fonds syriaque*, Cod. 195.

correct, and that in neither *v* nor *b* can more than a few chapters of Book II. really be his. The following are the true Palladian sections of Book II. in the two MSS. :—

<i>v</i>	<i>b</i>	
1 = 1		Marcus (from A 20 and 21— <i>τοῦτο τὸ παράδοξον...εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος</i> , P. G. xxxiv. 1065 B).
2 = (i. 65)		Eulogius and the Paralytic (A 25, 26).
9 = 9		Adolius of Tarsus (A 104), called Aurelius.
10 = 10		Moses the Aethiopian (A 22).
11 = 11		Pior (A 87).
12 = 12		Moses the Libyan (A 88).
—	14	Evagrius (A 86).
(i. 65) = 41		The Brother (A 151).

We come now to the Lausiaca History as it stands in Book I. of Anan-Isho's *Paradise*. I shall compare it with the Short Recension (B), which, for convenience sake, will be referred to in its Latin translation, as printed in Rosweyd (p. 939 ff.). An examination of the work chapter by chapter yields the following results:

Changes of Order—

In the first half of the work, to the end of the account of Pachomius and the Monks and Nuns of Tabennisi (B 21, A 42), the order of the Greek has been substantially preserved: three chapters from the end of the book (B 41, 56^b, 57=A 105, 140, 141) have been put forward into the earlier portion, among a group of chapters with which they agree in subject-matter. But from the point indicated above, the Syriac order is altogether different from the Greek, though the minor grouping of the chapters is sometimes preserved. The Epilogue (*Ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.* P. G. xxxiv. 1258) has been transferred to the middle of the book, after the account of Pachomius and his monks: the Epilogue ends at the same point as in Latin Version I, *ἐὰν πεσῶν προσκυνήσης μοι*. The apology on "Those who fell away" (*ἀναγκαίαν*, 1091 A) is placed before instead of after the story of Valens (A 31).

Omissions in the Syriac—

The following sections had evidently fallen out of the copy used by Anan-Isho, or out of one of its ancestors:

B 7, 8, 9=A 22—27.

B 24—27=A 83—88.

B 29, 30, 32=A 125—134, 102 and 104, 113.

But all except the chapters on Paul of Pherme, Paula and the holy women, Julian and Philoromus (B 8, 29, 30^a, 32=A 23 and 24, 125—134, 102, 113) are found either at the very end of Book I. or in Book II.; Evagrius (B 25=A 86) is found in Book II. in *b*, but not in *v*. B 45=A 96 is wanting in *b*, but found in *v* 51; and B 56^b=A 140 is wanting in *v*, but found in *b* 28. These are the only lacunæ in Book I. of the *Paradise* which seem worthy of mention.

Additions in the Syriac—

The third Introductory piece in *b*, entitled "Counsels to Lausus," being the Greek *Διήγησις, Πολλῶν πολλά* (and in *v* forming one with the preceding piece, the *Προοίμιον*), has some lines prefixed which I have not met with elsewhere.

In the Life of Ephraim Syrus (B 28, A 101), ten or twelve lines are added at the beginning, and about half as many at the end, from one of the Greek Lives of Ephraim, not by Palladius¹. (Printed by Tullberg, p. 9 ff.)

At the end of the account of Macarius Junior (B 4, A 17) is a short passage not found in the Greek, printed in part by Budge (II. 198).

At the end of Macarius of Alexandria is a note by the Collector².

In the Epilogue (cf. above) is a short addition on "Those who fell away."

"The blessed woman Tehesia" (*b* 30, *v* 27); the well known and beautiful story of "St Thais the Harlot" (Rosweyd, 374).

"Of a Virgin of Caesarea" (*b* 27, not found in *v*); this I have not been able to identify. [Not printed by Bedjan.]

This is the sum total of additions made in the Syriac *Paradise* to the Greek of the Short Recension³.

In one part of the Syriac copies it might be difficult to identify the chapters from their titles; I therefore give the following table:

<i>b</i>	<i>v</i>	B	A
26	25	16	34
27	—	—	(?) —
28	—	56 ^b	140
29	26	57	141
30	27	—	(Thais) —

¹ Cf. *Opera Ephraem*, ed. Assemani, i. xxix.; a Latin translation by Gerard Vossius may be found in Rosweyd (167), and a Syriac, but in a much expanded form, in *Bibl. Orient.* i. 26. (Cf. *Apophthegmata* 2 and 1, *P. G.* lxx. 168.)

² Assemani, *Bibl. Apost. Vat.* III. 160; Budge, II. 52. [Bedjan, 80.]

³ Assemani's statement (*Bibl. Apost. Vat.* III. 161) that the sections on Abraham the Egyptian (*b* 25, *v* 24) and on a Virgin (*b* 29, *v* 26) are Syriac additions, is incorrect; they occur in the Greek texts, A 105 and 141 respectively. Similarly the Preface on "Those who fell away" (properly end of A 31) and Epilogue.

(The chapters of *v* are numbered as in the *Bibl. Orient.*; the numbers differ slightly in the *Bibl. Apost. Vat.*) Timiroun (*b* 37) is Taor (A 138); and Heronion (*b* 46) is Severian (A 114), by a confusion of ω and ϵ . The other titles will present no difficulty.

A mere comparison of the lists of contents given by Assemani and Budge¹ suffices to show that, in spite of differences sometimes considerable, *v* and *b* contain the same work. It has been said above that Assemani (*Bibl. Apost. Vat.* III.) gives the *initia* of all the chapters of *v*: and as Dr Budge has printed a number of extracts from *b*, it is to some extent possible to bring the two texts together, sufficiently at any rate to see that they are substantially the same. Moreover, Professor Tullberg of Upsala, in collaboration with his pupil Lagerström, edited a few chapters of the Syriac *Paradise* from various British Museum and Vatican MSS.²: and it is clear that the readings there recorded under the sign V are those of the Vatican MS. which we are calling *v*. Thus a fuller opportunity of comparing the two texts is afforded. Fortunately the account of Paul the Simple is printed by both Tullberg and Budge³: so that any one may satisfy himself that, making allowance for variants of the usual kind, the two MSS. preserve the same text. M. Rubens Duval, after a critical comparison of the texts in the section thus made generally accessible, pronounces on the whole in favour of *v*: "La copie de M. Budge ne paraît pas valoir le manuscrit du Vatican, qui devra servir de base à l'édition à venir": he indicates, however, cases in which *b* gives "la bonne leçon⁴." The general phenomena of the two MSS. seem to bear out Duval's verdict: for though their common corruptions prove them to be closely related, *b* has certain corruptions of its own not found in *v*:—e.g. the *Vita Antonii* is prefixed to the whole collection, the extra chapter I. 27 is introduced, and the form of Book II. as found in *v* seems to be the more primitive, and is supported by the Paris MS. 195 already mentioned. It remains a matter of doubt how far the archetype of *v* and *b* faith-

¹ Assemani, *Bibl. Apost. Vat.* III. p. 100. Budge, *op. cit.* p. 100.
² Tullberg and Lagerström, *Paradise*, p. 100.
³ Budge, *op. cit.* p. 100. Tullberg, *op. cit.* p. 100.
⁴ Duval, *op. cit.* p. 100.

fully represents Anan-Isho's collection; for our MSS. are all late. We learn from Assemani that *v* dates from the thirteenth century; Dr Budge tells me that the Mosul MS. from which *b* was copied, belongs in his judgment to the fourteenth or fifteenth century; and Zotenberg gives 1470 as the date of the Paris fragment. Thus these MSS. do not bring us within six centuries of the original¹.

But whatever minor corruptions may have crept in, this much may be safely gathered from the two MSS., that Anan-Isho's copy of the Lausiac History was in substance the same work as that which has here been called the Short Recension. It is made up of:—The 3 *Introd.* pieces; then A 1—21, 28—33, 105, 34, 140, 141, 35, 36, 38—42, 151^b (*Epil.*), 117 (*init.*), 136, 37, 137—139, 148, 149, 117, 118, 142, 143, 119—124, 144—147, 114, 135, 115, 43 (less C), 47, 77—82, 89—101, 103, 106—112, 83—85, and 151^a (in *v*) or 25, 26 (in *b*)².

NOTE. Two of the chapters in Book II. of the Vatican copy of Anan-Isho's *Paradise* seem to call for a special mention, in view of questions as to the integrity of our text of the Lausiac History. In A 95 (= B 35, on Paphnutius) we read: Ἐμνήσθημεν δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Στέφανον τὸν ἐκπεσόντα εἰς αἰσχρὴν ἀσωτίαν· καὶ Εὐκάρπιον, καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἡρώνα τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα, καὶ τὰ κατὰ Οὐάλην τὸν Παλαιστίνου, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκῆττει Αἰγύπτου (P. G. xxxiv. 1196 D).

The stories of Hero, Valens, and Ptolemy are told in A 31—33; but of Stephen and Eucarpus not a word has been said—the Stephen spoken of in A 30 is another man. This circumstance may raise a doubt as to whether a portion of the original work has not fallen out of the extant Greek texts. It is therefore interesting to find in Book II. of the Vatican copy of the *Paradise*, though not in Dr Budge's copy, chapters on Stephen and Eucarpus. I am not in a position to supplement Assemani's brief notes (*Bibl. Apost. Vat.* III. 165). The title of c. 27 of Book II. is thus translated by Assemani: "Narrationes de iis qui ex rectis operibus exciderunt propter superbiam et ambitionem. Et primum de Stephano, qui in turpem intemperantiam lapsus est." The *initium* is given in Syriac: "There was a man in Scete named Stephen." Similarly c. 28, "de Eucarpo": "There was also in the desert a certain man named Eucarpus." Can it be that here the Syriac has preserved a portion of the original work which has been lost in the Greek? [Printed by Bedjan, 292—299.]

¹ In Assemani's *Bibl. Mediceae Laurent. et Palat. Cat.* mention is made of an Arabic copy of the *Paradise*, in which Bk. I. is the *Hist. Laus.* (cod. LIX.). This may be an earlier type. [I do not know the date of the Paris MS. 317, used by Bedjan.]

² [There are several errors in Dr Preuschen's list (*op. cit.* 220).]

Anan-Isho did not make a fresh translation of the Lausiac History, but incorporated in his *Paradise* one already widely current. This version I shall call

Syriac Version I.

All the MSS. used by Tullberg contain this version, but he has given us no means of identifying them. The following is a list of the MSS. at the British Museum which preserve portions of it; I trust the list may claim to be practically complete, for I have gone through all the MSS. referred to by Wright under any heading at all likely to include Palladian matter.

(i.) *Additional* ms. 12173 (Wright, DCCCXXIII. 2). The title of the work is: "Histories of the Egyptian Fathers composed by Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, the disciple of Evagrius, at the request of Lausus, the Chamberlain of the Emperor Theodosius." It is not a complete copy: it occupies ff. 118—137 of the ms.: then comes, as if part of the same work, "The sayings of the holy Fathers concerning Humility," and the rest of the ms., to f. 180, is a collection of *Apophthegmata*. The ms. is assigned by Wright to the sixth or seventh century. Contents: The letter to Lausus (*Macari(ω)*), and then the sections corresponding to A 43 (less the matter of C), 47, 77—82, 89—101, 103, 110, 111, 106—108, 117 (*init.*), 136, 138, 139, 117, 118, 142, 143, 148, 149, 151*, 37, 31—33, 105, 34, 140, 141, 35, 36. (This grouping corresponds, to some extent, with that found in Book I. of the *Paradise*.)

ff. 111—117 the Lives of the two Macarii (A 19—21, less Marcus) from the same version, attached without any new title to a set of *Apophthegmata*.

(ii.) *Addit.* ms. 17177 (Wright, DCCCXXV. 2). Date: Century VI. Part II. of this ms. (ff. 61—118) contains a set of Lives described by Wright as "Another work of Palladius or rather of Hieronymus": as a matter of fact, the greater number are from the Lausiac History. Contents: the sections corresponding to A 1, 2, 6, 9 (less the matter of C), 10, 13—16, 18, the short passage from 20 and 21 on Marcus (indicated above under Book II. of the *Paradise*), 28 (less the matter of C), 29, 41, 42, 83—85, 25, 26 [a few Lives from C; and Jerome's *Vita Pauli*].

(iii.) *Addit.* ms. 17173 (Wright, DCCLXII. 3). Date: Century VII. Contents: ff. 43—79): A 43 (less the matter of C), 47, 77—82, 89—95, 97—99, 110, 111, 106—108, 117 (*init.*), 136, 138, 139, 117, 118, 142, 143, 148, 149, 151*, 37, 31—33, 105, 34, 140, 141, 35, 36. [A 28, *Apophthegmata*, *init.*].

(iv.) *Addit.* ms. 17173 (Wright, DCCLXII. 3). Date: Century VI. Contents: ff. 43—79): A 43 (less the matter of C), 47, 77—82, 89—95, 97—99, 110, 111, 106—108, 117 (*init.*), 136, 138, 139, 117, 118, 142, 143, 148, 149, 151*, 37, 31—33, 105, 34, 140, 141, 35, 36. [A 28, *Apophthegmata*, *init.*].

(v.) *Addit.* ms. 17173 (Wright, DCCLXII. 3). Date: Century VI. Contents: ff. 43—79): A 43 (less the matter of C), 47, 77—82, 89—95, 97—99, 110, 111, 106—108, 117 (*init.*), 136, 138, 139, 117, 118, 142, 143, 148, 149, 151*, 37, 31—33, 105, 34, 140, 141, 35, 36. [A 28, *Apophthegmata*, *init.*].

Contents (ff. 9—25): A 31—33, 105, 140 [*Apophthegmata*; Jerome's *Vita Pauli*]; A 86. (f. 69) A. 139.

(vi.) *Addit.* ms. 14577 (Wright, DCCXIII. 17). Date: Century IX. Contents: among a series of *Apophthegmata*, f. 69=A 111 and 105.

(vii.) *Addit.* ms. 14649 (Wright, DCCCCL. 11, 14, 15, 22). Date: Century IX. Contents: f. 102=A 117 (*inü.*), 136, f. 107=A 141, f. 108=A 37, f. 141=A 139.

(viii.) *Addit.* ms. 17172 (Wright, DCCLXXX. 4 a, 6 a). Date: Century IX. Contents: f. 120=A 28 (abridged), f. 164=A 43 (less matter of C), 47.

(ix.) *Addit.* ms. 17183 (Wright, DCCCXII. 22). Date: Century X. Contents: f. 186=A 31, 32.

(x.) *Addit.* ms. 12174 (Wright, DCCCCLX. 6, 10, 23, 77). Date: A.D. 1197. Contents: f. 87=A 20, 21 (less Marcus), f. 124=A 28, f. 184=A 25, 26, f. 448=A 141.

(xi.) *Addit.* ms. 14732 (Wright, DCCCCLXIII. 4, 9, 12, 13). Date: Century XIII. Contents: f. 52=A 28 (abridged as in viii.), f. 129=A 20, 21 (less Marcus:—stated to be by St Jerome), f. 157=A 43 (less matter of C), 47, f. 166=A 86 (cf. hereafter p. 88).

(xii.) *Addit.* ms. 17262 (Wright, DCCCXXXVII. 4). Date: Century XII. Contents: f. 40=A 8 (abridged).

This appears to have been the Syriac Version most widely current, and it is the one which Anan-Isho incorporated in his *Paradise*; fully half is extant only in the *Paradise*.

A study of these MSS. makes it clear that most of the special features of the Syriac *Historia Lausiaca* as found in Book I. of the *Paradise*, are not to be imputed to Anan-Isho or to later scribes, but existed in the MSS. of Version I. from the earliest times.

The peculiar grouping of the chapters in Book I. of the *Paradise* is clearly discernible in mss. i. and iii., both of century VI. or VII. (cf. pp. 83, 84).

The brief section on Mark (the 11 lines from A 20 and 21, *P. G.* xxxiv. 1065 B, cf. p. 80) has been cut out of the chapter on Macarius of Alexandria, not only in the *Paradise*, but also in the copies found in mss. i. and iv. (cent. VI.) and x. and xi.; and it is found as an independent piece, not only in Book II. c. 1 of the *Paradise*, but also in ms. ii. (cent. VI.). Also the passage on "Those who fell away" (A 31 *fn.*) stands in i. as in the *Paradise* (cf. p. 80).

The lacunæ found in Anan-Isho's first book existed also in the copy of the Syriac Lausiatic History from which mss. i. and iii. were derived: in both these mss. there is a gap from A 82 to A 89; A 102, 104, 113, and 125—134 are altogether wanting; the context of A 22—27 does not occur. But it is remarkable to note that five of the missing sections—A 83—85 and 25, 26—those dealing with Serapion and Eulogius, occur together in ms. ii., at the end of a small selection of Lives from this Version: while in Dr Budge's

copy of the *Paradise* this same series of chapters forms the conclusion of the Lausiatic History (*b* Book I. 64 "of Serapion," 65 "the Triumph of Eulogius"): (in *v* Eulogius is the second chapter of Book II.). It is therefore clear that in some copies of the Syriac, one of which was used by Anan-Isho, these sections had been restored to the Lausiatic History and placed at the end.

Regarded as a translation, the Syriac may on the whole be pronounced a fairly faithful rendering of the Greek; at times however it is little better than a paraphrase, and often there are curtailments or embellishments. Its relation to the Greek MSS. and its bearing on the criticism of the Greek text will have to be considered in the *Introduction* to the Text. Here it may be stated in general that this Syriac version has clearly marked affinities with the Greek text contained in the Paris MS. 1628, as appears from a number of minor coincidences, and also from the fact that in these two alone the Preface to the Holy Women (*Ἀναγκαίων δὲ ἡγήσάμην*, *P. G.* xxxiv. 1220 D) introduces neither Melania (as in A), nor Paula (as in B), but the story of the 'Virgin who received Athanasius' (A 136). (Cf. Tullberg, p. 33.)

Syriac Version II.

A second and quite independent Syriac Version existed of no less antiquity than the first. The following MSS. contain portions of it.

- (i.) **British Museum** *Addit.* ms. 12175 (Wright, DCCLXXV. 3 g). Date: A.D. 534. Contents (ff. 183—188): A 1—5, 17, 18, 23, 24, 104, 30, 22, 87, 88.
- (ii.) **Vatican Cod. Syr.** CXXIII. (Assemani, *Bibl. Apost. Vat.* 143). Date: Century VIII. (Assemani). Contents (ff. 257—295): A 1—35.
- (iii.) **Vatican Cod. Syr.** CCCLXXI. 5 (Mai, *Script. vet. nova Coll.* v. *45). A modern transcript of ii.
- (iv.) **British Museum** *Addit.* ms. 17172 (Wright, DCCLXXX. 4 d). Date: Century IX. Contents: f. 125=A 18 (Nathaniel).

I have not seen the Vatican MS., the most important one of the group, but Mr McLean, Fellow of Christ's College, kindly examined it for me. It is a continuous and not a fragmentary text. He himself that, as Assemani says, it is a transcript of the first few chapters of the *Paradise*.

words. Accordingly, to make quite sure that the version is the same as that contained in the British Museum MS. i., I asked Dom Weickert, of the Collegio Anselmiano at Rome, to transcribe for me the opening passage. His transcription makes it clear that the two MSS. contain the same version, though a number of variants exist. As far as I can judge from the passage before me, the Vatican MS. seems to preserve the more correct text; in the Brit. Mus. MS. the words: "In the second consulate of Theodosius the great king, who is now among the angels because of his faith which is in Christ" (cf. *P. G.* xxxiv. 1009 A), are wanting; also πόλις after Alexandria, and ξενοδόκος. Thus this MS., though written so early as 534, presents a text which seems to be already "worn," as compared with that preserved in the much later Vatican MS. This phenomenon justifies us in presuming that the version probably dates from about the third quarter of the fifth century, some fifty years after the book was first written.

It has been said that Version I. was that which Anan-Isho used for Book I. of his *Paradise*; but it can be shown that he had before him also a portion at any rate of Version II. For the "Compiler of the Book," *i.e.* Anan-Isho himself, speaks of "another codex" in his possession by means of which he supplements his main source. At Bk. I. 15 (= A 17) "of Macarius the Child of the Cross," after giving the account that is found in the Greek, Anan-Isho adds that "in another codex" he found appended an account of how this Macarius used to pray with his arms extended, and he inserts it from this second codex¹: Dr Budge prints a portion of it (II. 198), and it agrees verbally with an addition found in MS. i. of Version II. (f. 185). It has already been pointed out that from a very early date, already in the beginning of the sixth century, certain Lives had dropped out of the copies of Version I. A set of four of these chapters, missing in Bk. I. of the *Paradise* and in our MSS. of Version I. of the Lausiatic History, stands in Bk. II. both in *b* and in *v*. These four Lives are:

9 Adolius (here called Aurelius)	. . .	A 104
10 Moses the Robber (the Ethiopian)	. . .	A 22
11 Pior the Egyptian	A 87
12 Moses the Libyan	A 88

¹ *Assemani, Bibl. Apost. Vat.* III. 159 [Bedjan, 55].

If the reader turns back to MS. i. of Version II., he will there see the same series of chapters—A 104, (30), 22, 87, 88; and in that MS. also Adolius is called Aurelius. A comparison of the texts shows that they are the same. Anan-Isho therefore took this suite of Lives from a MS. of Version II. closely akin to our MS. i.; and such a MS. is the one which he speaks of as his "other codex," and which he used in order to partially fill up the gaps of the current copies of Version I.

The following MSS. in other collections may possibly contain further extracts from the Syriac *Historia Lausiaca*: Library of St Catharine's, Mount Sinai, MS. 31 (cf. additional note on p. 130 of Mrs Smith Lewis' *Catalogue*); Royal Library, Berlin, MSS. 109 and 161 (Sachau's *Verzeichnis*). Zotenberg's *Catalogue of the Paris Fonds syriaque* mentions no collection of lives under Palladius' name; but no doubt both there and at the Vatican many single lives from the Syriac versions might be found: (cf. the Paris MSS. 234, 235, 236).

Lives of Evagrius.

The copies of the Life of Evagrius (A 86) require separate treatment. There are eight copies in the British Museum collection, but they do not stand as part of the Lausiaca History: they are prefixed to collections of the writings of Evagrius, or are included among Lives of Saints. The following Table gives all the needful technical details.

Manuscript	Reference	No. in Wright	Century	Remarks
i. Add. 12175	ff. 122—123	DCCXXVII.	A.D. 534 (?)	Attributed to St Basil
ii. Add. 14581	ff. 27—28	DCCXXXIV.	VI.	[Bedjan gives the variants of this copy (p. 1011).]
iii. Add. 14612	ff. 137—138	DCCLIII.	VI or VII.	
iv. Add. 4650	ff. 22 3f	DCCCXLIX.	A.D. 875	Not mentioned in Wright's <i>Index</i> among the Lives of Evagrius
" "	" "	" "	" "	Begins at Constantinople episode (<i>P. G.</i> xxxiv. 1188 D)
" "	" "	" "	" "	Ends with Constantinople episode (<i>ibid.</i> 1193 c)
" "	" "	" "	" "	Begins at interview with three heretics (<i>ibid.</i> 1104)

Of these Lives of Evagrius, Nos. i-v. are the same translation as that in Dr Budge's copy of the *Paradise* (Bk. II. c. 14)¹: all these six copies of this translation break off at the words: "He was compelled to partake of things cooked by fire" (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1194 D): v. has a few additional lines after this point, but they are not of Palladius. Nos. vi. and vii. present another translation, and No. viii. yet a third; and these contain the conclusion of the Life, which is wanting in i-v. All three translations represent the extant Greek text, there being no trace of any of the additional matter found in the Coptic; but that contained in vi. and vii. (as also apparently that in viii., which is but a fragment) is on the whole a closer rendering of the Greek than that in i-v. It is worth noting here that this last-named translation agrees with some of the authorities for the Greek text in stating that St Gregory Nazianzen ordained Evagrius deacon, while that found in vi. and vii. agrees with others in saying that he was ordained by St Gregory of Nyssa; whence it appears that both readings existed in the Greek MSS. already in the sixth century.

I do not think that there is sufficient evidence for forming an opinion as to whether any of these translations of the Life of Evagrius belonged to either Syriac version of the Lausiatic History. None of the known copies comes into direct contact with Palladian matter:—in the Brit. Mus. ms. 14650 (*Syr. Version I. No. v.*) it is separated by several *Apophthegmata* and the *Vita Pauli*. I think it probably was not in Anan-Isho's copy of Version I.; and I doubt if it stood originally in Book II. of the *Paradise*, as it is found only in *b*, and not in *v*. It is quite possible that all three Syriac translations of the Life were made from Greek copies already detached from the Lausiatic History, and prefixed to Evagrius' writings or included among Saints' Lives.

Syriac Redactions of the Lausiatic History.

The investigation of the Syriac versions so far pursued naturally leads up to a discussion of the statement made by Dr Wright and repeated by Dr Budge, that "the Syriac copies

¹ [Printed by Bedjan, 231.]

of the work of Palladius differ as much from one another as the Greek!" It is evident that the point here raised has a most important bearing on the general problem the solution of which has been sought in this Study,—the determination of the authentic form of the *Historia Lausiaca*. It seems clear that Dr Wright's opinion must have been based mainly on the British Museum MSS. which came under his inspection, for but few Palladian Syriac MSS. appear to exist in other libraries. It therefore becomes necessary to make an analysis of the several Syriac works connected with Palladius' name in Wright's *Catalogue* (chiefly vol. III. 1070—1080).

These MSS. form the series numbered DCCCCXXIII. to DCCCCXXXII. by Wright; and the following notes are the result of a personal examination of all of them.

No. DCCCCXXIII. (*Addit. ms.* 12173, Century VI. or VII.). (A fuller account than Wright's of the contents of this ms. is given by Dietrich, *Codicum Syriacorum Specimina* (Marburg, 1855).) Contents:

(1) *Histories of the Solitary Brethren of the Egyptian Desert*, in two Parts, attributed to Palladius, though neither part is really his.

(ff. 2—58) Part I.: a collection of *Apophthegmata* (cf. p. 94).

(ff. 58—73) Part II.: the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* of Timotheus, but attributed in the colophon, as is usual in the Syriac copies, to St Jerome, in spite of the fact that Palladius is named in the title as author of the whole work. The first half is very incomplete.

(ff. 73—111) more *Apophthegmata*.

(ff. 111—117) the two Macarii (A 19—21, less Marcus).

(2) *Histories of the Egyptian Fathers composed by Palladius...at the request of Lausus*.

(ff. 118—137) this imperfect copy of the Lausiaca History has already been noticed (p. 84).

(ff. 137—180) a series of *Apophthegmata* entitled "The Sayings of the Holy Fathers on Humility" (not by Palladius).

(ff. 180—191) a copy of John of Lycopolis.

No. DCCCCXXIV. (17176, A.D. 532). Contents:

(1), except that the order of the two Parts is reversed, the *Historia Monachorum* (ff. 9—57) coming before the set of *Apophthegmata* (ff. 58—111).

(2) a translation of the *Historia Monachorum*. The translation was made by Anan-Isho in his *Historia Monachorum* are to

be found among the British Museum mss. (cf. Appendix I.); and Wright elsewhere speaks of it as being by Palladius, and being from the Lausiatic History¹, misled no doubt by the universal acceptance of the Long Recension of that work. Dr Budge similarly prints a short extract from the Syriac *Historia Monachorum* on "Paphnutius and the Merchant" (Rufinus c. 16, cf. A 65) as being by Palladius².

No. DCCCCXXV. (*Addit.* ms. 17177, Century VI.). Contents :

(1) "The Histories of the Egyptian Solitaries by Palladius" (ff. 1—61). The Syriac title is *Narratives of the Monks*, and the book is a collection of *Apophthegmata*, and therefore not a true work of Palladius.

(2) A collection of eighteen Lives called by Wright "another work of Palladius, or rather, of Hieronymus" (ff. 61—118). This collection has been described above (p. 84); it is for the most part a selection of Lives from the Lausiatic History, taken from the same translation as DCCCCXXIII. (2).

No. DCCCCXXVI. (*Addit.* ms. 14676, Century XIII., ff. 43—86).

This ms. is mutilated beyond recognition, only narrow strips of the inner margins remaining; its identification with any book is but a guess, and all that Wright says is that "it appears to have contained" the work of Palladius.

No. DCCCCXXVII. (*Addit.* ms. 17215, Century VIII., ff. 46, 47).

A mere fragment, not from the Lausiatic History, and not attributed to Palladius in the ms. A dialogue between an Elder and a Disciple.

No. DCCCCXXVIII. (*Addit.* ms. 17174, A.D. 929, ff. 1—184).

The work of Palladius on the Profitable Counsels of the Holy Fathers. Relying on Thomas of Marga's description of the collection or rearrangement of *Apophthegmata* made by Anan-Isho³, Wright recognises the book before us as that collection,—“It would appear to be the work of the monk Anan-Isho.” Moreover, Thomas tells us that Anan-Isho incorporated his collection in his *Paradise*, where it formed the last part. Now a comparison of the titles of the chapters or sections of Book IV. of the *Paradise*, as given by Assemani and Budge⁴, with those given by Wright from this ms. shows them to have been the same work. The fact that in the copy before us the work is divided into two Parts is a mere accident; in other copies it is not so divided. Of course it is evident that this work is in no sense at all a redaction of the Lausiatic History; it has nothing in common with any of the Greek shapes in which the Lausiatic History is found. Nor can it be regarded as being by Palladius, even though both copies of the *Paradise* assert at the beginning of Book IV. that he was the compiler. The Syrian tradition, indeed, regarded Palladius as the one who formed the first great collection of

¹ *Catalogue*, 650, 1086, 1088, 1127.

² *Book of the Governors*, II. 471.

³ *Book of the Governors*, Book II., chapters 14 and 15.

⁴ *Bibl. Orient.* I. 609; *Book of the Governors*, II. 204—6. [Printed in full by Bedjan 442—992.]

Apophthegmata; an anecdote related by Thomas of Marga contains an explicit statement that it was Palladius who "gathered together the Questions and their Answers from the collections of the books of the Fathers"¹; but there is no evidence whatever, nor any reason for supposing, that he made any such collection; and it will be shown in § 16 that the great Greek collections were not formed for some time after his death. The Syrian tradition on the point cannot be regarded as authentic. To sum up:—the work before us is Anan-Isho's rearrangement of the *Apophthegmata*, almost in its original form, standing by itself and not as Book IV. of the *Paradise*; it has no connection whatever with the Lausiaca History; it is not a work of Palladius².

¹ *Book of the Governors*, II. 547. "Questions and Answers of the holy Fathers" was a common Syriac title for *Apophthegmata*, e.g. *Addit. ms. 17177*, f. 61; cf. Dietrich, *Codicum Syriacorum Specimina* 6.

² I have not hesitated to accept Dr Wright's identification of No. DCCCXXVIII. with Anan-Isho's collection of the "Questions and Narratives of the Fathers," even though Dr Budge adopts (with Hoffmann) a textual emendation in Thomas of Marga's description which, if the true reading, would make this identification erroneous. I observe:

(1) That the proposed emendation makes Thomas of Marga describe a book such as is not known to exist (six hundred chapters, divided into fifteen books of forty sections each, *Book of the Governors*, II. 190); whereas the actual Syriac text, whatever its obscurities, describes (as translated by Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III. i. 146) a work clearly identical with DCCCXXVIII. (2) Thomas of Marga further tells us that this collection of Anan-Isho's formed the last part of the *Paradise*; and in both our copies of the *Paradise*, Book IV. is in the main identical with DCCCXXVIII. (3) As there can therefore be no reasonable doubt that this ms. DCCCXXVIII. preserves Anan-Isho's collection of "Questions and Narratives," and almost in its original form, it follows that the obscurities of Thomas of Marga's text must be cleared up in such a way as to make the description harmonise with the thing described. (4) Hence it is manifest that the Syriac word "Head," translated "Capitulum" by Assemani, and "Chapter" by Budge, here means "Apophthegma"; for what Anan-Isho did was to rearrange the "Conversations of the Elders" (Budge, II. 189), i.e. the Syriac collections of apophthegmata, which are called in Latin also "Verba Seniorum" (Rosweyd Book V.); and, as a matter of fact, Anan-Isho's work is a collection of apophthegmata, most of the extracts from it printed by Dr Budge being literal translations of apophthegmata found in the Greek and Latin collections. (5) The difficult passage wherein Thomas of Marga, after saying that the first portion of the work was divided into six hundred and fifteen "heads" (i.e. "apophthegmata"), contained in fourteen canons and distinctions, adds that "quodlibet capitulum [apophthegma] convenientem proprio argumento quaestionem subjunctam continet" (Assemani), can only be interpreted as meaning that all the apophthegmata in each of the fourteen canons or sections had to do with the subject-matter announced in the title of the section, e.g. "On fleeing from men," "On fasting and abstinence," etc. It must be recollected that among the Syrians "Questions and Answers" was one of the regular titles for collections of apophthegmata.

No. DCCCCXXIX. (*Addit. ms.* 14583, Century XI, ff. 1—151).

The same work as the preceding (incomplete).

No. DCCCCXXX. (*Addit. ms.* 17264, Century XIII, ff. 1—65).

Illustrations of the Book of the Paradise. This work is based upon the *Paradise* and is thrown into the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his disciples; it is divided into four Parts, each being a commentary on one of the four Books of the *Paradise*: Part IV. is very incomplete. Part I. is based on the Lausiatic History, but it cannot be described as a redaction of it. In the *Catalogue* (1078) Wright speaks of the *Illustrations* as another work of Anan-Isho's; but in his *Syriac Literature* he corrects this statement¹.

No. DCCCCXXXI. (*Addit. ms.* 17263, Century XIII, ff. 1—230).

Part IV. of the *Illustrations*, commenting on Bk. IV. of the *Paradise*: imperfect at the beginning, but along with the preceding *ms.* it gives the full work. Another copy is entered also in the manuscript catalogue of recent accessions (*Oriental ms.* 2311).

No. DCCCCXXXII. (*Addit. ms.* 17175, Century X, ff. 1—66).

An abridgment of the *Illustrations*.

This exhausts the consecutive series of Syriac works brought together under Palladius's name in Wright's *Catalogue*, III. 1070—1080; but in the Index, under the heading *Palladius and Hieronymus* are upwards of a hundred references, and there are further references under other rubrics. I have looked out all these references, and I am able to give, for the first time, an analytic Index of the contents of this whole group of the British Museum Syriac Collection. I give Wright's notation only.

I. *The Historia Lausiaca.* (Cf. preceding Lists.)

DCCXXVII. 1 d, 3 g; DCCLXII. 3; DCCLXXX. 4 a, d, 6 a; DCCXCIII. 17; DCCXXII. 22; DCCCCXXIII. 1, 2; DCCCCXXIV. 2; DCCCCXLIII. 1; DCCCCXLIX. 3, 6; DCCCL. 11, 14, 15, 22; DCCCLX. 6, 10, 23, 77; DCCCLXIII. 4, 9, 12^a, 13.

Single Lives:—Amoun DCCCXXXVII. 4; Nathaniel DCCCXXVI. 10 (hardly legible); Evagrius DLXVII. 1; DLXVIII. 1; DCCXXXIV. 5; DCCXXXVII. 1 a; DCCLIII. 19.

II. *The Historia Monachorum.* (Cf. Appendix I.)

DCCXXVII. 3 p; DCCXXX. 5; DCCCVIII. 6 (ff. 148—165); DCCCCXXIII. 1, Part II.; DCCCCXXIV. Part I.; DCCCCXXV. 2 (f. 86); DCCCCXXXVII. 2; DCCCLXII. 6; DCCCCXLIII. 1 (f. 48); DCCCCXLIX. 4; DCCCLX. 28, 29, 30, 31; DCCCLXIII. 12^b.

Anyone who has examined the multitudinous Syriac redactions of the apophthegmata in the British Museum collection, will appreciate the utility of Anan-Isho's undertaking.

¹ P. 176 (a reprint from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 9).

III. Collections of *Apophthegmata*.

a. *Anan-Isho's Collection (Bk. IV. of the Paradise)*, DCCCXXXIV. 1, 3, 4 ; DCCCXXXVII. 21; DCCCXXVIII.; DCCCXXXIX. 1. [Bedjan.]

b. *Great Collection entitled "Histories of the Egyptian Monks."* DCCCVIII. 6 (f. 81); DCCCXXIII. 1 (f. 2); DCCCXXIV. (f. 58); DCCCXLIII. 1 (f. 1) (cf. Dietrich, *Codicum Syriacorum Specimina*).

c. *Miscellaneous Collections.*

R. F. XLIX. 70.	DCCCXII. 19, 22.
DIX. 1.	XVII. 1.
DCCXXVII. 3 a—c, e, f, h—o.	XVIII. 2, 4.
XXXVI. 1.	XX. 2 d.
XLI. 3.	XXIV. 5.
XLIV. 3.	XXVI. 10.
LII. 2.	XXVIII. 1, 4, 5.
LIII. 9, 28.	XXXIV. 8.
LV. 5.	XXXVII. 2, 11.
LXII. 3 (ff. 56, 77), 6, 9, 11, 15.	XL. 6.
LXX. 10.	XLIII. 1, 4.
LXXII. 5.	LVII. iv. 16, vi. 14, xlv., xlv. 1, xlviii. 3.
LXXX. 2, 4 c.	LXII.
LXXXIV. 2.	DCCCXXIII. (ff. 73, 137).
XCI. 5, 8.	XXV. 1.
XCI. 17, 24.	XL. 2.
XCVII. 6.	XLIII. 1 (ff. 41, 58).
DCCCI. 13.	XLIX. 1, 3 (f. 11), 4 (f. 43).
VI. 19.	LIX. 6, 8.
VIII. 6 (ff. 111, 165).	Fly-leaf entries referred to on pp. 460, 576, 591, 788, 1006 of <i>Catal.</i>
X. 1.	

IV. *Miscellaneous Documents.*

DCCCXXX.; DCCCXXXI.; *Oriental* 2311; DCCCXXXII. (abridgment). (Illustrations of the Paradise.)

DCCXXX. 9; DCCLII. 14; DCCLXXX. 5; DCCOCXXXIX. 1; DCCOXXL. 1; DCCOXXLI. 7; DCCOXXLIII. 10 (Life of Serapion Sindonita stated in DCCOXXLIII. (Cent. XIII.) to be by Palladius; but is quite different from *Hist. Laus.* A 83—85. Printed by Bedjan, *Acta* V).

R. F. XLIX. 56 (Extract from Serapion's Life of Macarius of Egypt; *ibid.*).
DCCLXII. 6; DCCLXXXIV. 1; DCCCXLVI. 1 (Asketicon of Pachomius; *ibid.*).
DCCCXLVI. 3 (Note on John of Lycopolis). Also in DCCLXII. 6; DCCCXXIII. 2.
DCCCXXVI.; DCCCXXVII. (Unidentified).
DCCCXLV. 7; DCCOXX. 26; DCCOXX. (Erroneous references).

I have no doubt that among these *Apophthegmata* might be found further extracts from the Lausiatic History. On the other hand, some *Apophthegmata* are explicitly stated to be "from the work of Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis" (cf. DCCLIII. 28, DCCCLVII. iv. 16, xlv. 1, DCCCLXII.); but they are not really his. I have already referred to the erroneous Syrian tradition that the *Apophthegmata* were collected by Palladius; the notes or colophons at beginning and end of Dr Budge's copy speak of the whole *Paradise* as being "written by Palladius for Lausus," and the book is frequently called the "Paradise of Palladius." Thus among the Syrians not only the Lausiatic History but also the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Apophthegmata* came to be attributed to Palladius, and the two last named works were often called the Lausiatic History. Dr Wright in his *Catalogue* naturally follows the Syrian practice, and habitually speaks of the *Historia Monachorum* and of *Apophthegmata* as being by Palladius, and even from the Lausiatic History. And Dr Budge, both in the *Book of the Governors* and in the *Laughable Stories of Bar-Hebraeus*, prints a number of *Apophthegmata* from Book IV. of the *Paradise* under Palladius' name¹.

The fact of the matter is this, that it was the fashion among the Syrians to ascribe to Palladius any work relating to the Egyptian monks. In this way a number of books came to be identified more or less with the Lausiatic History; and only in this loose, and indeed quite untrue, sense can it be said that the Syriac copies of the work of Palladius present different redactions. Of all the Syriac works that went under the name of Palladius, the Lausiatic History alone is really his; and of the Lausiatic History, properly so-called, two translations have occurred among the several MSS. that have come under view, but only one redaction; no reason has been met with for suspecting the existence of any other redaction among the Syrians. And (almost needless to add) that redaction substantially agrees with the one which has in these pages been known as the Short Recension (B). Both Syriac versions carry back this recension in its main features to the early sixth, if not the fifth, century.

¹ Similarly Zotenberg (*Catal.* p. 139). Three of the extracts in the *Laughable Stories* are really from Palladius, cf. next page.

A list is appended of the portions of the Syriac Versions which are in print [elsewhere than in Bedjan's volume].

Version I.

Tullberg (*Paradisus Patrum*):

- A 28. Paul the Simple (p. 21).
- A 29. Pachon (here called Pachomius) (p. 29).
- A 35. Elias (p. 41).
- A 43 (less C) and 47. John of Lycopolis (p. 1).
- A 89. Chronius of Phoenicia (p. 12).
- A 90—95. Jacob the lame and Paphnutius (p. 13).
- A 101. Ephraim Syrus (p. 9).
- A 117 (init.) and 136. Virgin of Alexandria and Athanasius (p. 33).
- A 138. Taor (p. 36).
- A 139. Virgin and Colluthus (p. 37).
- A 141. Girl who calumniated a Lector (p. 38).

Budge (*Book of the Governors*, II.):

- Epistle to Lausus: *Μακαρίζω* (p. 195).
- Proemium: *Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ* (p. 196).
- A 10 and 11. Pambo and Pior (p. 35).
- A 14. Apollonius the Merchant (p. 470).
- A 15 and 16. Paesius and Isaias—first half (p. 471).
- A 28. Paul the Simple (p. 32).
- A 83. Serapion Sindonita—the first few lines (p. 586).
- A 86. Evagrius—three lines (= *P. G.* xxxiv. 1194 B) (p. 201).
- A 136. Virgin of Alexandria and Athanasius—portions of the first half (p. 199).
- A 147. Juliana—three lines from the first half (p. 200).
(The piece on Bessarion, printed p. 572, from Book II. c. 16, is not A 116, but Apophthegma 12 under Bessarion's name (*P. G.* lXV. 141).)

Budge (*Laughable Stories of Bar-Hebraeus*):

- A 8. Amoun of Nitria—the first half (p. 53).
- A 20. Macarius of Alexandria—the story of the hyena (out of Book IV.) (p. 49).
- A 29. Pachon (called Pachomius)—the second half (p. 45).

Cureton (*Corpus Ignatianum*):

- A 43. John of Lycopolis—three lines on John's prophecies, the part omitted in A (p. 351).

Version II.

Assemani (*Bibl. Apost. Vat.* III. 143):

- A 1. Isidore—first four or five lines.
- A 35. Elias—three lines c. *med.* (end of ms.).

Budge (*Book of the Governors*, II.):

- A 17. Macarius Junior (in the Syriac "the Child of the Cross")—a few lines not in the Greek (p. 198). [Bedjan 55.]
[A 104, 22, 87, 88, Bedjan 218—226.]

§ 11. THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

(By Professor Armitage Robinson.)

Among the *Lives of the Holy Fathers*, edited from Armenian MSS. by the Mechitarists of S. Lazzaro (Venice, 1855, 2 vols.), the following correspond more or less closely with portions of the Lausiatic History. They all occur in vol. I.; the latter part of that volume and the whole of vol. II. being taken up with the *Apophthegmata*¹.

p. 82. Paul the Simple = A 28.

Two recensions of the Armenian version. Neither of them follows closely the Greek or the Syriac (Budge, *Book of Governors*, I. 35 f.). They are paraphrases rather than translations. The closing section gives Paul's time as a monk, and his total age (108 years). It also states the month and day of his death, and is therefore probably a recension for liturgical use.

p. 89. Macarius of Alexandria = A 20, 21.

This shows great freedom of reproduction, but is clearly based on the Greek text, and has no resemblance to the Coptic recension. The mirage story and the antelope story are welded into one, the scene being transferred to the saint's cell. A devil in the form of a maiden offers him first water, and then milk which she has milked from an antelope. The Marcus story is not separated from the Life of Macarius, but follows immediately after his temptation to travel². At the close of it the text passes without a

¹ Vol. I. also contains portions of the *Historia Monachorum*.

² The order of incidents in A 20, 21 (Migne, *P. G.* xxxiv. 1050 ff.) is confused. The true order, and in some points a better text, is printed, *ib.* 184 ff. from Floss. There the Marcus story follows the temptation to travel, as in the Armenian and Latin versions.

break into the Life of John of Lycopolis. Thus the hyena story and some further matter is altogether wanting.

p. 95. John of Lycopolis = A 43.

Inc. 'I Macarius' and Evagrius and Albinus and Ammonius wished to know the truth about the blessed John' (= *P. G.* xxxiv. 1113 B). It agrees with the Greek text in Migne in having lost a sentence by *homoeoteleuton* in col. 1113 D between *Εὐαγρίου* and *καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ κ.τ.λ.* Its closing section (p. 97) contains the statements found in col. 1115 A as to his being 40 years in the desert, never seeing a woman, and never being seen when eating or drinking. Then follows (p. 97) the Life of John of Lycopolis from the *Historia Monachorum*.

p. 162. Serapion = A 83—85.

An abbreviation of the Greek, containing each of the anecdotes. In the case of the second (the Athenian philosophers) the Armenian text is very corrupt or is the rendering of corrupted and misunderstood Greek: the story is completely marred. There is no break before or after the mention of Dominus. Instead of *μαθητῆ Ὀριγένους* (*P. G.* xxxiv. col. 1187 A) the Arm. has simply 'the disciple.' After the story of the virgin at Rome (A 85), follows the story of the selling of the little Gospel, and the story of the mourning for the lost treasure: neither of these being in the Short Recension (B) of the Lausiaca History. At the close we read that the saint died in Scete in the cell of his disciple Zacharias.

The story of the little Gospel is as follows:

"And when he had returned thence he came to Alexandria; and he had a little Gospel. He saw a man taken for debt, and he sold the Gospel and gave it for the debt, and released him. Now before this he saw a poor man naked, shivering with the cold, and he took his coat and gave it to him. When he saw him, that kept the way of peace [so literally: it is probably a confusion of *εἰρήνης* *εἰρήνης*, *F. G.* xxxv. 1290 B], he saith unto him: Father, who hath tripped thee? And he, holding up the Gospel

... point
... this seems to have
... understands ...
...

h unto him: This hath stripped me. And afterwards he sold Gospel. And when he came to his cell, his disciple Zacharias unto him: Father, where is thy tunic? He saith unto him: son, I have sent it on before, where we have need of it. And th unto him: Where is the little Gospel? Then he saith: T at ouch said unto me, Sell that thou hast and give to the poor, if I have sold and given, that we may have boldness there."

This story is told in Leontius's Life of John the Almsgiver (c. xxiii. ed. Gelzer, 1893, p. 48) in the Armenian *Apophthegmata* (vol. II. p. 244) and in a brief form among the *Verba Seniorum* (Ruf.) § 70 (Rosweyd, p. 512), in each case being related of Serapion. In Socrates, *H. E.* iv. 23 it is given in the same brief form as told by Evagrius of 'a certain brother': cf. *Verba Seniorum* (Pelag.) l. 6, c. 5 (Rosw. p. 582).

But in the Long Recension of the Lausiac History it is told of Bessarion (A 116, a section which is one of two which are found in A, but not in B or C). The narrative there is longer than in any of the other sources referred to.

It is to be noted that in the Armenian the incident which follows almost immediately (the weeping for the lost treasure) has a parallel in the *Apophthegmata* (*sub verbo* Bessarion: Cotelier, reprinted in *P. G.* LXV. 144). This also is attributed to Serapion in the Armenian version of the *Apophthegmata* (vol. II. p. 557 f.)¹.

The composite nature of these latter portions makes it doubtful whether the statement as to the saint's death came from the

¹ The following summary may be useful:

Little Gospel.

Apophth. Lat. Ruf. Rosw. 512 (very short)	SERAPION.
— Arm. II. 244	"
Leontius's John Eleemos. c. 23	"
Life of Serapion, Arm. I. 164	"
Long Recension of Laus. Hist. (A 116)	BESSARION.
Socrates, <i>H. E.</i> iv. 23	} (very short and told by Evagrius)
Apophthegm. Lat. Pelag. Rosw. 582	

Lost Treasure.

Apophthegm. Arm. I. 557 f.	SERAPION.
Life of Serapion, Arm. I. 164	"
Apophthegm. Graec. (Cotelier) <i>P. G.</i> LXV. 144	BESSARION.

Lausiaca History, where the MSS. vary between *ἐν Πρώμῃ* and *ἐν ἐρήμῳ*, and where there is no mention of a disciple at this point¹.

p. 224. Eulogius and the Cripple = A 26.

The heading of this piece is 'Story of Ligion of Alexandria': but in the text the name is given as 'Liginus.' Except at a few points, where changes are intentionally introduced, the Armenian follows the Greek pretty closely. We may note the principal alterations, which are in part made in the supposed interest of the saint's character.

Migne, *P. G.* xxxiv. 1073 B Ἀκηδιῶν οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, καὶ μήτε εἰς συνοδίαν βουλόμενος εἰσελθεῖν, μήτε δὲ μόνος πληροφρούμενος, εὐρέν τινα κ.τ.λ.

Arm. p. 224. 'And he thought to enter into a monastery: and he was diligent in attending (*lit.* 'was first' or 'beforehand') night and day in the church of God: And as he went at the ninth hour (cf. Acts iii. 1) to the church, he saw a man,' etc.

1074 C καὶ κολακεύσας τὸν λελωβημένον, ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν εἰς σκάφος βουκολικόν, ἐξῆλθεν τῆς πολέως ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντωνίου.

Arm. p. 226. 'And he went and began to coax the cripple, that he might be able to take him to the holy Antony. And Liginus saith to the cripple: Wilt thou, my lord, that we go to pray at the monastery of Antony? And the cripple saith: As thou wilt. And they rose up and went and came to the disciples of Antony, and were there one day,' etc.

Lower down the Armenian adds that Antony 'did not see' Liginus, because of the darkness, at the time when he called him by his name.


At 1075 D we read in the Greek that 'within forty days Eulogius died,' and then again 'within three days more' the cripple died: but at 1076 A we learn that Cronius arrives when the monks are keeping the 'seventy days mind' (τὰ τεσσαρακοστά) of Eulogius, and the 'three days mind' of the cripple (cf. *Ap.* 1076 A). The Armenian follows the Greek in this. The Armenian text of 1075 D simply

¹ The Armenian text of the Lausiaca History is very defective in many places, and the Greek text is also very defective in many places. The Armenian text of the Lausiaca History is very defective in many places, and the Greek text is also very defective in many places.

saying, in the second place, 'keeping the memorial of the blessed Liginus and of the cripple.'

At the close Cronius takes the Gospel to swear to the truth of his narrative; and he then describes how he had acted as interpreter between Eulogius and Antony, as the latter knew no Greek. The Armenian translator has failed to catch the first point, and he has no interest in the second. So he closes the Life thus: 'The holy father took the Gospel and comforted (them) and spake perfect words concerning them that were perfected in Christ Jesus our Lord.'

These examples show the freedom with which these Lives were reproduced for edification. There is no ground at all for supposing that the changes are based on independent sources of information.

The corruption of the name of Eulogius into Liginus raises the question whether we should postulate an intermediate translation into Syriac. The story of Eulogius is mentioned in Wright's *Catalogue*, III. 1127. The name is written . This seems to offer us no explanation of *Liginus*. Moreover there, in the heading at any rate, the cripple is said to be a leper. So that the Syriac Version I., at any rate, cannot well be the original of the Armenian.

p. 318. Evagrius = A 86.

In the Venice edition this Life is not printed with those of which we have spoken above; but forms the first item in the second division of vol. I., coming under the heading 'Paralipomena ex secundâ interpretatione.' This apparently means that the version does not belong to the earliest period of Armenian literature.

The first section, beginning 'In many ways, beloved,' etc. is a very free paraphrase of the first ten lines of the Greek. One curious point deserves notice: the words *πῶς τε ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν μονήρη σκοπὸν* are rendered 'how he came to the remote places of Rebon' (*Հեբոնի*). The same word recurs later on as a translation of Melania's words, *ὅτι ἔχη τοῦ σκοποῦ τούτου εἰς τὸν μονήρη βίον*, where the Armenian has (literally), 'that thou hast the great diligence of toil of the desert of Rebon' (*Հեբոնի*).

The word *σκοπός* has apparently been misunderstood by the translator, but I do not understand the word which he has substituted. The Venice editors print it with a capital letter¹.

After the first paragraph the Armenian follows the Greek rather more closely. We may note that the native town of Evagrius is said to be 'Iberia'; and that Gregory *Nasiansen* is said to have ordained him 'chief of the deacons.' When Melania bade him tell her the real cause of his long illness (*εἶπε οὖν μοι τὰ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ σου*), we read, in the Greek, *ὠμολόγησεν οὖν αὐτῇ τὸ κατὰ Κωνσταντινόπολιν αὐτῷ συμβάν*. This is probably not the best reading of the Greek. Other readings are *τὸ συμβάν* and *τὸ συμπᾶν*. The Armenian has, 'He confessed to her concerning his thoughts (or, 'his secrets').' This is mainly based on the former sentence (*τὰ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ*), which the Armenian does not reproduce: but it presents a curious, though quite accidental, coincidence with the Coptic, 'Then he manifested all his thoughts to her²' (*Amél. Hist. Laus.* p. 111).

In the passage about his books we read: 'He composed three books divinely-inspired (or, 'sacred') for (or, 'of') solitaries, and against word-builders (a usual word for 'poets') and against the cleverness of demons (or, 'demons of cleverness').' This is a desperate attempt at rendering *τρία βιβλία ἱερά, Μοναχόν (or μοναχῶν), Ἀντιρρητικόν, οὕτω καλούμενα· τὰς πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας ὑποθέμενος τέχνας*. It throws, I fear, no light on the Greek text.

The story of the visit of the three heretics is given in the short form: 'Again, there appeared to him in the day-time three demons in the likeness of clerics, contending with him concerning the faith. One of them said that he was an Arian, another a Nestorian, the other an Apollinarian; and he vanquished them by his wisdom: and having made known (or 'recognised') the temptations, lifting his hands to heaven unto God,—immediately the demons disappeared from him.' The last clause may be compared with the additional words in the Latin Version II. at this point

¹ The Venice editors print it with a capital letter, *σκοπός*. The Greek is *μορφή*. The translator may have rendered it "the form of a demon." E. C. B.]

² The Coptic text is: "Then he manifested all his thoughts to her." The Greek text is: "Then he manifested all his thoughts to her." The translator may have rendered it "the form of a demon." E. C. B.]

(Rosw. p. 997): they only agree however in the statement that the demons disappeared; and this was a not unnatural supplement to the story. There is no ground for thinking that they come from the longer form of the Greek.

After the statement that the demons who contended with him could not be numbered, comes the story of the announcement of his father's death, which in the Greek comes at the very end. Then follows the account of his prophesying. The Greek is then rendered fairly well to the end of the statement that for three years he had not been troubled by the desires of the flesh. The life then closes thus: 'After such suffering and afflictions and intolerable temptations of demons, and after austerities and unceasing prayers, having lived as a monk in good conversation, having kept the faith and having finished his course he came to his rest in the same desert in Jesus Christ our Lord.'

After this formal close of the Life follows a short section which deserves attention from more than one point of view. It is, as the Venice editor points out, a kind of colophon connecting the Life with the works of Evagrius, which followed. The Armenian text is printed in a somewhat more satisfactory form in Dr Dashian's valuable catalogue of the Armenian MSS. in the Mechitarist Library at Vienna (1895, p. 614)¹:

'This Evagrius having lived in the desert fifty-four years, by the power of the Holy Spirit of Jesus Christ and our Saviour, made light to shine in mighty wise on me the unworthy.

I have written and set out according to my power three books in ordered and easy and convenient discourses:—the first concerning the true faith of the solitaries: the second against disputers and word-builders (perhaps 'orators and poets'): the third concerning spirits of evil—we have made answer from the holy scriptures to the demons which tempt us; that ye reading and profiting, Christ may make you victorious over the spirit of evil'

1. The last book here referred to is clearly the *'Αντιρρητικόν*. The title and first words are given in the same Catalogue, p. 615,

¹ Lists of the works of Evagrius which follow the Life in Armenian MSS. will be found in this Catalogue (see Codd. 235 and 276), and also in Father Carekin's *Catal. of Anc. Arm. Translations* (Venice, 1889), pp. 421 ff.

§ 14: 'Of Evagrius: Answer from the holy scriptures to the demons which tempt us: The intelligent beings under heaven,' etc. In an Appendix to Zöckler's *Evagrius Ponticus* (Munich, 1893) Dr F. Baethgen has given a translation of the first two chapters of this work from an imperfect MS. at Berlin (Sachau 302)¹. The title agrees closely with the Armenian title, and at the end of each chapter come the words: 'Praised be our Lord Christ, which hath given us the victory over the thoughts of—,' according to the evil thoughts in question. Thus we see that the closing words of the Armenian colophon are derived from the *Ἀντιρρητικόν* itself.

2. But this colophon requires further investigation. For a portion of it is verbally identical with a colophon found in an Armenian codex of the Acts and Epistles in the British Museum (*Addit.* MS. 19730) and in some other Armenian Bibles, at the end of the Epistle to Philemon. Let us set the two colophons side by side, so far as their common material extends:

B. M. *Addit.* 19730.

Գրեցի և կարգեցի
ըստ կարի
ստիքերովն զգիրս
Պաւղոսի արարելոյ
յաւրինեալ և զիւրաՀաս
ընթերցուածովք

I have written and set out
according to (my) power,
in lines, the books
of Paul the Apostle
in ordered and easy
lections.

END OF LIFE OF EVAGRIUS.

Գրեցի և կարգեցի
ըստ կարի իմնւմ
երիս գիրս
յաւրինեալ և զիւրաՀաս
և վայելուչ ճառիւք

I have written and set out
according to my power
three books

in ordered and easy
and convenient discourses.

It seems quite clear that either these colophons are from the same hand, or else one is imitated from the other.

3. But the first, as Mr Conybeare pointed out (*Journ. of Philology* vol. XXIII. pp 247 ff. *see Ecclésiastique Texts and Studies*, pp 100, 101 and 8), is a remarkable colophon of the Armenian Bible.

¹ *Evagrius Ponticus*, p. 100. The title of the work is given as *Ἀντιρρητικόν*.

ἔγραψα καὶ ἐξεθέμην κα
 τὰ δύναμιν στειχηρὸν
 τόδε τὸ τεύχος παύλου
 τοῦ ἀποστόλου· πρὸς ἐγ
 γραμμὸν καὶ εὐκατάλημ
 πτον ἀνάγνωσιν· τῶν κα
 θ' ἡμᾶς ἀδελφῶν· παρ ὧν
 ἀπάντων τόλμης· συν
 γνώμην αἰτῶ· εὐχὴ τῇ
 ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν· τὴν συνπε
 ριφορὰν κομιζόμενος·

κ. τ. λ.

Is then the Armenian colophon at the end of the Life of Evagrius likewise a translation from a Greek colophon, composed by a Greek editor of the works of Evagrius? Or is it an Armenian production which imitates a colophon found in Armenian Bibles? The question is not easy to answer: but I would note in favour of the Armenian origin of the colophon the following points:

(1) The verbal agreement between the two colophons in Armenian seems too close to be readily accounted for as due to independent translations of the same Greek words. This is especially the case in regard to the words 'in ordered and easy...' which represent, but do not literally render, the Greek *πρὸς ἔγγραμμὸν καὶ εὐκατάλημπτον...*

(2) The writer of the Armenian colophon has made a mistake in saying that Evagrius 'lived fifty-four years in the desert.' This was the total duration of his life. The mistake could scarcely have arisen from a reading of the statement at the beginning of the Greek Life: *ὅπως ἀξίως τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος αὐτὸν ἐξασκήσας τελευτᾶ ἐτῶν πενήτηκοντα τεσσάρων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.* I think it might have come more easily from a hasty perusal of the Armenian version, where the order of the words is somewhat different. In any case the error shows that it was only by his writings, and not through personal acquaintance, that Evagrius 'caused light to shine upon' his editor.

(3) The confusion which we have noted in the account of the three books of Evagrius as given in the Armenian version of the

Life finds a parallel in the colophon. The last of the three is, as we have seen, the 'Ἀντιρρητικόν. But so too, both in the Life and in the colophon, must the second book be: 'Against word-builders' (Life); 'Against disputers and word-builders' (colophon).

I am not prepared, however, to say that these indications are decisive of the question.

4. The most curious coincidence of all remains to be noted. The colophon of Codex H is also found in Codex Neapolitan. II. A. 7; and there it begins thus:

Εὐάγριος ἔγραψα καὶ ἐξεθέμην....

Dr Ehrhard of Würzburg, who pointed this out (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1891, VIII. 9, pp. 385 ff.), also observed that, in the almost obliterated line of Codex H which precedes the word ἔγραψα, part of the name of Evagrius is still to be traced¹. He went on to conjecture that Evagrius Ponticus was the true author of the elaborate apparatus attached to the Acts and Pauline Epistles under the name of Euthalius. I have shown in my *Euthaliana* that this colophon does not proceed from the original compiler of the Euthalian apparatus, but belongs to an *editio minor*, in which that apparatus is much abbreviated, but which quite probably was made in 396, *i.e.* in the lifetime of our Evagrius.

I can offer no further light upon the coincidence by which a colophon at the close of a Life of Evagrius corresponds so closely with a biblical colophon which contains the name of Evagrius. We seem further than ever from an explanation when we note that in the Armenian Bible MSS. the latter colophon does *not* contain the name of Evagrius at all.

It may be worth while to add that in Syriac MSS., although the Life of Evagrius often precedes a collection of his writings, there is no trace to be found of the colophon with which we have been dealing.

A. R.

¹ The original text of the colophon in Codex H is: 'Εὐάγριος ἔγραψα καὶ ἐξεθέμην....' originally stood after it, and is now only to be seen in the margin of the same MS. It is sufficient to read it, to see that it is not the work of the original compiler of the apparatus.

§ 12. THE COPTIC VERSION.

M. Amélineau has done more than any one else to make accessible and to illustrate the Coptic records of the early monks; so that his works will be prominently before us in this section and in others to follow. They are somewhat scattered; and therefore a list of those which deal with early Coptic monachism is furnished in a footnote¹. M. Amélineau maintains that the

¹ The most important of the works in question are those contained in the series of Coptic and Arabic Texts, with Translations and Introductions, entitled *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au iv^e et v^e siècles*. Three volumes have so far appeared:—

1. Tome I.—(*Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, Tome 4).

Fascicule I. pp. 1—478 (1888), containing Lives and documents relating to Abba Schnoudi.

2. Tome I.—Fascicule II. pp. 479—840 (1895), containing fragments on Pachomius, Theodore, Horsii, Schnoudi, and John of Lycopolis.

3. Tome II.—(*Annales du Musée Guimet*, Tome 17; 1889). *Histoire de Saint Pakhôme et de ses Communautés*, containing Bohairic and Arabic Lives and Sahidic fragments.

4. Tome III.—(*Annales du Musée Guimet*, Tome 25; 1894). *Histoire des Monastères de la Basse-Égypte*, containing Lives and documents relating to Paul the Hermit, St Anthony, the Macarii, and others.

Tome IV., to contain the great Coptic collection of *Apophthegmata*, or Sayings of the Fathers, is promised.

5. *De Historia Lausiaca quænam sit hujus ad Monachorum Aegyptiorum historiam scribendam utilitas. Adjecta sunt quaedam hujus historiae Coptica fragmenta inedita.* (Paris: Leroux, 1887.)

6. *Voyage d'un Moine égyptien dans le désert.* A French translation of a Coptic *Vita Onuphrii*, cf. Rosweyd, 99. (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, 1883; reprinted, Vienna: Holzhausen, 1888.)

7. *Fragments Coptes pour servir à l'histoire de la conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes.* (*Journal Asiatique*, Nov.—Dec. 1888; reprinted, Paris: Leroux, 1889.)

The above include original texts; those that follow are more popular in character:

8. *Étude historique sur St Pachôme et le cénobisme primitif dans la Haute-*

Lausiac History and the other Greek and Latin works of the same period describing Egyptian monastic life were in great measure but translations and adaptations of Coptic materials. The reasons which he brings forward in support of this theory in the case of other works are carefully examined in Appendix III.; and it is there, I think, proved in regard to the chief of them—the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Vita Pauli*, and the *Historia Monachorum*—that the Greek or Latin texts are the originals and the Coptic the translations¹. The reader who has studied this Appendix will approach the consideration of the Coptic fragments of the Lausiac History with a presumption in favour of the ordinary view that it is an original Greek work. And this presumption, I venture to think, will remain unaffected by an examination of the specific arguments brought forward on the opposite side by M. Amélineau in the case of the Lausiac History. He deals with the question

Égypte d'après les monuments Coptes. (*Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1886; reprinted, Cairo, 1887.)

9. *Les Moines Égyptiens: Vie de Schnoudi.* (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation*; Paris: Leroux, 1889.)

10. *Samuel de Qalamoun.* (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1894; reprinted, Paris: Leroux, 1894.)

11. *Le Christianisme chez les anciens Coptes.* (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1886—7; reprinted, Paris: Leroux, 1887.)

12. *Contes et Romans de l'Égypte Chrétienne.* (*Collection de Contes et Chansons populaires*, Tomes 13 et 14; Paris: Leroux, 1888.) (Especially the *Introduction*.)

13. *Rôle of the Demon in the ancient Coptic Religion.* (*The New World*, 1893.)

14. *Essai sur l'évolution historique et philosophique des idées morales dans l'Égypte ancienne.* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études:—sciences religieuses*, Tome iv.; Paris: Leroux, 1895.)

15. *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.* (Paris: Imprimerie Nat., 1893.)

¹ In the note appended to § 13 reasons are indicated that have led me to the belief that the Greek, rather than the Coptic, is the original redaction of the *Vita Pachomii*; M. Ladeuze has made a special study of the redactions of this *Vita*, and though he has not yet published his investigations in full, he has made the statement that the conclusion at which he has arrived is that the Greek is the original (*Muséon*, Avril 1897, p. 171). Mr W. E. Crum tells me that he has found Coptic fragments of the *Vita Antonii*, and that he is satisfied they are translations from the Greek *Vita*. And in regard to the Lausiac History itself Dr Preuschen, who has studied the question attentively, holds the Coptic fragments to be translations from the Greek of Palladius. It seems that this seductive theory of Coptic originals demands much more serious study than it has up to this received.

in his brochure *De Historia Lausiaca* (pp. 28, 29), and relies on a twofold argument:—

(1) There is nothing in Palladius which is uncongenial to Egyptian ways of thinking. His accounts of Amoun of Nitria, Moses the Robber and Paul the Simple contain the same incidents as are related of them in the Coptic Synaxarium; and things told by Palladius of other monks find parallels in the Coptic documents.—No significance however can be attached to this circumstance, unless the accounts are not merely similar, but virtually identical. The Lives of Paul the Simple, for example, in the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Historia Monachorum* are very like one another, but there is no question of plagiarism on either side. That Palladius should have accurately reproduced Coptic modes of thought is sufficiently accounted for by his long abode in Egypt. And it may very well be that he had read Coptic books and derived from them some of his knowledge about those earlier monks whom he had not seen, and based portions of his history upon the recollection of what he had read therein. But this is not the question at issue. The question is whether considerable portions of the Lausiaca History are direct translations from Coptic sources.

(2) The second argument meets this issue. There are in the Lausiaca History certain constructions which betray their Coptic origin, and were certainly translated from Coptic into Greek. Three specimens of such Coptic idioms found in the Lausiaca History are brought forward,—the oft recurring *δηγήσατό μοι ἀδελφός τις*, and the form of adjuration or request: *τῶν ποδῶν σου ἀπτόμεθα* (A 15, 16).—I cannot see any reason why such expressions should not have been employed by a Greek writer. The third instance of a Copticism is taken from one of the parts interpolated from the *Historia Monachorum*, and cannot therefore be admitted as evidence in the case of the Lausiaca History; it is considered in its proper place in Appendix III. It is true that M. Amélineau says that he gives only a few instances out of many; but it must be supposed that those which he selects are among the most striking.

We may now proceed to an examination of the texts. Of the Coptic Version of the Lausiaca History only a few considerable fragments are known to be extant. Zoega prints excerpts from them¹, and Amélineau the full texts²; both writers furnish translations.

¹ *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano adservantur* (Bonae, 1810).

² *De Historia Lausiaca* (Fragments 1—4); *Histoire des Monastères de la Basse-Égypte* (Fragment 5).

The following is a list of the Fragments :

- (1) The Dedicatory Epistle : Μακαρίζω σου τὴν προαίρεσιν (P. G. xxxiv. 1001);
- (2) The Preface, or Διήγησις : Πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα (P. G. xxxiv. 1001—1010);
- (3) The Life of Pambo or Pamo (A 10, 11).
- (4) The Life of Evagrius (imperfect at the end) (A 86).
- (5) The Life of Macarius of Alexandria (imperfect at the beginning) (A 20, 21)¹.

These fragments are all in the Bohairic or northern dialect. The MS. containing 1 to 4 dates from the tenth century; that containing 5 was written in 1153². Fragments 3, 4, 5 contain a considerable amount of matter not found in the Greek. Thus two distinct questions arise in connection with the Coptic fragments:—

(I.) Which is the original, the Coptic or the Greek ?

(II.) If the Greek prove to be the original, is the additional matter of the Coptic later accretion, due to Greek or Coptic scribes; or is the current Greek text, at any rate in certain places, but an abridgment of Palladius' work ?

It will be convenient to keep these two questions separate.

I. *The Original Language.*

A discussion must be instituted concerning each of these five pieces :

- (1) The Epistle Μακαρίζω (Zoega *Catalogus* 129; Amélineau *De Hist. Laus.* 73—76).
- (2) The Διήγησις, Πολλῶν πολλὰ (Zoega *op. cit.* 129—130; Amélineau *op. cit.* 76—92).

These two pieces may be taken together, for their very nature precludes the idea of the Coptic being the original. They are addressed to Lausus; the words, "To Lausus the Praepositus"

¹ The fragments on John of Lycopolis (Tome i. Fasc. ii. of Amélineau's *Monuments*) are from the *Hist. Mon.*; that on Poemenia (*ibid.* 664) is quite different from *Hist. Laus.* (A 47), though apparently referring to the same episode.

² Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, v. *159, *165.

stand in the title of each of them in the Coptic just as in the Greek, and he is further mentioned by name in the body of the *Διήγησις*. It will be shown in the second part of this Study that the minute autobiographical details given in the Greek *Διήγησις* harmonize perfectly with the known course of Palladius' career; and they stand here in the Coptic exactly as in the Greek¹. The two pieces are dedicatory writings to the Greek Lausus from the Greek Palladius; and therefore in their case there can be no question at all of the Coptic being the original: both the pieces were certainly written in Greek.

(3) *The Life of Pambo* (Zoega *Catalogus* 130; Amélineau *De Hist. Laus.* 92—104; cf. *P. G.* xxxiv. 1028; A 10—11, B 2). The structure of the Coptic Life is as follows:—

(a) Certain anecdotes not found in the Greek Life of Pambo (pp. 92, 93 in Amélineau).

(β) The body of the Life, agreeing in main outlines with the Greek Life—A 10 (*Fuit igitur*, p. 94—*processissent*, p. 99).

(γ) More anecdotes not found in the Greek Life (pp. 99—103).

(δ) The story of Abba Pior = A 11 (pp. 103, 104).

It must be noted that Fragments 1 to 4 belong to a single MS., now forming part of the Vatican *Cod. Copt.* LXIV. The pagination is preserved in Amélineau's reprint, and the pages succeed one another continuously from 1 to 90². To the first piece is prefixed the rubric: "The fifth Sabbath of Lent"; and to the fourth piece (though Amélineau does not give it) the similar rubric: "The fifth Sunday of Lent" (cf. Zoega 132). This shows that the Coptic MS. was prepared for liturgical use, the two pieces of Introductory matter and the Life of Pambo being selected for reading on the fifth Saturday of Lent, and the Life of Evagrius on the following day. The facts of the case may be thus stated:—

(a) The first two pieces and the body of the third exist in the one Greek work, the Lausiaca History.

¹ Amélineau *op. cit.* 77, 78; Zoega *op. cit.* 130.

² The number 𐌸𐌸 in the third line of the Life of Evagrius is an obvious misprint for 𐌸𐌹 (*De Hist. Laus.* 104).

(b) In the Coptic MS. they form a single liturgical lection.

(c) The first two pieces were certainly selected for the purpose from a Coptic translation of the above-mentioned Greek work—(unless, indeed, it be supposed that the Coptic MS. is a translation of a Greek lectionary).

It seems, then, only natural to suppose that the third piece also (at any rate the portion of it that corresponds to the Greek) was taken from the same source.

And this supposition is confirmed by the following fact: the five lines near the beginning of the Coptic Life of Pambo (*de cuius virtutibus... nisi necessarium*, p. 92) do not occur in the Greek Life; but they do occur in the account of Abba Or, which in the Lausiaca History immediately precedes that of Pambo¹. If the reader will look at the last paragraph of A 9 (which in the genuine redaction constitutes practically the whole account of Or, cf. B 2), he will see the close verbal agreement between the Coptic and the Greek, and also that in the Greek text of the Lausiaca History the Coptic *Fuit igitur* (p. 94) follows immediately after *nisi necessarium* (p. 92).

These various considerations tending to connect the Coptic Life of Pambo with the actual Greek work of Palladius, make it almost certain that those portions of the Coptic which correspond in matter with the Greek (β and δ in the schedule above) were translated from the Greek.

A comparison of the texts confirms this position, and shows that the Greek is without doubt the original; for instances can be pointed out in which the divergences of the readings are evidently due to the Coptic translator having failed to understand the Greek. Thus in the Greek we read: $\mu\eta\delta' \ \delta\lambda\omega\varsigma \ \alpha\nu\alpha\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma, \ \eta \ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu \ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu \ \tau\tilde{\omega} \ \sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota \ \tau\eta\varsigma \ \theta\eta\kappa\eta\varsigma$ (*P. G.* XXXIV. 1028 D); for which the Coptic has: "But he did not raise his head, while working" (p. 96). Here the Copt has not attempted to translate the somewhat crabbed Greek clause, but has substituted the statement (already made) that Pambo was at work weaving palm leaves. Again, after relating the rebuke she re-

¹ In the Old Latin they actually form part of the same chapter: see below p. 114.

ceived from Pambo for her desire of praise, Melania continues: *οὕτως οὖν ᾤκονόμησεν, φησὶν, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν με εἰς τὸ ὄρος* (ibid.). The Coptic has: "In this way, therefore, did God give me rest, and I went forth from him" (p. 96). Once again, when Pambo was near his end he sent for Melania, and when she came he was weaving a basket, *καὶ τοῦ τελευταίου κεντήματος πρὸς ἀπαρτισμὸν ὄντος* he gave the basket to Melania (1033 A): instead of this expression, which was difficult to translate, the Coptic has: "When he drew nigh to his last breath" (p. 97)¹.

In the Greek account of Pambo there are four mentions of a disciple of his named Origen, who is twice stated to have been his *oeconomus*; in the corresponding places in the Coptic the names John, Theodore, Macarius are found instead of Origen. Now one of the groups of Greek MSS.² and the Latin Version II agree in this respect with the Coptic. A variety of considerations resulting from the investigations I have made into the grouping and inter-relations of the MSS. and versions, has led me to believe that Origen is the true reading: and I see that Dr Preuschen has arrived at the same conclusion. The substitution of the other names is, I believe, due to the desire of getting rid of the very name of Origen,—a phenomenon of which other examples are forthcoming³. It is impossible to enter at this place on any

¹ M. Amélineau thinks the Coptic text the better in this place, and says that without doubt the reading *κενήματος* is due to the error of some scribe (*De Hist. Lauv.* 85, note). But *κενήματος* is not only the reading of the Greek mss.: it is attested by both Latin Versions and by Syriac Version I (Budge, II. 86), all of which interpret the clause as meaning "when the basket was finished."

² Dr Preuschen does not mention these Greek mss. in his critical apparatus (pp. 120 ff.): they are the Paris mss. *ancien fonds grec* 1626, and *Coislin* 282, 295, 390; also the ms. used by Hermet (cf. 1st ed. of Rosweyde).

³ In Paris ms. 1627 the name Origen is simply omitted in three of the places in Pambo's Life. The original form of Latin Version I agrees with the common Greek text in giving Origen's name; but in the recension as found in the printed editions the name is omitted in one place and changed into Paul in two of the others. In A 84 Dominus is said to have been a disciple of Origen; in the Armenian Version of this the obnoxious name is omitted. In the Latin *Hist. Mon.* is a short chapter (attested by Sozomen and therefore genuine) on a monk named Origen; this chapter is not to be found in any Greek copy of the work that I have seen. Thus there can be no doubt that the tendency mentioned in the text was

discussion of the textual problem; but if Dr Preuschen and I are correct in the result at which we have arrived quite independently: *i.e.* if the readings common to certain Greek MSS., to a Latin version, and to the Coptic, are in truth corruptions: then it is certain that the common error must have arisen in a Greek copy, and have passed thence to the Coptic, which therefore is proved to be a translation.

Besides the agreements in the proper names common to the Coptic and the Latin Version II, and to a group of Greek MSS., there are a number of other agreements between the two versions, which are not shared by any Greek MS. known to me, and which indicate clearly a special affinity between the two versions. In Lat. II (Rosweyd, 987) Or and Pambo form one chapter (c. V.). This appears to have been the case in the Greek Palladius which the Coptic writer used. The chapter probably bore the single title of Pambo. Hence what is said of Or is attributed to Pambo, by the omission of Or's name. Moreover in the Latin there is no mention at this point of Melania's having been a source of information (as is stated in the other authorities for the text): here again we have a point of connection between Lat. II and the the Coptic. Again, in the Coptic Pambo says to Melania: "God who received the two mites of the widow *will receive thy sacrifice also,*" and in the Lat. II: "*nec tuam oblationem tradet oblivioni*"; but the italicised words have no equivalent elsewhere. In the account of the burial (1033 A) the Coptic and Lat. II both have the third person, not the first. These coincidences show that the Greek MSS. which stand behind these two versions were closely related; but there appears to be no extant Greek representative of the type.

Indeed M. Amélineau in the case of Pambo modifies his general theory and admits that the actual Coptic before us, in the parts which correspond with the Lausiaca History, is a translation from the Greek. But to account for the additional matter found in the Coptic life, he suggests that probably Palladius derived his materials from a Coptic work which he translated in an abridged form into Greek, and which he then retranslated the Greek into Coptic. This theory is supported by the fact that the Coptic text of Didymus and

into Coptic, having before him also the original Coptic work used by Palladius and filling up from it the gaps of Palladius' abridgment¹.

Against this cumbrous hypothesis, which can have nothing to recommend it, save that it is the only way of reconciling the general theory of Coptic originals with the fact that here a great portion is certainly a translation from the Greek, several objections present themselves. For instance, if the Coptic translator had in his hands the presumed original Coptic work, is it likely that he would have retranslated the Greek at all, instead of merely transcribing the original? Again, the circumstance that a large portion of the narrative purports to be a personal relation by Melania to the writer, points to a Greek rather than a Coptic origin: it is altogether unlikely that she should have told all this to a Copt, whereas it is known that she had personal relations with Palladius, and he quotes her in a number of places as the authority for what he relates.

But what is to be brought forward in the second part of the present section, when we come to deal with the additional matter in Pambo, will quite dispose of the theory.

Thus far, then, we see that in the first three Coptic pieces we have certainly translations from the Greek of the Lausiatic History. The Coptic additions in the third piece will be considered later.

(4) *The Life of Evagrius* (Zoega *Catalogus*, 132; Amélineau *De Hist. Laus.* 104—124; cf. *P. G.* xxxiv. 1188—1195; A. 86, B 25).

In order to compare the Coptic with the Greek, it will be convenient to divide the Life into sections as follows:—

¹ "Mihl quidem libet dicere Palladii opus ab auctore fragmentorum Vaticanorum translatum esse, sed etiam hunc auctorem alio opere usum esse quo ipse antea usus sit Palladius" (*De Hist. Laus.* 89).

	Greek.	Coptic.
(α) Introductory, down to the text: "Being made perfect in a short time."	1188 B 8 to c 2.	104 to 106— <i>Multos annos explevit.</i>
(β) His origin, ordination, coming to Constantinople and activity there.	1188 c 2 to d 1.	<i>Hic igitur homo (106) to dimicatos esse (107).</i>
(γ) Story of how he came to leave Constantinople; his illness at Jerusalem, and arrival at Nitria.	1188 d 1 to 1194 A 7	<i>Omnisque civitas (107) to in Aegypto adivit (111).</i>
(δ) His life in Nitria and Cellia, his austerities, &c.	1194 A 8 to B 11	<i>Ibi duos annos (111) to ricinis impletur (116).</i>
(ε) Three anecdotes.	(not in the Greek)	<i>Paucisque post diebus (116) to cognoscant (121).</i>
(ζ) Interview with three demons in guise of clerics.	1194 B 11 to B 15	<i>Rursus (121) to end (124) [incomplete].</i>
(η) Prophecies, confessions, death.	1194 B 15 to 1195 A 2.	[ms. incomplete.]

(a) In this case it is worth while to contrast the texts :

[All the translations from the Coptic have been made for me from Amélineau's texts by the Rev. Forbes Robinson, Fellow of Christ's College, and Editor of the *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* in this series.]

P. G. xxxiv. 1188.

Amél. *De Hist. Laus.* (p. 104).

Τὰ κατὰ Εὐάγριον τὸν αἰοίδιμον
διάκονον τοῦ Χριστοῦ,

ἄνδρα βεβιωκότα κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους,
οὐ δίκαιον ἡσυχάσαι,

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα γρηγορή παραδοῦναι

ἵς ἀποστόλων ὧν ἐντυχανόντων
ἰδὲν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἡσυχίας
ἰνῶν

Now I also will begin and I will speak concerning abba Evagrius the deacon of Constantinople, on whom Gregory the bishop laid hands; for also it is seemly that we should tell of his virtues whom all have praised. Now (δέ) he lived in the life of the apostles. For it is not right to hold our peace concerning his celebrated works and his progress; but rather it is seemly that *we should write them for edification and profit to those who shall read them, in order that they may give glory to God our Saviour who first gave power to men to do these things.* It was he who taught us much in Christ, and he knew the Holy Scripture

in spiritual wise (*πνευματικῶς*), and he told me what old wives' fables were (*lit. are*), as it is written: That sin may be manifested, that it is sinful.—[More of the writer's personal intercourse with Evagrius]—which *I shall write to you for profit to those who shall read them* and those who shall hear them, *that they may give glory to Christ who giveth power to His servants to do that which pleaseth Him.* May I also be worthy¹ to tell you how from his beginning [he lived] until he came to these measures and these great acts of asceticism (*ἀσκήσεις*), until he fulfilled sixty years and so rested, as it is written: In a short time he fulfilleth many years.

ἄνωθεν ἐκτίθεμαι, πῶς τε ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν μονήρη σκοπὸν καὶ ὅπως ἀξίως τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος αὐτοῦ ἐξασκήσας τελευτᾷ ἐτῶν πενήκοντα τεσσάρων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῃ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Τελειωθείς ἐν ὀλίγῃ ἐπλήρωσε χρόνους μακροῦς.

Here the Coptic is fully twice as long as the Greek, mainly owing to the presence of a passage not found in the Greek, professing to bring out the writer's personal indebtedness to Evagrius. The Greek is in a single compact sentence; the Coptic is in half a dozen. The end of the first sentence and the beginning of the second render twice over the same Greek words *οὐ δίκαιον ἡσυχάσαι*, and say in effect: "It is right to tell of his virtues, for it would not be right to hold our peace concerning them." After the passage mentioned above as not found in the Greek, the clause *εἰς οἰκοδομὴν.....τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν* is repeated (see the sentences in italics), so that it is quite clear that the Greek sentence was cut in two at the word *ἡγησάμενος*, and the fresh matter inserted; and that then the Redactor went back and repeated the last clause that he had used, in order to pick up again the thread of the Greek. These doublets make it evident that the Coptic cannot here be an original text, nor is it conceivable that the compact and well constructed Greek sentence should have been an abridgment of the seven sentences of the rambling Coptic. Moreover the clause "to tell you how from his beginning [he lived] until he came," is a mistranslation of the Greek: *ἄνωθεν ἐκτίθεμαι πῶς τε ἦλθεν*.

¹ *Lit. that I also may be worthy*

Section (β) supplies two instances in which the differences between the texts are due to mistranslations on the side of the Coptic. After naming the country and birthplace of Evagrius, and saying that his father was a presbyter, the Greek text and the other versions go on to say that he was ordained reader by Basil, "bishop of Caesarea," and many of the authorities add "the one which is near Argus," evidently to make it quite clear which Caesarea was St Basil's see. The Coptic completely alters the meaning; it says nothing at all about Evagrius being ordained reader, and declares instead that Basil, "the bishop of Cappadocia," made Evagrius' father presbyter of the church that is at Argus (*lit.* at Arkeus, or among the Arkeans: the word is plural in form). Once again: in the Greek we read that, when St Gregory departed from Constantinople after the Council, he left Evagrius behind him to help the new bishop Nectarius to confute the heretics. The Coptic reads: "And he overcame all the heretics. This Evagrius therefore and Nectarius the bishop [were] holding discussions (*or* disputations) with one another face to face; for he was very vigilant in the Scriptures, and his understanding was ready to convict all the heretics by his wisdom,"—a passage which would seem to imply that Nectarius was a heretic.

In section (γ) the two texts run quite parallel, and it is a simple question of translation on the one side or the other: *i.e.*, though there are trifling additions and omissions on either side, they are not more than such as are to be found in the case of the Coptic fragments (1) and (2), which, as has already been seen, are mere translations from the Greek. I think that anyone who compares the two texts of (γ) will feel that the additions in the Coptic (*e.g.* 'on account of his pride' (107), 'as a child' (108), 'in bright raiment' (108), 'which he changed twice a day' (110)), are not improvements, and have the appearance of glosses; while the omissions spoil the story (*e.g.* the clause describing Evagrius' fear while standing before the judge, and seeing others punished for the same offence as his own). I select the following cases for special notice:—the Coptic *si illum quaesivissent* (108, *i.e.* 'if they had asked him'), a mistranslation of the Greek: τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπισημασμένων, and *ill' cum furibus vincito dixit*

(109, line 4) a contraction of λέγει αὐτῷ δεδεμένῳ μεταξὺ σειρῶς τεσσαράκοντα καταδίκων (1193, B 3), which is almost certainly the true Greek reading. Again ταριχεύσας αὐτοῦ τὸ σαρκίον (1193, D 8) becomes *illius caro tenuis sicut filum facta est* (110, line 16), an absurd exaggeration.

In the remaining sections (δ), (ε), (ζ), the Coptic is either quite new matter, or else such an enlargement of the Greek as to be in effect a different text. These sections will therefore have to be considered in the second part of this chapter. Meanwhile I think it has been shown that in the case of Evagrius also, where the two texts run parallel, the Greek is the original from which the Coptic has been translated.

(5) *The Life of Macarius of Alexandria* (Zoega *Catalogus* 66—71; Amélineau *Monastères de la Basse-Égypte* 235—261; *P. G.* xxxiv. 184—200, and 1050—1065; A 20, 21; B 6).

In making the following synopsis of the Greek and Coptic Lives from the point where the latter begins, I have taken the Greek text which is printed in the Appendix to Floss's edition of the works of the two Macarii¹ (reprinted in Migne, *P. G.* xxxiv. 184 ff.). This text gives the true order of the incidents in the Life, as found also in Meursius and the Latin versions, whereas in A certain dislocations have been introduced. The Coptic begins at the close of the story of Macarius' visit to the enchanted garden of Jannes and Jambres (*P. G.* xxxiv. 188 D).

Greek.	Coptic.
(a) Antelope story.	(a) Antelope story.
(b) The asp.	(b) Hyena and sheepskin.
(c) His various cells.	(b) The asp.
(d) Paralytic girl.	(c) His various cells.
(e) Visit to Tabennisi.	(d) Paralytic girl.
(f) Attempted contemplation.	Story of Lydia.
(g) Cure of a presbyter.	(e) Visit to Tabennisi.
(h) Cure of a demoniac boy.	(f) Attempted contemplation.
	(g) Cure of a presbyter.
	(h) Cure of a demoniac boy.
	The Libyan robbers.
	Takes nothing to satiety.

¹ *Macarii Aegyptii Epistolae, &c.* (Coloniae: 1850).

Greek.	Coptic.
(i) Temptation to travel.	(i) Temptation to travel.
(j) Story of Marcus.	(j) Story of Marcus.
(k) Fights self and the devil ¹ .	(k) Fights self and the devil.
(l) Hyena and sheepskin.	
(m) Not spitting since baptism.	(m) Not spitting for seven years.
(n) Personal appearance.	(n) Personal appearance.
Answer to evil thoughts.	
Conclusion—"This out of much."	
	The broken chalice.
	Seven converted actors.
	Prays for rain in Alexandria.
	Conclusion—"What I could collect about him."
	His day 6th of Pashons.

In order to discover which is the original text, it will be best to compare passages of some length in which the Greek and Coptic most nearly agree. I select therefore the story of Macarius' visit to Tabennisi, the passage marked *e* in the above table. There are flaws in both the Greek texts that are printed in Migne; but on the whole for this particular passage that on column 1057 is the better. The following table schedules the points of difference between the Greek and Coptic (pp. 241—4).

col. 1057

- C 6 *οι Ταβεννησιώται*] + which is a monastery in the South. Abba M. arose.
 (This breaks the Greek sentence into two.)
- 8 *ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Θηβαῖδα*] he came to the South. } (The order of the Greek
δι' ἡμερῶν δεκαπέντε] + until he came thither. } clauses is inverted.)
- 9 *εἰσελθὼν*] now when he had reached...he came.
- 10 *τῶν Ταβεννησιωτῶν*] om.
- 12 *ὃ ἀπεκρύβη*] God did not tell him.
- 13 *Μακάριον*] + for he had heard concerning him and he wished to see him
 (of. Luke xxiii. 8).
- D 1 *Παχώμιος*] + What dost thou desire, my brother? Behold I see that &c.
- 2 *ἀσκέω σὺ πῶς δύνασαι*] Thou art not able *πολιτεύεσθαι*.
- 2 *ἀδελφοί*] + all the.
- 3 *ἀπὸ νεότητος*] om.
- 4 *καὶ τοῖς πόνοις συνανατραπέμενος φέροντι πρὸς ἐμάς*] on
νύκτι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ] on

¹ The Greek text of the Historia Lausiaca, as printed in Migne, is based on the edition of the text by the late Dr. J. B. Pitra, who has followed the short section of the text...

- D 7 *κακοιογείς ἡμᾶς*] + go to the dwelling of the strangers [who are] husbandmen, and dwell there. I will nourish thee there until thou desirest to go forth of thine own accord (*or* by thyself).
 8 *ἡτόνησεν*] was weak. 9 *νῆστis*] + he went again to the abbot.
 10 *ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσω κατ' αὐτοῦς* } if I do not fast and *ἀσκεῖν* and do handi-
καὶ ἐργάζωμαι ἃ ἐργάζονται } work like them.
 12 *πέθει*] he sent. 13 *ὁ μέγας* II.] om.
 13 *ἔστι δὲ τὸ σύστημα*] Now the number...was. 15 *μέχρι τῆς σήμερον*] om.

col. 1058

- A 1 *ἡ Τεσσαρακόστη*] the holy *Τεσσαράκστη* (sic) of the fast. *ὁ γέρων* M.] om.
 3 *τὸν μὲν ἐσθλιοντα ἐν ἐσπέρῃ,* } some fasting till evening each day, others
τὸν δὲ διὰ δύο¹, τὸν δὲ } fasting two two, others fasting five five,
διὰ πέντε } (i.e. two days or five days at a time).
 3-5 *ἄλλον πάλιν ἐστῶτα διὰ πάσης* } and others fasting, standing all night
νυκτὸς, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν καθε- } [and] sitting in the day [om. *εἰς*
ζόμενον εἰς ἔργον } *ἔργον*].
 6 *εἰς πλῆθος*] om.; + he took them [and] laid them on a high *κυρικῶν* table before him
ἐν γωνίᾳ μιᾷ] + of his cell, plaiting plaited work.
 7 *καὶ τὸ Πάσχα παραέγονεν*] om.
 9 *οὐκ ἐκαθέσθη οὐκ ἀνέπεσεν, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγεύσατο*] om.
 11 *ὠμῶν*] om.
 12 *ἴνα δόξῃ ἐσθλεῖν*] to eat them in their presence, in order that they might know that he used to eat.
καὶ μὴ εἰς ἀησιν ἐμπέσῃ] om.
 13 *εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν ἑαυτοῦ*] to make water or to moisten palm branches.
 14 *ἴστατο εἰς ἔργον*] om.
μὴ λαλήσας μὴ μικρὸν μὴ μέγα] he used to speak to no one.
 15 *μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν παρεκτὸς τῆς ἐν καρδίᾳ* } praying in his heart, working
προσευχῆς, καὶ τῶν θαλλῶν ὧν εἶχεν ἐν } at the palm branches.
ταῖς χερσίν.
 B 2 *τῆς μονῆς ἐκείνης*] om.; + in this work.
 3 *τοῦ ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν*] their head of the monastery.
 3-5 *Πόθεν ἡμῖν ἤγαγες τοῦτον τὸν* } Whence hast thou brought this old man
ἄσκαρον ἀσθρωπον, εἰς ἡμε- } hither? Perhaps he was not clothed
τέραν κατάκρισιν } with flesh, [and] thou hast brought him here to judge us.
 5 *ἴνα εἰδέναι ἔχῃς*] om. 6 *σου σήμερον*] om.
 7-8 *ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν...ἠρώτησεν τὰ κατ' αὐτόν*] om.
 10 *ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ*] and God revealed to him.
 11 *ὁ μοναχός*] the Alexandrian, he who dwelt in Scete.
 12 *ὁ κύριος* II.] the head of the monastery.
καὶ ἐξάγει αὐτὸν ἐξω] om.

¹ This clause stands in the text on col. 192. Cf. a parallel passage in the account of the Tabennesiote monks in A 39: They eat *ἄλλοι ἐσπέραν βαθείων· ἄλλοι διὰ δύο· ἕτεροι διὰ τριῶν· ἄλλοι διὰ πέντε* (1105 B). There also *σύστημα* is used as above in giving the number of the community.

- B 14—15 *καὶ εἰσαγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν εὐκτήριον οἶκον, ἐνθα ἀέκειτο αὐτῶν τὸ θυσιαστήριον* } [and] brought into the midst of the place-of-making-*συναξίς*, after that they had ceased from the prayers of the altar + in order that all the multitude of the brethren might see him.
- 16 *καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτόν*] om.
- C 2 *χάριν σοι ἔχω*] + that thou hast edified us all.
- 4 *ἀσκήσει*] + but when they have put forth all their strength, they will not be able to attain to the measure of the forty days of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, [and] *μάλιστα* [to] thy *πολιτείας*, thou that art a man like unto us, *καὶ ταῦτα* when thou art old.
- παρακαλῶ σε*] om. *τόπον σου*] + in peace.
- 6 *τότε ἀξιώθεις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, δεηθέντων αὐτοῦ πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀνεχώρησεν οὕτως.* } Then he went, whilst they worshipped him, and all besought him, saying: "Pray for us."

I think a study of this schedule, in regard alike to the additions, the omissions and the alterations, will satisfy the reader that the Greek is the original. But I will call attention to two or three readings which make the matter especially clear. Col. 1057 D, line 8, the Greek is: *ἠτόνησεν παραμείνας ἡστίς*, 'he held out (till the seventh day), though he had continued fasting'; the Coptic is: 'he was weak, as he had continued fasting.' This would be *ἠτόνησεν* in Greek. But *ἠτόνησεν* is the reading of all the Greek MSS. that I have seen, and is attested by both Latin versions, by Syr. I and by Arm. It therefore follows that the Coptic reading is due either to a mistranslation on the part of the translator, or else to the fact that he used a Greek MS. already vitiated in this point. Either alternative shows the Coptic to be a translation. Again, col. 1058 B, line 4, the monks speak of Macarius as *τοῦτον τὸν ἄσαρκον ἄνθρωπον*. The Coptic presses the literal meaning of this, and paraphrases "Perhaps he was not clothed with flesh." The Coptic enlargements towards the end are very significant. The Greek story is that Pachomius said, in effect, to Macarius: "Really we have been greatly edified by you; but you are rather too much for us. Please go away, and pray for us." Macarius being thus requested, and all the brethren saying in response to him, he departed; the community being united in prayer for him. But in the Coptic it stands all

besought him, saying 'Pray for us.'" There is in the Greek a freshness and a truthfulness to nature which stamps it as genuine; the Coptic betrays "Tendenz."

We may give another example: In the paragraph marked *i* it is related that Macarius was grievously tormented by a temptation of vainglory, the demons pressing him to go to Rome and work his cures and miracles there. The Greek says (1060 A) that at last Macarius flung himself down at the doorway of his cell and put his feet out, saying to the demons: "Drag me along, if you can! but I will not go away on my own feet." The Coptic says (p. 252) that Macarius sat at the doorway of his cell and said to the demons: "If you are able, take me hence by force"; and again: "I have told you already that I have no feet." Here again it seems that the Coptic translator has missed the meaning of the Greek. Once more: the curious compound word *πολιοφάγε* (1065 C, cf. 1083 C), "thou white-haired glutton," is absurdly mistranslated in the Coptic: "thou who eatest thy white hairs" (p. 254).

I shall now take a case in which the Coptic account is much fuller than the Greek, so that an opportunity may be afforded of studying the character of the Coptic enlargements. And I select the instance in which, I think, they may be seen at their best, the story of the hyena and the sheepskin (*l* in the table). As both the Greek texts printed in Migne are very unsatisfactory in this place, I give that of the Paris Ms. *ancien fonds grec* 1626, with one or two corrections from the allied *Coislin* 295.

(Cf. Hervet's translation.)

Amélineau, *Monastères de la Basse-Égypte*, 235 ff. (cf. Zoega, *Catal.* 66 ff.).

1 Διηγείτο δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ δοῦλος
τοῦ θεοῦ Παφνούτιος ὁ τοῦ γεναίου
τούτου μαθητῆς, ὅτι μίας τῶν ἡμε-
ρῶν καθεζομένου τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου
5 ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσομι-
λοῦντος, ὕαινα λαβοῦσα αὐτῆς τὸν
σκύμνον τυφλὸν ὄντα ἤνεγκεν τῷ
ἁγίῳ Μακαρίῳ· καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ
κρούσασα τὴν θύραν τῆς αὐλῆς
10 εἰσήλθεν, ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἔξω καθεζομένου,

And again it came to pass once
as he was sitting in his cell, there
came unto him a hyena with her
young one in her mouth. She carried
it and placed it at his door, and
knocked with her head at the door.
The old man heard her knock, and
went out, thinking that a brother was
come unto him. But when he opened
the door, he saw the hyena, and was

καὶ ἔρριψεν τὸν σκύμνον ὑπὸ τοὺς
πόδας αὐτοῦ.

λαβὼν τὸν σκύμνον ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος,

καὶ ἐπιπτύσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ,
15 ἐπηύξατο καὶ παραχρήμα ἀνέβλεψεν·
καὶ θηλάσασα αὐτὸν λαβοῦσα ἡ μήτηρ
οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν.

καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρα κώδιον μεγάλου
προβάτου ἤνεγκεν τῷ ἀγίῳ Μακαρίῳ.

20 καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ ἅγιος τὸ κώδιον
ταῦτα ἔλεγεν τῇ υἱαίνῃ. Πόθεν σοι

astonished, saying: "What doth she seek after here?" And she took her young one in her mouth¹, and held it forth to the old man, weeping. The old man took the young one into his hands, being fearless² in his simplicity, and turned it hither and thither, seeking in its body, what was diseased in it. Now when he had considered the young one, behold it was blind in its two eyes. And he took it, and he groaned, and he spat in its face, and signed³ its eyes with his finger. Straightway it saw, and it went to its mother, and received suck, and followed her; and they went into that river.....and into the marsh †where they made their way †⁴. Now the sheep of the Libyans are brought down to the marsh of Scete once a year to eat *shoushet*; and the herdsmen also who dwell in the villages over against Pernouj bring their sheep down to the marsh of Scete once in the year to eat [the] green herb. The hyena waited⁵ a day, and on the morrow she went to the old man, a sheepskin being in her mouth, very woolly and fresh, which she carried⁶. And she knocked with her head at the door. Now the old man was sitting in the enclosure; and when he heard the knocking at⁷ the door, he rose and opened [it], and found the hyena carrying the skin⁸. He said to the

¹ Lit. *filled her mouth with her young one*

² Lit. *established*

³ Lit. *sealed*

⁴ The text from "into that" to "their way," both here and in the copy in the Borgian Museum (see Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 66 f.), appears to be corrupt. Zoega emends his text (which is not the same as Amélineau's), and reads: 'in montana aestu ardentia et inde ad paludem ubi manserunt.'

⁵ Lit. *left*

⁶ Lit. *placed upon her*

⁷ Lit. *of*

⁸ Lit. *the skin being placed upon her*

τοῦτο εἰ μὴ βεβρώκεις πρόβατόν
 τινος; τὸ οὖν ἐξ ἀδικίας οὐ ἐγὼ οὐ
 δέχομαι παρὰ σοῦ. ἡ δὲ ὕαυα κλί-
 25 νασα τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος
 ἐγονυπέτει πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ ἁγίου
 καὶ ἐτίθει τὸ κώδιον. αὐτὸς δὲ ἔλε-
 γεν αὐτῇ· Εἰρηκά σοι ὅτι οὐ λαμ-
 βάνω, εἰ μὴ μοι ὁμόσεις μηκέτι
 30 λυπεῖν πένητας κατεσθίουσα αὐτῶν
 τὰ πρόβατα. ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο
 δαίνευσεν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτῆς ὡς συντι-
 θεμένη τῷ ἁγίῳ Μακαρίῳ. τότε ἐδέ-
 ξατο τὸ κώδιον παρὰ τῆς ὕαινης.

hyena: "Whither hast thou gone, and found this, unless thou hast eaten a sheep? That therefore which thou hast brought to me is from violence¹, I will² not take it from thee." The hyena struck her head to the ground and her knees, bending her feet, and beseeching him like a man, that he would take it from her. He said to her: "I have already said that I will not take it, unless thou dost promise me, saying: 'I will not vex the poor by eating their sheep.'" And she made many movements with her head, up and down³, as though she were promising him. Again he repeated to her: "Unless thou dost promise me, saying: 'I will not take an animal alive.' But thou shalt eat [thy] prey dead from henceforth. If thou be in trouble, seeking without finding, come hither to me, and I will give thee bread. And do no violence¹ from henceforth." The hyena bent her head to the ground...kneeling down, bending her feet, and moving her head up and down³, towards his face, being as though she promised him. And the old man understood in his heart that it was⁴ the dispensation of God, who giveth understanding even to the beasts, for the rebuking of us. And he gave glory to God who giveth understanding even to the beasts. And he praised in the Egyptian tongue God who liveth for ever, †for the soul is honoured†⁵. He said: "I give glory to Thee, O God, who wast with Daniel in the den of lions, and didst give understanding to the beasts: likewise also now Thou hast given understanding

¹ Or, *wrong*

² Lit. *is*

³ Or, *I do*

⁴ Lit. *down and up*

⁵ The text appears to be corrupt.

35 ὡς δὲ ἡ μακαρία δούλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 Μελάνη μοι εἶπεν ὅτι Παρὰ τοῦ
 μακαρίου ἐκείνου ἐγὼ ἔλαβον τὸ κώ-
 διον ἐκείνο †ξένην†¹ τῆς υἱίνης ἐπι-
 λεγόμενον. καὶ τί τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν
 40 παρὰ ἀνδράσιν τῷ κόσμῳ ἕσταυρω-
 μένοις ὕαιναν εὐεργετηθεῖσαν εἰς
 δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τιμὴν τῶν δού-
 λων αὐτοῦ εὐαισθητήσασαν ξένια
 τοῦτω κομίσαι; ὁ γὰρ τοὺς λέοντας
 45 ἐπὶ τοῦ προφήτου τοῦ Δανιὴλ ἡμε-
 ρώσας καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ υἱίνῃ σύνεσιν
 ἐχαρίσατο.

to this hyena also, and Thou hast not forgotten me, but Thou hast made me understand that this ordinance is Thine." And the old man took the skin from the hyena; and she went again to her place. And every few days she came to see him. And when she found no food she came to him, and he threw a loaf to her. She did this many times. And the old man lay on the skin until he died. And I have seen it with my eyes. For when he was about to die, Melania, the queen of the Romans, chanced to visit him, and he gave her that skin for an inheritance. This she had until her death, keeping it faithfully in remembrance of him².

I think it will be agreed that in the first half of this passage the Coptic is, from the literary and artistic standpoint, much better than the Greek; it is picturesque, it has local colouring, it has a pastoral air about it, which certainly imparts to it a vividness wanting to the Greek. But on the other hand, equally clear is it that in the second half the Coptic enlargements are thoroughly bad, and have all the signs of being apocryphal additions. So that here again the evidence is in favour of the originality of the Greek. The following words of M. Amélineau throw light on the question :

"L'écrivain copte ne se soucia jamais de la critique, il racontait ce qu'il avait vu, ce qu'on lui avait raconté, employant les ornements du style comme il le pouvait, modifiant à sa guise, croyant parfois qu'une autre phrase, ou même un autre tour de phrase, rendait mieux sa pensée, et les ajoutant l'une à l'autre sans souci de ce qui précédait. De là vient qu'il est presque impossible de rencontrer deux manuscrits semblables, quand même le second a été copié sur le premier....Si l'on traduisait, la traduction ne fut jamais la reproduction fidèle, dans un autre dialecte ou dans une autre langue, de l'œuvre originale. Quand il ne s'agissait pas de l'Écriture, le plus simple copiste... donner carrière à son amour... au style et changer presque toutes... cette année même... avant sa... expression de

confier à un jeune homme copte la copie de plusieurs actes de martyrs, je restai stupéfait de l'entendre me dire qu'il me mettrait ces actes 'en meilleur style.' Je ne pus qu'à grand peine lui faire comprendre qu'il devait bien s'en garder¹."

The conclusion to be drawn from the evidence, taken as a whole, is that the embellishments introduced by Coptic translators and scribes are by no means always extravagant and grotesque; on the contrary, some of these Copts must have possessed no mean literary sense: we may be prepared to find that they at times introduced a true local colouring into the narrative, and really did in some sense "improve" their texts.

We have gone through the various portions of the Coptic version which have hitherto been printed, and have found in each case that where there is no question of additional matter but only of translation, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Greek is the original. More of the Coptic version will doubtless be recovered in course of time and printed: I suspect from the few lines printed by Zoega, that the Coptic Life of Macarius of Egypt contained in the Vatican Codex LXIV.² will prove to be that of the Lausiatic History. Any further matter which may come to light will of course demand examination. But there are certain *a priori* difficulties in the way of supposing that Palladius translated Coptic documents, which it may be well to indicate here.

The passages examined make it quite evident that it is a case of actual translation on the one side or on the other: Palladius could not possibly have reproduced the Coptic documents from memory. Now he did not write the Lausiatic History till long after his sojourn in Nitria; in the Preface he says that it is the twentieth year of his episcopate, *i.e.* 420; and all through the book he speaks of events that happened after he had left Nitria—the persecution of St John Chrysostom, the Sack of Rome, the death of Melania. It is scarcely conceivable that Palladius should have carried about Coptic documents, or his own translations of them, during the whole of his chequered career; nor does it seem likely that he should have procured them when about to write his

¹ *Vie de Schmoudi*, Préface, xiii; cf. *Contes et Romans*, Introduction, lxiv.

² *Catalogus* 127; the reader will see the reasons of my belief later on (p. 152).

book¹. Considerations such as these, drawn from the broad facts of the case, render it in the highest degree improbable that Palladius should have translated or made a direct use of Coptic materials when composing the Lausiatic History.

II. *The Coptic Additional Matter.*

We have ascertained that, so far as the printed Coptic Lives agree in matter with the Lausiatic History, the evidence leads to the conclusion that the Coptic is a translation of the Greek. We now come to consider the nature of the additional matter found in the Coptic. In the first two fragments there is no additional matter properly so called. We may therefore pass on to

(3) *The Life of Pambo* (for references, cf. p. 111).

The Coptic Life of Pambo is composed as follows:—

Amél. p. 92, l. 1 = *Hist. Laus., P. G.* xxxiv. 1026 D, l. 10.

Amél. p. 92, ll. 2, 3; not in *Hist. Laus.*

Amél. p. 92, ll. 3—8 = *Hist. Laus., P. G.* 1028 A, ll. 8—14².

Amél. p. 92, l. 8—p. 94, l. 1; not in *Hist. Laus.*

Amél. p. 94, l. 1—p. 99, l. 15 = *Hist. Laus., P. G.* 1028 B init.
—1033 B fin.

Amél. p. 99, l. 15—p. 103, l. 8; not in *Hist. Laus.*

Amél. p. 103, l. 9—p. 104, l. 8 = *Hist. Laus., P. G.* 1033 C.

When we bring together the portions of the Coptic which are not in the Lausiatic History, we find that they make a fairly substantial account of Pambo's life: "Abba Pambo succeeded abba Anthony, and they call him abba Pambo ἀληθινόν, that is the truthful. He had a wife and two sons who did not wish to

¹ It is true that Palladius was again in Egypt, having been banished to Syene, and perhaps also spent a considerable time at Antinoopolis in the Thebaid; but that he should have made translations of Coptic writings on these occasions, and should have taken them about with him through Asia Minor and Greece, is only one degree less improbable than the case presented in the text.

² *P. G.* xxxiv. 1026 D, l. 10, and 1028 A, ll. 8—14, together make up the full Lausiatic History account of Or, the intervening matter being interpolated from the *Hist. Mon.*

become monks. When he first came to the brethren" &c. We may in fact consider this an independent Life, which in the Coptic has been worked up together with the Palladian Life.

Now Socrates tells three stories about Pambo (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23). None of these is in the Lausiac History: but all of them, and in the same order, are in our reconstructed second Life. The first of these anecdotes relates how Pambo, being unlettered, went to one of the Fathers whom he asked to teach him a psalm; and after hearing the first verse ("I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not in my tongue") said that this would suffice, and going his way spent several years in trying to master thoroughly this one verse (Amél. 92—3). Though the Coptic is somewhat fuller than Socrates' Greek, they both evidently represent the same original. The second story, that of the gold brought to Pambo by Anatolius (p. 100) is given by Socrates very briefly, and with no mention of Anatolius' name. Socrates' text of the third story is printed here, together with a translation of the Coptic. It will be seen that whatever additions may be in the Coptic are mere embellishments. At the end we miss the terseness of the Greek.

(Socrates.)

Οὗτος ὁ Παμβὸς, Ἀθανασίου τοῦ
ἐπισκόπου παρακλήσαντος, κατῆλθεν
ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

Ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκα θεατρικὴν,
σύνδακρυς ἐγένετο.

τῶν δὲ παρόντων πυθομένων διὰ τί
ἐδάκρυσε,
Δύο με, ἔφη, ἐκίνησεν·
ἐν μὲν ἡ ἐκείνης ἀπώλεια·

ἕτερον δὲ

(Amél. *De Hist. Laus.* 101.)

They say also concerning him that abba Athanasius sent for him once and took him into Alexandria. When he entered into the city he saw a woman of the theatre (*θέατρον*) adorned. And straightway he wept¹. When therefore the brethren who were with him saw him, they said to him: "Our father, we beseech thee, tell us for what reason are these tears²." And he said to them, "There are two things that move me now. The one is concerning the destruction³ of this soul which I see now. The other is concerning my own soul⁴

¹ Lit. *his eyes wept*

² Lit. *tell us these tears that they are those of what thing*

³ Lit. *The one is the [matter] of the destruction (emending text)*

⁴ Lit. *The other is the [matter] of my own soul*

ὅτε ἐγὼ οὐ τηλικαύτην ἔχω σπουδὴν
πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ὅσον αὐτῇ ἵνα
ἀρέσῃ ἀνθρώποις αἰσχροῖς².

which is thankless, because it does not even receive the likeness and the adornment of this harlot by¹ the adornment of virtues and the pleasing of the Lord and His angels."

¹ Lit. *in*

The fact that Socrates gives (as it seems) an abbreviated extract from the second Life may lead us to suppose that it, as well as the Lausiatic History, was a Greek work—a supposition which is confirmed by our finding among the *Apophthegmata* under Pambo's name (*P. G.* LXV. 369) in almost identical words the anecdote just printed; for Socrates' chapter on the monks was not one of the sources of the original general collection of *Apophthegmata*; it therefore seems reasonable to suppose that the *Apophthegma* in question (and very likely some of the others under Pambo's name which are not derived from the Lausiatic History) may have been derived from this second Life, which therefore would have been a Greek work. Whether the welding together of the two Lives was the work of a Greek or of a Copt, we cannot tell.

It might be expected *a priori* that the two Lives of Pambo would at some point at least overlap. And it is to be noted that the compiler who brought these two together failed to observe that the story of Anatolius and his offering (p. 100) was another version of the story of Melania and her offering (pp. 94—6). It is of course conceivable that Pambo acted twice in the same way; but the request in each case that he should take note of the amount rather points to the one story being a mere doublet of the other².

It is to be noted that the Coptic is an explanatory edition, correcting what seems unsatisfactory (as in the case of ὡς μηδὲ ἀρξάμενος θεοσεβείν (*P. G.* XXXIV. 1033 B), which is explained away in ten lines (pp. 98—99)), and enlarging a story of which

² There is a somewhat similar anecdote, but told with much greater detail, in the *Vita S. Pelagiae Meretricis* (Rosweyd, p. 376); the original Greek has recently been edited by Usener: *Legenden der h. Pelagia* (Bonn, 1879).

³ There are several such instances of a story being current in different shapes; e.g. the story of the Sheepskin in *Hist. Laus.* 20 (above); *Hist. Mon. (gr.)* 28; Rufinus *Hist. Eccl.* II. 4; Sulp. Severus *Dial.* I. 15.

the meaning is a little obscure at first sight (*ἵνα μή σε βαρήσω*, *ibid.* c), and thereby spoiling it.

(4) *The Life of Evagrius.*

The main interest of the discussion centres round the portion of the Life which is designated (ζ) in the Synopsis on p. 116. Towards the end of the Greek Life mention is made of an apparition of three demons in the guise of clerics, who came and disputed with Evagrius on questions of the faith; and it is merely stated that he overcame them by his spiritual wisdom. The text is as follows:—*Τούτῳ τρεῖς ἐπέστησαν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δαίμονες ἐν σχήματι κληρικῶν, περὶ πίστεως συζητοῦντες αὐτῷ· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν Ἀρειανὸν, ὁ δὲ Εὐνομιανὸν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλιναριστήν. καὶ τούτων περιεγένετο διὰ βραχείων τῇ πνευματικῇ σοφίᾳ* (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1194 B).

In the Coptic Life the episode is related at some length, and the arguments are given whereby Evagrius defeated his interlocutors. Cotelier long ago printed a fragment, purporting to be "from the Life of the holy Evagrius written by Palladius," in which the same episode is described¹. This Greek fragment and the Coptic are the same. Cotelier's Greek is reprinted after the Life of Evagrius in Lami's edition of the *Historia Lausiaca*², but not anywhere in the Greek Patrology, either in the Lausiaca History (xxxiv.), or in the Appendix containing Cotelier's extra matter (lxv.), or among the *Opera Evagrii* (xl.). The manuscript in which the Greek is found contains no more of the Life than the fragment printed by Cotelier, which stands among some extracts from the writings of Evagrius³.

The Greek and Coptic accounts are here printed in parallel columns.

¹ *Eccl. Graec. Mon.* iii. 117—120.

² *Joannis Meursii Opera Omnia* (ed. Lami), tom. viii. 556.

³ The present number of the manuscript is *ancien fonds grec* 1220; it is of the 14th century; the fragment is on f. 271.

Ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγρίου
συγγραφεῖς ὑπὸ Παλλαδίου.

(Amélineau, *De Hist. Laus.* pp. 121—
124.

1 Ἐπίστησαν τούτῳ τρεῖς δαίμονες
ἐν σχήματι κληρικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
μεσημβρίᾳ. τοσοῦτον δὲ εὐφυνέσαντο
ὡς μόλις αὐτὸν γνῶναι, ὅτι δαίμονές
5 εἰσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ θύρα αὐτοῦ τῆς
αὐλῆς πάντοτε κλείθρον εἶχεν· ὁθεν
εὐρών αὐτὸ ὡσαύτως ἔγνω, ὅτι δαί-
μονες οἱ παραγενόμενοι.

ἕκαστος οὖν ἴδιον πρόβλημα ἠρώτη-
10 σεν, εἰπόντες αὐτῷ· Ἐπειδὴ ἠκούσα-
μεν, ὅτι καλῶς περὶ πίστεως διαλέγῃ,
ἦλθομεν, ἵνα πείσης ἡμᾶς.

ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· Εἴπατε, ὃ βούλεσθε.
λέγει ὁ πρῶτος· Ἐγὼ εἰμι Εὐνομα-
15 νός· τοῦτο δὲ ἦλθον, ἵνα μοι εἴπῃς,
ὁ πατὴρ ἀγέννητος ἢ γεννητός;

ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· Οὐκ ἀποκρίνομαί
σοι. κακῶς γὰρ ἠρώτησας. ἐπὶ γὰρ
τοῦ μὴ πεφυκότος γεννᾶσθαι οὐδεὶς
20 λέγει γεννητὸν ἢ ἀγέννητον.

ἀπορηθεὶς οὖν ἔλκεται τὸν ἄλλον. ὁ
δὲ ἐλθὼν ἀποθεῖται τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
ὡς κακῶς ἐρωτήσαντα.

ἄλλο αὐτὸ ὡσαύτως] MS. ὡς αὐτὸ αὐτὸ

11 εἰ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ

12 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ

13 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ

14 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ

15 αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ

Again three demons met him
once, being in the form of ministers
of the Church, in the middle of the
day, in the noon-day heat (καύμα);
and they so adorned themselves that
they did not let him know that they
were¹ demons. Therefore after they
went and he found the door fastened,
he knew that they were¹ demons.
For he did not know at first. And
they were like some discussing² with
him concerning the faith from the
scriptures. And each spake with
him his difficulty (πρόβλημα); and
they said to him: "We heard concern-
ing thee that thou dost speak well
touching the orthodox faith. There-
fore we came unto thee, that thou
mayest persuade us in that which we
ask of thee." And he saith³ to them:
"Speak that which ye wish." The
first saith to him, "I am an Eumenian
(Εὐμενίος); and I came unto thee
that thou mightest tell me: 'Is the
Father begotten (γεννητός) or is He
unbegotten (ἀγέννητος)?" Abba Eva-
grius saith to him, "I do not⁴ answer
thee; for thou didst ask amiss. For
the unbegotten nature (φύσις) must
not be declared to be begotten or
unbegotten." When the first knew
that he was vanquished by him⁵, he
drew his companion forward. And
when he came forward, he saith to the

¹ Lit. are ² Or, disputing

³ Or, said (the Coptic word here and
elsewhere may be translated by a Pres.
Past. It has been translated by
the Pres. Past. The Greek has a
Pres. Past.

⁴ Lit. are

⁵ Lit. are

ἔρωτᾷ οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ ἄββᾶς Εὐάγριος·
 25 Ἐὐ τίς εἶ; Ἐγώ, φησί, Ἄριανός. Καὶ
 τί βούλει; Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος,
 φησί, καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
 εἰ ἀληθῶς τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας.

ἀποκρίνεται ὁ ἄββᾶς Εὐάγριος· Τὸ
 30 μὲν πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον οὐτε γέννημα
 οὔτε κτίσμα. πᾶν γὰρ κτίσμα τόπῳ
 περιορίζεται, καὶ τροπῇ ὑφίσταται
 καὶ ἐν μετοχῇ ἀγιάζεται. τὸ δὲ
 ἄγιον πνεῦμα ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς
 35 ἐκπορεύεται, τὰ δὲ πάντα πληροί—
 λέγω δὴ τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ
 τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς—αὐτὸ παρ' οὐδενὸς
 ἀγιαζόμενον. τὸ ἀπερίγραφτον οὖν
 καὶ ἄτρεπτον καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν ἄγιον
 40 οὐ δύναται οὔτε κτίσμα εἶναι ἢ λέ-
 γεσθαι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ σώματος Μανι-
 χαιῶν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐρώτημα καὶ Οὐαλεντι-
 νῶν καὶ Μαρκιανιστῶν ἢ καὶ Ἀριανῶν;
 ἀποκρίνεται ὁ δαίμων· Ναί· ἡμεῖς
 45 ἀμφιβάλλομεν, ἀλλὰ δημοσιεύειν οὐ
 τολμῶμεν διὰ τοὺς ὄχλους. ἀποκρί-
 νεται ὁ ἄββᾶς Εὐάγριος· Πολλὰ μὲν
 οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται, ὅτι ἐκ Μαρίας
 ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα· ἢ τε αἵθεσις καὶ ἢ
 50 περιτομή καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐνναμη-
 ναῖος χρόνος καὶ ἢ γαλούχησις ἢ τε
 βρῶσις καὶ ἢ πόσις καὶ ὁ κόπος καὶ
 ὁ ὕπνος φθαρτοῦ ἐστὶ σώματος, ἔτι
 δὲ ἐξαιρετον ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἠνίκα
 55 ἠνύχθη τῇ λόγχῃ καὶ ἔρρευσεν αἷμα
 καὶ ὕδωρ. ἀπορηθέντος οὖν καὶ τοῦ
 ἄλλου προσέρχεται ὁ τρίτος μετὰ
 πολλῆς θρασύτητος, ὥσας τοὺς δύο
 ὡς ἀπροσκόπους καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ·
 60 Δεδόσθω ὅτι ἐκείνων περιεγένου.
 καὶ γὰρ ἢ ἀλήθεια συνηγορεῖ. τί
 ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ἐμοί; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ

first: "Thou didst ask amiss." Abba Evagrius saith to him: "Thou, what art thou?" He saith; "I am an Arian (Ἀριανός)." Abba Evagrius saith to him: "What dost thou also seek after?" He saith to him: "I ask concerning the Holy Spirit and concerning the body of Christ, whether it is truly that which Mary bare." The holy Evagrius saith to him: "The Holy Spirit is neither a thing begotten nor is He a creature. All creatures are contained in a place: all creatures change and are sanctified by Him Who¹ is better than they."

(The third saith:) "Thou didst vanquish these, for.... What dost thou wish to say to me?" The old man saith to him: "What dost thou

Εὐάγριος· Σὺ τί ἀμφιβάλλεις; ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται· Ἀμφιβάλλω μὲν οὐδέν,

65 πληροφορίαν δὲ ἔχω, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς νοῦν ἀνθρώπινον οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ νοῦ αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ἄρχοντα δαιμόνων νικῆσαι.

70 ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν· Εἰ μὴ νοῦν εἶχεν ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ σῶμα...εξῶν...

δύνασθαι μὴδὲ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν λέγειν. τὸν τοῦ ἀτρέπτου μὲν οὖν λόγον καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώ-
75 ματος

διδάσκει Παῦλος ἐν μονάδι ἀνακεφα-
λαιῶν τὴν πίστιν καὶ λέγων· Εἰς γὰρ θεός, εἰς καὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χρι-
80 στὸς Ἰησοῦς.

ὡς ἂν... ἡμεῖς... ἡμεῖς...

seek after, that thou gloriest before the struggle (ἀγών)?” The demon saith to him: “I indeed do not doubt anything, but my heart is not persuaded nor assured that Christ took human intelligence; but instead of the intelligence God Himself was in Him. For also human intelligence cannot cast out the prince of demons from men, and vanquish him. For also human intelligence is not in the body with God.” Abba Evagrius saith to him: “Unless He had taken human intelligence, He would not have taken human flesh also. If¹ therefore He took human flesh from (Mary the) holy Virgin, then He (became) man also with soul (and an intelligence), perfected in all things of mankind save sin only. For the body cannot be (without²) soul and intelligence. But if He did not take these, then He is called in vain Christ. The unchangeable Word therefore, the only-begotten Son of the Father, took human body and soul and intelligence and all things of mankind without sin. Let therefore a single testimony of Paul the Apostle suffice us now, saying—gathering for us the faith into one Unity (μονάς) and one Godhead and one Kingdom, for³ the coessential Trinity is unchangeable—for he saith: One is God, one is the mediator between God and men, Jesus Christ the Son of God the Father, and the one Holy Ghost, one Catholic Church, one resurrection of the dead, in the time of...even as Paul (said)...
za (deny) all the mystery of the Holy

συμφωνία ὄλον τὸ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος
 μυστήριον ἀθετεῖ. εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὑμῶν
 τὸν λόγον κτίσμα λέγει· ὁ δὲ τὸ πνεῦ-
 μα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 85 ἀρνεῖται· <ὁ δὲ> καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν·
 ἐκ τούτου δῆλοι εὕρισκεσθε Ἰουδαίους
 συντρέχοντες τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν σταυ-
 ρώσασιν. ἐκείνοι μὲν ἴσως καὶ συγ-
 γνωστοὶ κατὰ σάρκα ἀνελόντες, ὑμεῖς
 δὲ τὸ ὅσον ἐν τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ ὑμῶν τὸ
 κατὰ πνεῦμα. καὶ παραχθέντες σφό-
 δρα καὶ ἀπειλήσαντες αὐτὸν παρα-
 δειγματισμὸν ἠφαντώθησαν. ὁ δὲ ὡς
 ἀπὸ ὕπνου τινὸς ἀνανεύσας περίφοβος
 γίνεται. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς Ἀλβῖνον
 τὸν γείτονα πραύτατον ὄντα, φ' πάνυ
 προσέκειτο, ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ τὸ
 δράμα. ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ
 μὴ μένειν μόνῳ, τὸ πολὺ νῆφειν τὴν
 διάνοιαν καὶ βαρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς μονό-
 τητος.

85 *Addidi* ὁ δὲ

Trinity. One of you has made the
 Word [a] creature; another has made
 the Holy Ghost [a] creature and¹ the
 body of Christ; the other has killed
 the soul and the body of Christ".....

(End of MS)

¹ Something is perhaps omitted in the text.

Here again there can, I think, be no doubt that the Greek is the original. This follows from considerations both general and particular. There is throughout a subtlety of theological and metaphysical speculation, an acuteness in the disputation, a knowledge of technical terms, which all seem to breathe the Hellenic spirit. Again (as will be shown in a moment), the question put by the Eunomian is the very keystone of his system; the Apollinarist position is accurately represented, and the argument of its representative is one that might very naturally have been used by a follower of that heresy; the Arian's question concerning the Holy Ghost is quite in place in the mouth of an Arian, while his second question concerning Christ's body surprises Evagrius, who says that he had thought the point raised was Gnostic rather than Arian. This minute heresiological knowledge seems more akin to the acute Greek mind than to the Coptic, which appears not to have been versed in metaphysical speculation.

To come to particulars. The question put by the Eunomian—*ὁ πατήρ ἀγέννητος ἢ γεννητός*; “Is the Father unbegotten or begotten?”—though at first sight it may appear strange, is just the way in which a Eunomian might have opened a disputation; for if Evagrius had returned the obvious answer *ἀγέννητος*, his adversary would have gone on to argue that a Being who is *ἀγέννητος* and a Being who is *γεννητός* cannot be *ὁμοούσιοι*, a palmary argument of the Eunomians¹. But Evagrius foils him by refusing to accept the terms *ἀγέννητος* or *γεννητός* as in any way applicable to a Being *μὴ πεφυκῶς γεννᾶσθαι*. Here again the current controversy of the time is accurately reflected; the line taken by the orthodox was to object to the employment of the word *ἀγέννητος* at all². Evagrius’ answer is therefore a dexterous device of living controversy, but it depends on the force of the Greek *πεφυκέναι*, in *ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ πεφυκός γεννᾶσθαι*, which it is difficult to bring out in another language: certainly the Coptic answer; “the unbegotten nature (*φύσις*) must not be declared to be begotten or unbegotten,” altogether fails to represent the argument.

Again, in the answer to the Arian, the Greek “Every creature *ἐν μετοχῇ ἀγιάζεται*, “is sanctified by participation,” is mistranslated by the Coptic, “are sanctified by Him who is better than they.” In answer to Evagrius’ question: “About what dost thou doubt?” the Apollinarian replies in the Greek: “I do not doubt anything, but I am certain that” &c.; in the Coptic: “I do not doubt anything, but my heart is not persuaded or assured

¹ St Basil thus represents the Eunomian argument:—*Ἐὶ ἀγέννητος, φασὶν, ὁ πατήρ, γεννητός δὲ ὁ υἱός, οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας. ἀγέννητος γὰρ καὶ γεννητός οὐκ ἂν εἴη μᾶς οὐσίας. εἰ ὁμοούσιος, φασὶν, ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ, ὁ πατήρ δὲ ἀγέννητος, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς γεννητός, ἡ αὐτὴ ἄρα οὐσία ἀγέννητος καὶ γεννητή (c. *Eunom.* iv. p. 285 Ed. Ben.).*

² Bp Lightfoot refers to this subject at the end of an Excursus on the terms *γεννητός* and *ἀγέννητος*. “While the orthodox party clung to the *ὁμοούσιος* as enshrining the doctrine for which they fought, they had no liking for the terms *ἀγέννητος* and *γεννητός* as applied to the Father and the Son respectively, though unable to deny their propriety because they were affected by the Arians and applied in their own way.” He then paraphrases a passage of Epiphanius (*E. h.* vi. c. 19) “*Ἄγε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέννητος ὁ υἱὸς ὡς ἀγέννητος ὁ πατήρ* because, though used by the Arians, the words are not applied to the Father and the Son. ἄλλ’ ὡς ἄρα ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοούσιος ἡμεῖς ἄρνηται τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς ἀγέννητος καὶ γεννητός. ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοούσιου ἡμεῖς ἀρνηται τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς ἀγέννητος καὶ γεννητός.”

that" &c. "The unchangeable word" is an evident mistranslation of τὸν τοῦ ἀτρέπτου λόγον. The Coptic enlargement after μονάδι is a gloss, which destroys the meaning of the passage; the change of "the Man Christ Jesus" into "Jesus Christ the Son of God the Father," eliminates the whole controversial point of the citation; and the addition "the one Holy Ghost, one Catholic Church," &c., makes the Coptic here a complete *ignoratio elenchi*. Thus the Greek text of the fragment is convincingly proved to be the original¹.

The title prefixed to the Greek fragment: ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἀγίου Εὐαγρίου συγγραφείς (*sic*) ὑπὸ Παλλάδιου, must be taken as evidence that a Greek Life of Evagrius, other (and longer) than that of the Lausiac History, circulated under the name of Palladius; and when we find in the Coptic fragment that this identical passage stands as part of a Life of Evagrius connected by some close bond of relationship with that in the Lausiac History,—agreeing in structure, containing the same matter, but considerably longer,—it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the Coptic version has preserved the greater part of this longer Greek life².

The coexistence of two closely allied forms of the Life, both in Greek, both attributed to Palladius, is a phenomenon that claims an attentive consideration. There seem to be four possible hypotheses to account for the fact:—

(i) *Palladius wrote two Lives of Evagrius, a longer as an independent work, and a shorter in the Lausiac History.*

¹ There are, however, naturally a few places in which the Greek text may be emended by the aid of the Coptic.

² Zöckler apparently dissents from this view. In regard to the Greek fragment indeed, he does not think that this comes "from a late apocryphal Life" ("sieht nicht danach aus, als gehöre es einem Apokryphon späten Ursprungs an," *Evagrius Ponticus* 98): but in the following pages he points out certain features of the Coptic Life, which he believes establish "its late origin and secondary character" ("weist dies alles mit Deutlichkeit auf späten Ursprung und secundären Character dieses koptischen Texts hin, *ibid.* 95). The chief points to which he calls attention will be referred to presently; but they afford no ground whatever for the distinction drawn by him between the Greek and the Coptic fragments, which must stand or fall together. And indeed, on p. 75, Zöckler says that the Life from which the Greek fragment came, exists in a more complete form—"in vollständigerem Texte"—in Coptic.

This is Zöckler's view¹. He bases it upon the following passage of Socrates, at the end of the long chapter on the Monks (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23):

Ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις καὶ ἄλλοι πλείστοι ἄνδρες θαυμαστοὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, ὧν ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ συγγραφῇ μνημονεύειν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη· ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκβαίνειν τοῦ προκειμένου ἀνάγκη, εἰ βουλοίμεθα καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς βίους, καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησαν θαύματα διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἀγιότητα· εἰ δέ τις βούλοιτο τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν μαθάνειν, ὧν τε ἐποίησαν, ὧν τε ἔπραξαν, καὶ ὧν πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουσάντων ἐφθέγγετο, ὅπως τε αὐτοῖς τὰ θηρία ὑπήκουον, πεπόνηται Παλλαδίῳ τῷ μοναχῷ ἴδιον μονόβιβλον, ὃς Εὐαγρίου μὲν ἦν μαθητής. πάντα δὲ ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν διεξῆλθεν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐφάμιλλον τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀνδράσι ἐπανελομένων βίον μνήμην πεποιήται. Εὐάγριος μὲν οὖν καὶ Παλλάδιος μακρὸν ὑστερον μετὰ τὴν Οὐάλεντος τελευτὴν ἦνθησαν.

I am at a loss to understand how Zöckler can see in these words of Socrates any reference to a separate Life of Evagrius; for although the second half of Socrates' chapter is devoted to Evagrius, it is as clear as possible that the concluding passage refers to the monks in general, and that the ἴδιον μονόβιβλον is the Lausiaca History and not a Life of Evagrius, as Zöckler would have it². Zöckler hazards the conjecture that the longer Life may be found among the Syriac Lives of Evagrius in the British Museum. As a matter of fact, this is not the case. I have carefully examined them and found them to be substantially the same Life as that contained in the Greek and Latin editions of the Lausiaca History. In particular the episode of the interview with the three demons is no fuller in any of the Syriac MSS. than in the standard printed Greek text; and in none of them, as neither in any Greek MS., did I find any of the additional matter of the Coptic Life³.

The sole evidence that can give any countenance to the theory that Palladius wrote two Lives of Evagrius consists in (1) the existence of the longer form in Coptic; (2) the superscription of Cotelier's Greek fragment, which declares it to be from Palladius'

Evagrius Ponticus 98, 96; *Askese und Mönchtum* 219.

¹ "Zwar weiß man vom Vorhandensein eines 'besonderen Buchs' (ἴδιον μονόβιβλον) des Palladius über das Leben des Evagrius."

² "The account of the Syriac version of the Life of Evagrius has been given in a..."

Life of Evagrius. But this superscription shows no more than that some copies of the longer form of the Life went under Palladius' name; which would be quite natural and likely even on the hypothesis that it was but an interpolated redaction of the Life in the Lausiatic History.

(ii) *The Life of Evagrius did not originally form part of the Lausiatic History, but was a separate work, and was afterwards incorporated in an abridged form in the Lausiatic History*¹.

The evidence of the manuscripts tells as strongly as such evidence can tell in favour of the Life of Evagrius having stood, in its present form and position, in the original Lausiatic History. The Greek MSS., so far as I have been able to examine them, fall into three main groups, which I designate *a*, *β* and *γ*. *a* represents the type of text found fused with the *Historia Monachorum* in A (e.g. Paris 1626, &c.); the Life of Evagrius is found in these MSS. *β* is made up of a large number of MSS. presenting certain textual phenomena akin to those of the Palatine MS. printed by Meursius (e.g. Paris 1596, 1600, &c. &c.). In this particular MS., and in some others of the same group, the Life of Evagrius is wanting, but in a greater number of the MSS. of the group it is found. Moreover, in every case of its absence known to me, the Life of Didymus the Blind is also absent. But this latter Life certainly belongs to the true text; and the absence of both from certain MSS. of the group is clearly due to an anti-Origenistic tendency. There can therefore be no doubt that the Life of Evagrius stood in the archetype of group *β*. The group *γ* preserves an early tradition of the text, independent of *a* and *β*. Its chief representative is the Paris MS. 1628, in which Evagrius is wanting, though Didymus is found. But a considerable fragment of the same text is preserved also in the curious MS. *Coislin* 282, where the block of Lives from Pachon to Moses the Libyan presents distinctive readings of the aforesaid MS. 1628;—the critical apparatus to the extracts from the Life of John of Lycopolis (pp. 24—28) illustrates the affinity. In *Coislin* 282 the Lives run on in consecutive series from John of Lycopolis to Moses the Libyan,—John, Posidonius, Serapion, Evagrius, Pior,

¹ This I see is Dr Preuschen's position.

Moses,—just as in the good MSS. of the other groups. Seeing that the other five Lives are of the γ text, it may safely be concluded that that of Evagrius, which is one of the series, also belongs to that text; especially as it presents just the same sort of differences from the α and β texts as are found throughout the work. It thus appears that the Life of Evagrius existed in the archetypes of each of the three groups of Greek MSS. It also stood in the copy of the Lausiaca History used by Sozomen (vi. 30). It is found in both the Latin versions. The evidence of the Syriac versions is neutral: on the one hand, the Life is not found in organic connection with clearly Palladian matter in any copy known to me; on the other, the Syriac MSS. are so incomplete, and in Anan-Isho's *Paradise* the book has been so tampered with, that the negative evidence to be drawn from them is worthless. The Syriac and Armenian copies of the Life are found in Collections of Evagrius' Works, or of Lives of Saints: but the Lausiaca History Lives of John of Lycopolis and others are found in similar places; and it is but natural that, when a Life was required for such purposes, it should be taken out of a work so popular as the Lausiaca History. This does not afford any reason for supposing that the Life of Evagrius was originally written to be prefixed to his works, and only afterwards put into the Lausiaca History¹.

¹ Dr Preuschen deals with the question on pp. 255—259 of his *Palladius und Rufinus*, and it is right to take account here of the reasons that have led him to his conclusion. They may be summarised as follows: (1) The formal introduction to the Life of Evagrius (cf. p. 116), which seems to point to a separate existence; also the reference to general readers—*εις οικοδομην των εντυγχανόντων*,—whereas usually throughout the History Lausus alone is contemplated. But it seems to me that elsewhere in the book similar subsidiary introductions are found,—as to the account of the two Macarii and to that of the holy women (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1043 and 1220), and in particular the remarks on those who fell away, referred to by Dr Preuschen himself, which seem to afford a perfect parallel to the piece under discussion: *αναγκαϊον δ' εστιν και τους των ηπατημένων βλους ενθείναι τῷ βιβλιαριῳ τούτῳ προς ασφάλειαν των εντυγχανόντων* (*ibid.* 1091; cf. also 995). (2) Dr Preuschen is disposed to see in the Syriac and Armenian copies of the Life evidence of its separate existence: but I think that what has been said by Professor Robinson in the preceding section (p. 101), and by myself in the text, shows that there is no sufficient reason for doubting that all these copies are taken from the Lausiaca History. (3) The ending of the Life—*εως ενταυθα ο ακρος βλος της εναρτέου πολιτείας του δαιδμου Εδαργμου*—is a trace of its previous independent existence. This

(iii) *The original Lausiac History was a longer work than ours, and only an abridged copy has come down to us in Greek; but the Coptic version has preserved in part the original unabridged form of the work.*

This hypothesis is put forward by Amélineau as a possible alternative to his theory of Coptic originals¹. Here again the manuscript evidence is against such a theory. In none of the Greek MSS., nor in Sozomen, nor in the earliest versions, Syriac or ending belongs to the mss. of the α and β groups; but it is absent in *Coislin* 282, the representative here of the γ text; and it is also absent in the versions. In many other places somewhat similar conclusions are found (e.g. A 18, 28, 35, 86, 104, 108, 113), and some of these conclusions are similarly absent in the γ text. (4) In one group of mss. (Vienna 9 and 84, and Paris 1532, to which must be added Arundel 527) the Life of Evagrius stands at the end of the Lausiac History; in this circumstance Dr Preuschen sees the first stage of the process whereby he conceives that an abridgment of the longer separate Life made its way into the Lausiac History. My study of the textual phenomena of these mss. has convinced me that they are but a sub-group of β , and that their archetype was an ordinary β ms. that had undergone an arbitrary literary revision. I am therefore unable to attach importance to any of their readings; to put them higher up in the pedigree of the text than groups α and γ and the Latin versions (in all which the Life of Evagrius stands in its usual place) is in my judgment altogether impossible. I therefore regard as a mere accident the position of Evagrius at the end of the work. Of course it will be incumbent on me to make good my statements when I come to deal with the mss. in the *Introduction to the Text*. (5) Lastly, Dr Preuschen thinks that Sozomen, in his sketch of Evagrius, used the long form of the Life rather than that found in the Lausiac History: his reason is the resemblance between Sozomen's words: $\delta\lambda\lambda' \omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\epsilon\rho\iota \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \eta\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\xi}\omega\upsilon\varsigma\iota \alpha\iota \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$ (vi. 30), and those of the Coptic Life: *the books which he wrote testify to his knowledge and excellent mind* (cf. *infra*, p. 144). The contexts of the two passages are wholly different: in the Coptic the words occur in the very middle of the Life; in Sozomen they occur after a passage which Dr Preuschen agrees was derived from the *Historia Monachorum*; they are followed immediately by a passage describing his modesty and meekness, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron \delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{o} \eta\theta\omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$, not found in either form of the Life by Palladius; and then comes the story of his departure from Constantinople, from the beginning of the Life in both redactions. Thus its position in Sozomen would lead us to suppose the passage was not taken from the Life in either its longer or its shorter form. After all, the resemblance is not close, beyond the mere ground idea, which is a very obvious one to anyone who knew Evagrius' writings. It has been shown, moreover, in § 8, and here again Dr Preuschen agrees, that in this very part of his History, as elsewhere, Sozomen has been making free use of the Lausiac History.

What Dr Preuschen has brought forward does not lead me to modify the conclusions at which I had previously arrived.

¹ *De Hist. Laus.* 39 and 72.

Latin, have I found anything to suggest a text of the work longer than that which has come down to us;—unless indeed it be an addition found in Lat. II to the story of Evagrius' interview with the three demons. The body of the story agrees with the ordinary Greek text of the passage (printed above, p. 131); but after the words: *καὶ τούτων περιεγένετο διὰ βραχείων τῇ πνευματικῇ σοφίᾳ*, the Latin goes on: *dum de testimoniis sanctarum Scripturarum concluderet, illi subito conturbati et magnum strepitum facientes, phantasma schematis eorum dissolutum est et nusquam comparuerunt* (Rosweyd, 997). Now in the long redaction of the episode it is by texts from holy Scripture that Evagrius confutes the heretics, and at the end we read: *καὶ παραχθέντες σφόδρα καὶ ἀπειλήσαντες αὐτὸν παραδευγματισμὸν ἠφαντώθησαν*, which certainly resembles the Latin addition. In the Armenian version, too, as Professor Robinson has pointed out, it is said that the three demons became invisible. But seeing that the whole narrative in Lat. II is unquestionably the Short Life, and that no other trace of any affinity with the Long can be detected, and having regard to the phenomena of Lat. II as a whole, and its relations to the other texts, I think it is impossible to suppose that the addition in question can be due to any survival from a longer text of the Life of Evagrius. The resemblances, though at first striking, may safely be put down as curious coincidences. And after all, it is but natural that Evagrius when controverting with heretics should have had recourse to holy Scripture; similarly, it is but natural that the demons when put to confusion should make a noise and disappear:—it is what they always did under such circumstances¹.

¹ The Sermon on "the Faithful Departed," included among the works of St John Damascene, quotes as from "the historic book of Palladius to Lausus" an anecdote of Macarius of Egypt and a skull (*P. G.* xc. 256). The anecdote is not in the Lausiaca History, but is to be found among the *Apophthegmata* (*P. G.* lxxv. 280, also xxxiv. 257). I do not think that this citation lends any support to the theory that the original text of the Lausiaca History contained matter not in ours; for it has already been pointed out that in Syria, the country of St John Damascene, the *Apophthegmata* were attributed to Palladius, and currently spoken of as the *Lausiaca History*. And there were interpolated Greek copies: as the *Apophthegmata* were found along with several other works in the *Lausiaca History*.

Thus, beyond the bare existence of the longer form of the Life, which has to be accounted for in some way, there is no direct evidence producible in support of any one of these three hypotheses; and although none of them have been proved to be untenable, the external evidence is against them all.

(iv) *The Life in the Lausiac History is the genuine one, and the longer Life is an interpolated and secondary redaction.*

This is the view to which I have been led after a prolonged study and comparison of the two texts. In the Table given a few pages back (p. 116) the Life was divided into certain sections; it is on the sections there marked (δ) and (ε), describing Evagrius' manner of life in Cellia, that the question has mainly to be decided. In order to enable the reader to form his own judgment on the case, it is necessary to lay before him the Greek text of this portion of the short Life, and a fairly full synopsis of the long Life. In the Coptic column only those portions which represent the Greek are given in full, and they are printed in italics; in the Greek column those portions of the text which are not represented in the Coptic are enclosed in square brackets.

(P. G. xxxiv. 1194.)

Ζήσας οὖν δεκατέσσαρα ἔτη ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις κελλοῖς, [ἦσθιε μὲν ἄρτου λῦτραν τῆν ἡμέραν· ἐν τριμηνιαίῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ξέστην ἐλαιόν·]

*ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ ἀβροδιαίου καὶ τρυφῆ-
λου βίου καὶ ὑγροτάτου ἡγμένους.
ἔποιε δὲ εὐχὰς ἑκατὸν, [γράφων
τοῦ βίου τῆν τιμὴν μόνον ὡς
ἦσθιεν·] εὐφύως γὰρ ἔγραφεν [τὸν
ἄξιον χαρακτήρα.]*

*[ἐν τῷ οὖν πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτῳ]
καθαρέσθαι τὸν νοῦν, κατηξιώθη*

(Amél. *De Hist. Laus.* 111—121.)

He went to the desert of the cells. *He was there fifteen years*, passing his life there in many ascetic practices (πολιτείας), and he died there, being sixty years old, without the sorrows of the old age of the body, as it is written: In a short time, &c. One day he asked Macarius how to overcome fornication; M. replied that at the time he should not eat fruit or any thing cooked in a fire. *Now he was a wonderful man, having come from a life full of repose and enjoyment.* It is right to tell in the first place of his old age. Every day he used to make a hundred prayers, and he was a very skilful scribe (γραφεὺς τεχνίτης). After eight years he began to suffer from the stone, and his elders made him abate his austerities. Until his death he ate no bread, but a few vegetables, etc., until he had fulfilled his short time. He neither ate, nor allowed his disciples to eat, fruit or anything pleasant. Such was his asceticism in matters of food. In regard to sleep, he slept the third part only of the night and never by day. During the greater part of the night and at midday he used to pace up and down the enclosure to keep himself awake, forcing himself to contemplate the visions presented to his mind. *His mind became very pure, and he was worthy of a grace of wisdom and knowledge*

χαρίσματος γνώσεως καὶ σοφίας
καὶ διακρίσεως πνευμάτων.

συντάττει οὖν οὗτος τρία βιβλία,
Ἴερὰ (sic; but there seems to
be some early corruption in the
Greek texts) Μοναχῶν,

Ἀντιρρητικῶν, οὕτω καλού-
μενα,

τὰς πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας ὑποθέ-
μενος τέχνας.

τούτῳ ὤχλησέ ποτε εἰς βάρος
ὁ τῆς πορνείας δαίμων, ὡς αὐτὸς
ἡμῖν διηγείτο, καὶ διὰ πάσης νυκ-
τὸς γυμνὸς ἔσθη ἐν τῷ φρέατι,
χειμῶνος ὄντος, ὡς παγῆναι αὐτοῦ
τὰς σάρκας. ἄλλοτε πάλιν ὤχλη-
σεν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα βλασφημίας,
καὶ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ὑπὸ
στέγῃν οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ
σῶμα αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ τῶν ἀγρίων
ζώων, κρότωνας ἐκβράσαι.

and judgment, discerning the works of demons. He was accurate in the Scriptures and the orthodox traditions of the Catholic Church, and the books which he wrote testify to his knowledge and excellent mind. For he wrote three books of instruction, one about the monks of monasteries, another about the monks who dwelt in the cells of his desert, another about the priests of God, that they might be vigilant in the holy place. The three books taught all men to live profitably according to the traditions of the Church. The brethren used to assemble to him on Sabbaths and Sundays, and during the night would discuss their thoughts with him and listen to his words of comfort until dawn, and so departed from him praising God, for his teaching was very sweet. But he urged them, if any one had a troublesome thought, not to disclose it till they were alone, lest he should destroy a little one by his thought. He every day admitted to his cell five or six pilgrims who came from afar, attracted by his wisdom and asceticism; everything that was sent to him was kept by the steward, who always served in his house. Abba Theophilus the Archbishop often wanted to seize him and make him bishop of Thmoui, but he fled away [to Palestine, it is stated p. 118, where the fact is again referred to]. One day the demons wounded him; we heard his voice but we did not see them. During the night they scourged him with bull's hide whips; we saw the wounds on his body, God is our witness. But if you wish to know the temptations he suffered from the demons, read the book which he wrote against the contradictings of demons, and you will see all his power and different temptations. He wrote it that the readers might be comforted, and he taught us by what methods different thoughts are overcome. This great man was at first unknown. At one time the demons so multiplied fornication upon him that the thought entered his heart: "God has forgotten me," as he told us, and he spent the whole night standing in the well, being naked in the winter praying, until his flesh had dried up like a stone. Another time again the spirit of blasphemy troubled him, and for forty days he did not enter under the roof of a cell, until all his body was full of ticks like a brute beast. And a few days afterwards he told us revelations which he had seen, and he never concealed them from his disciples. "For it came to pass," said he, "as I was sitting in my cell by night, with my lamps burning, as I was meditating on one of the prophets; at midnight I was in an ecstasy, and I found myself as if in a dream." [The vision is described at some length.] It was impossible to find a worldly word in the mouth of abba Evagrius, or a quarrelsome word; nor would he hear such from another. He never saw this miracle about him

[A cure he wrought in Palestine when fleeing from the bishopric.] [A story told to Evagrius by an old man concerning some hot loaves he had found in the desert.] For I also chanced to be there, and while he was saying these things and telling the prodigy to abba Evagrius I was sitting there. [Evagrius tells a similar story, how he had found a purse in the way, and explains how in such cases it may be known whether it be the handiwork of angels or demons.]

τούτω τρεῖς ἐπέστησαν ἐν
ἡμέρᾳ δαίμονες ἐν σχήματι κλη-
ρικῶν κ.τ.λ. (Cf. *supra*, p. 131.)

ἐπέστησαν τούτῳ τρεῖς δαίμονες ἐν σχήματι
κληρικῶν, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μεσημβρία κ.τ.λ.
(Cf. *supra*, p. 132.)

I think there can be no question that the general impression produced by a perusal of the longer account is a favourable one. The picture drawn of Evagrius is very graphic, and the personal details and anecdotes about him are such as we should have no difficulty in believing to have come from the pen of Palladius. But the first and the important question to face is this: Which account is the primary one, and which the derived? And here I am clearly of the opinion that, whatever view may be taken of the intrinsic character of the additional matter in the long Life, that form of the Life bears the marks of being an expansion of the short form, whereas the short Life could not have been abridged from the long. This is a mere question of literary criticism, and the reader has before him the materials for controlling my conclusions. In the first place, certain passages in the Greek, which have all the appearance of being authentic information about Evagrius, are not found at all in the longer account. The portions of the longer Life which are printed in italics are mere *disjecta membra*, and could hardly have been picked out and built up into the compact Greek of the short Life; on the other hand, there is little difficulty in understanding how additional matter might have been inserted in different places into the framework of the short Life, thus breaking it up into the detached fragments that are found scattered about in the long Life. I would direct special attention to the parallel passages naming Evagrius' works. The short account says: "He composed three books, Ἱερὰ, Μοναχόν, Ἀντιρρητικόν." There is some difficulty about the first title, which probably is not the true reading; but the three titles given in the long account quite

baffle Zöckler, who has devoted nearly forty pages to the investigation of the lists of Evagrius' writings¹, and who declares these titles to be simply erroneous². But it is something more than a mere error; for after a considerable interval the long Life reverts to the question of Evagrius' writings, and picks up again the last title, 'Αντιρρητικόν, which it correctly describes as Contradictions of Demons; so that it mentions four works of Evagrius in all. Here I think it is evident that the notice in the short Life cannot have been made up out of the twofold reference in the long Life. It is to be noted, too, that the first sentence in this portion of the long Life (*he passed his life there in many ascetic practices, and he died there, being sixty years old, . . . as it is written, &c.*) is a doublet, repeated almost verbally, and with the same text of holy Scripture, from the passage at the beginning of both forms of the Life, already printed (p. 116). Doublets are usually a mark of secondary character. Lastly, in the earlier passage just referred to, there is an addition in the longer Life of exactly the same personal character as those under consideration here; and it was shown (p. 117) that this passage has all the appearance of having been violently inserted into the Greek text. This must suffice to indicate, so far as is possible in such subject-matter, the nature of the considerations which finally satisfied me of the priority of the short form of the Life, and of the fact that in the Greek of our Lausiaca History we have the genuine Life of Evagrius as originally written by Palladius³.

When this result has been ascertained, further questions as to the additional matter of the long Life become of less interest. I do not see that it could be precisely proved that Palladius

¹ *Evagrius Ponticus*, c. 2.

² *Ibid.* 95. (This is one of his proofs of the secondary character of the long Life.)

³ Zöckler gives certain reasons, different from the above, which have led him to the same conclusion (*Evagrius Ponticus* 94—95): and the Bollandist reviewer considers that he has made good his position: "Il montre fort bien que le fragment relatif à Evagrius est postérieur au texte de Palladius" (*Analecta Bollandiana* 20 1895)). But to none of his arguments no value can be allowed, and the editor of the Greek Life (1194 D) savouring of ἀράθεια, is the genuine text of the Life. The text of the latter is incomplete, and breaks off at the end of the first chapter.

himself did not expand the original Life; but it has already been seen that no evidence of any value can be adduced in support of such a hypothesis. The personal details, indeed, and the close relationship with Evagrius claimed by the interpolator, would seem to point to a member of Evagrius' circle of disciples: in particular there is at the end of the interview with the three demons, the mention of Albinus as the neighbour of Evagrius and the friend on whom he chiefly relied for support; and in different places in the Lausiac History Albinus is mentioned as a disciple and companion of Evagrius (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1113, 1196; cf. 1091). On the other hand it is possible that all this personal element may be the invention of a clever interpolator, who kept up the character consistently to the end. A limitation, however, must be made: he must have been familiar with the general conditions of life in Nitria; and he must have known something of Evagrius' writings, for the brief note which he adds explaining the nature of the *'Αντιρρητικόν* is quite correct. There may have been in the writings of Evagrius information concerning himself which is not accessible to us. There exist, moreover, among the Syriac MSS. at the British Museum copies of a collection entitled "Sayings of the Disciples of Evagrius¹," which however I have not examined. Socrates appears to have had access to sources of information not open to us, concerning Evagrius as well as others of the monks; and he says that Theophilus wished to make him a bishop, but he escaped by flight². This circumstance is related in one of the interpolated passages of the long form of the Life, with the additional information (possibly a mere invention) that Thmoui was the see in question, and that Palestine was the place to which he fled. It seems likely that the interpolator and Socrates may have derived their information from the same source.

Until this whole range of literature has been scientifically investigated, it would, I think, be premature to express any positive view as to the age and character of the interpolations.

In regard to the long account of the interview with the

¹ *Wright's Catalogue*, DOCLXXXVI. and DOCLXXXIX.

² *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23.

demons, there is nothing at all like it, nothing of the same theological character, anywhere in Palladius. But it is evident that the brief reference to the episode found in the Lausiaca History would readily suggest possibilities of a little theological writing, and would be a temptation to one theologically minded to improve the occasion.

(5) *The Life of Macarius of Alexandria.*

If the reader refers back to the table printed on pp. 119—20, where a comparative synopsis is given of the Greek and Coptic Lives, he will see that the additional matter of the Coptic occurs in three places. It will be convenient to deal with them in reverse order.

At the close of that portion of the Coptic material which corresponds to the Greek, three anecdotes are added, and then comes the conclusion of the Life, quite different from the Greek. This conclusion is so worded as to give rise to the suspicion that the Coptic Life of Macarius, like the other Coptic fragments, was intended for liturgical use: "Now I wished, O my beloved (*plural*), to tell you much concerning abba Macarius; these are what I have been able to find of him (they are very little); now in his practices and acts of asceticism he was perfect in his old age. And the day of his perfecting when he died was the sixth of the month of Pashons....What we have said is enough for the profit of those who hear, and that they may do it, that they may obtain the part and the lot of this truly valiant abba Macarius," &c.¹ The three stories that immediately precede these concluding words I have been unable to identify: one of them purports to have been told the narrator by Paphnutius, the disciple of the saint. They are all such as might have been current in collections of *Apophthegmata*.

The two Coptic insertions between *h* and *i* may actually be made to Greek sources of this kind, but belong really to his hagiography as Macarius of Egypt. The original of the story about the Libyans (see Amé^l p. 24^c) is to be found among the Greek fragments of the Life of Macarius of Egypt (D. G. lxxv 281 or xxvii 101). The other story about the Libyans (see Amé^l p. 24^c) is to be found among the Greek fragments of the Life of Macarius of Egypt (D. G. lxxv 281 or xxvii 101).

this same volume: the story has been considerably embellished and "improved" in the Coptic, but there can be no doubt that the more prosaic Greek account is the original. The next paragraph of the Coptic, which tells how he encouraged some young brothers by saying: "From the day that I became a monk, I have not eaten bread unto satiety, and I have not slept unto satiety," is derived from a saying of Macarius of Egypt to Evagrius, recorded in the *Μοναχός* of the latter, and cited by Socrates (IV. 23): *Θάρσει, ὦ τέκνον· ἐν ὅλοις εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν, οὔτε ἄρτος οὔτε ὕδατος οὔτε ὑπνου κόρον εἶληφα.*

The remaining additional piece, the story of Lydia, presents some curious features. It is necessary first to print the Greek and the Coptic of the preceding story *d* (the Paralytic Girl), and then the Coptic story of Lydia.

(*P. G.* xxxiv. 1059.)

(*Amél. op. cit.* 240f.)

[Ὁ φιλόθεος]¹ οὗτος τοσοῦτον πλήθος ἐθεράπευσε δαιμονιζομένων, ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως ἀριθμῶ ὑποβάλλεσθαι τούτους. παρόντων δὲ ἡμῶν πρὸς τοῦτον [τὸν ὄσιον ἄνδρα] παρθένος τις [φοράδην] ἐκομίσθη ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης [ἐνορία τῆς Ἀχαιίας,] εὐγενῆς τῷ γένει, πλουσία ἐν βίῳ, πολυετίαν ἔχουσα ἐν παραλύσει. καὶ τοῦτῃ προσενεχθεῖσα ἐρρίφη πλησίον τῆς αὐτοῦ κέλλης. εἰς ἣν σπλαγχνισθεὶς καὶ ἐπευξάμενος ἐλαίῳ τε ἀγίῳ ἀλείφων αὐτὴν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσίν [καὶ συνεχῶς μᾶλλον δὲ νουνεχῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς προσευχόμενος] ἐν εἴκοσι ὄλαις ἡμέραις, ταύτην ὑγιῆ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐξαπέστειλεν πόλιν.

And this holy old man abba Macarius healed multitudes of men possessed with demons, exceeding many, innumerable. So then when we were there, there was brought to him a virgin that was palsied and exceeding sick. She heard the report of him¹ in her country and caused them to bring her unto him; and when he had prayed over oil, he anointed all her body with his holy hands many times during² twenty days. God healed her through his prayers, and he sent her to her house healthy and made whole³, glorifying God. And when she had come to her city [at] the end of three days she died, and left 300 gold pieces. When she came to die⁴, she made [a] testament that they

¹ The Greek words enclosed in square brackets are omitted in some mss. (cf. Hervet's trans.).

¹ Lit. *his report*

² Lit. *through*

³ The same root is used in Coptic for "healthy" and "made whole."

⁴ Lit. *rest*

ἦτις τοῖς ἰδίοις πρὸς ἀπελθοῦσα
πολλὴν καρποφορίαν ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς
ἀγίοις.

should be taken to the holy abba Macarius, because of the manner in which she was made whole. For the report of the holy abba Macarius was spread abroad. And another maiden heard concerning him, and came unto him from Thessalonica, whose name was¹ Litia. She was a scribe writing books² and living in great asceticism in the manner of men³. And she spent a full year⁴, being in a great cave. She met the old man once every day. And no other saw her in all the mountain, save the day that she went from the mountain to depart to her country. And [as for] her hidden thought concerning which she came unto the old man, God gave rest to her from it through the prayers of the old man; and she went to her country, glorifying God, because He gave her rest through her coming unto the old man.

As contrasted with the Greek, the statements in the Coptic that the girl who had been cured died three days after her return home, and when dying left to Macarius a large bequest out of gratitude for her cure, are certainly strange, and not the sort of alteration that we should expect in this class of literature. Still more strange is the fact that, though the second story is not found in the Greek at all, the circumstance that the heroine came from Thessalonica is recorded in the Greek of the heroine of the first story. Were nothing to be considered except the two texts before us, an obvious explanation of the difficulty would be that someone's sense of ascetical propriety may have been offended by the second story, which accordingly was suppressed; and that it left just a trace of its former existence in the transference of Thessalonica as the heroine's birthplace to the story which was retained. But when all the facts of the case are kept in view, it seems altogether more likely that the second

¹ Lit. *is*

² Lit. *books of reading*

³ Lit. *practising asceticism exceedingly in a masculine life*

⁴ Or, *a year, being perfect,*

story was interpolated and that this one item of the Greek text found its way into it by some accident.

Two or three short pieces of the Coptic version deserve to have attention directed to them :

In the story of the cure of the demoniac boy (*h*), instead of the extraordinary and grotesque statement of the Greek that the boy himself was raised into the air (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1059 D, to be cited hereafter, § 15), the Coptic has "the demon was raised into the air, crying out and saying" &c. (p. 248).

In the Greek the story about Marcus is introduced by the words *ἡμῖν διεγγήσατο*, but in the Coptic it is told on the following authority: "Now his disciple, who ministered to him in his old age, who entrusted to him the son of the *dux*, for he had believed, who came to the old man and now dwells in the holy mountain, working at his manual labour, eating by his toil, greatly loving strangers—this faithful disciple told me," &c. (p. 253). I am unable to offer any explanation of the reference to "the son of the *dux*"; but the whole passage seems to be very circumstantial.

The third passage is that in which Palladius relates that he came to Macarius' cell, and found the presbyter of a neighbouring village lying there (1059 A, but the text in 193 B is better); the Coptic has: "And again it came to pass whilst I was with him and the holy Albinus, there came a presbyter of a village" (p. 246). Here, as before, the mention of Albinus should be noted, for he was one of Palladius' fellow disciples under Evagrius. But this may very well be due to some scribe who had noted the circumstance in the Lausiac History; for in the story of the hyena and the sheepskin the Greek *ἡμῖν* is similarly turned into 'the holy Evagrius and I,' in Syriac Version I. as found in Anan-Isho's Paradise [cf. Bedjan, 79], whereas in the mss. that preserve the more primitive form of this version, the Syriac is here the same as the Greek (cf. nos. i, iv, x and xi, in the list of mss. on p. 84); so that Syriac scribes no less than Coptic made "improvements" of this kind in their texts.

In the case of the Life of Macarius of Alexandria more than in any of the others the establishment of the priority of the Greek Life is of critical and historical importance. The two forms of the Life contain the same personal reminiscences and experiences of the narrator, so that the biographer is the same man in both. This is indeed one of the chapters of the Lausiac History in which the personal element is most strongly marked. Palladius again and again relates incidents as having happened to himself or in his presence. In the Coptic Life these incidents are similarly related in the first person; so that if Palladius be not the author, we have a flagrant case of the offence wherewith

Lucius charges him—the appropriating and retailing as his own the personal experiences of others.

In the first division of this section it has been shown from a number of linguistic considerations that the Coptic was certainly translated from the Greek; and in the present division some of the additional Coptic matter has been traced to Greek sources: so that I think the Palladian authorship of the Life has been solidly established. But such is the importance of the question in its bearing on the whole historical character of the book, that I here supplement what has already been said by a further argument based on considerations quite different from those which have gone before.

In the Lausiaca History the Lives of Macarius of Egypt and Macarius of Alexandria form a single account, and the transition from the account of the former to the account of the latter is in the shape of an autobiographical note or reminiscence, as follows: “I did not meet Macarius of Egypt, for he died a year before I entered the desert; but I did meet Macarius of Alexandria, for I spent nine years in Cellia, during three of which he was still alive” (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1049, 1050). As the beginning of the Coptic Life of Macarius of Alexandria, printed by M. Amélineau, is wanting, we do not know whether the autobiographical notes existed in the MS. But in a Coptic Life of Macarius of Egypt, described by Zoega, the corresponding notes which stand at the end of that Life in the Lausiaca History are found, though divided into two fragments, one being given at the beginning and the other at the end of the Life. This leads me to surmise that the Life will prove to be that of the Lausiaca History, although neither Zoega nor Amélineau has identified it as such. I print the Greek and Coptic texts as given by Zoega in parallel columns.

Zoega (*Cat.* 127—9).

<p>(Beginning of Life, etc.)</p> <p>ἀρχὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διηγέσθαι</p>	<p>(Beginning of Life). Now I will</p> <p>begin to relate concerning the Egyptian first</p> <p>of all, and he also died in my body before</p> <p>me. I met him when he it is who</p> <p>was called abba Anthony</p> <p>and lived many years in the</p> <p>desert, and being ninety years</p>
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ποίηκεν ἐξήκοντα ἔτη.

(*End*, 1049). τῷ ἀγίῳ τούτῳ ἐγὼ οὐ συντετύχηκα· πρὸ ἐναντιοῦ γὰρ τῆς εἰς ἔρημον εἰσόδου ἐμῆς...έκεκοίμητο, τῷ δὲ ὁμοζύγῳ τούτου...τῷ ἀγίῳ Μακαρίῳ Ἀλεξανδρεῖ συντετύχηκα πρεσβυτέρῳ ὄντι τῶν λεγομένων Κελλίων. εἰς ἃ Κελλία παρήκησα ἐγὼ ἐνναετίαν· ἐν οἷς τρία ἔτη μοι ἐπέζησεν ὁ Μακάριος οὗτος.

years old¹. And two years after he went forth from the body I came into the Mount and I found the Alexandrian living for two years more.

(*End*). For I did not see him with my eyes, for before I came to the Mount he died; but his disciples told me concerning these miracles which God wrought through him.

As the two sets of autobiographical notes occur together in the Greek and knit the two lives into one story, and as those referring to Macarius of Egypt are found in the Coptic version of his life, it is but reasonable to suppose that those referring to Macarius of Alexandria, which are organically connected with the others, must have stood also at the beginning of the Coptic version of that Life. Now these form only part of a whole series of such autobiographical notes found scattered throughout the Lausiac History. And it will be shown (§ 15) that when these notes are brought together they yield a chronology of Palladius' life perfectly consistent, and fit into one another in a way that would be most extraordinary, except on the hypothesis that they afford the actual chronology of his life. It is impossible to suppose that some of them should be genuine, while others are merely taken over by him from other writers. And this, it seems to me, furnishes almost a demonstration that the Life of Macarius of Alexandria was written by Palladius himself; and that, whatever be the solution of the critical problems involved, the Coptic is not the original language of the Life. The only other alternative would seem to be, that not merely parts of the Lausiac History but practically the whole book was a mere translation of Coptic works: an extravagant theory, which certainly is not put

¹ The difference between the figures in the Greek and the Coptic is probably due to those in the Coptic having been harmonised with the data of the Coptic *Synazarium* (cf. Amélineau *Monuments* III., *Musée Guimet* xxv. *Introd.* xxxviii.). The identification of Macarius of Egypt with the Macarius who buried St Anthony is probably an error, though a very common one (cf. Amélineau, *ibid.* xxxi.): Palladius does not fall into it.

forward by M. Amélineau, who holds that large portions are undoubtedly the original work of Palladius¹.

With a few remarks on the age of the Coptic version this long section will be concluded.

Mai's authority has already been cited (p. 110) for the statement that the MS. containing the introductory pieces and the lives of Pambo and Evagrius dates from the tenth century, and that the MS. containing the Life of Macarius was written in 1153. But there are indications that the version is much older than the tenth century.

(a) In the Greek Life of Pambo mention is made of a Dracontius, who is merely described as *ἀνὴρ ἔνδοξος καὶ θαυμαστός* (P. G. xxxiv. 1028 B). But in the Coptic, in place of this quite vague clause, the precise statement occurs that he was Bishop of Timinhor, the modern Damanhour, identified with the Greek Hermopolis Parva. Now a Dracontius, bishop of Hermopolis Parva, attended the Council of Alexandria held in 362²; and this date fits in very well with the statement of the Lausiatic History that Dracontius was the uncle of one of Pambo's disciples. It is to be noted that this passage occurs in that portion of the Coptic Life which M. Amélineau recognises as a translation from the Greek of the Lausiatic History. Either then the Coptic translator had a very good and early Greek MS. of the Lausiatic History; or, as seems more likely, he altered his text in accordance with his knowledge of the local ecclesiastical history. But either alternative points to the antiquity of the Coptic version.

(b) In the Coptic version one of the reasons held out to Macarius to induce him to go to Rome is this: "For the Romans agree with the Egyptians in their ascetical practices and their orthodox faith" (p. 252). These words do not occur in the Greek MSS. or in the other versions: they are a Coptic addition; and it

¹ See the passages collected in the *De Hist. Laus.* in § 15, on the Historicity of the Lausiatic History, and the allusion to the *Monastères de la Basse-Egypte* in the same work, and also the *Biographie de Macaire*, which are as authentic as the text of the *De Hist. Laus.*

² See the *De Hist. Laus.* in § 15, on the Historicity of the Lausiatic History, and the allusion to the *Monastères de la Basse-Egypte* in the same work, and also the *Biographie de Macaire*, which are as authentic as the text of the *De Hist. Laus.* 751

is difficult to suppose that a Coptic translator or scribe should have inserted them after the Council of Ephesus (450), the occasion of the excommunication of Pope Leo I. by Dioscorus of Alexandria, and the accomplishment of the Monophysite Schism.

§ 13. THE ETHIOPIC AND ARABIC VERSIONS OF THE RULE OF PACHOMIUS.

In the *Lausiac History* (A 38—42) the Rule of St Pachomius is given, together with a description of the manner of life followed in his monasteries, and two anecdotes of the great convent of women founded by the saint. Portions of this matter are found in Ethiopic and in Arabic; and it is necessary to consider the bearing of these fragments on the question discussed in the preceding section,—the original language in which the material of the *Lausiac History* was written.

It will be convenient to have first an analysis of the contents of what Palladius gives us:—

- (a) *P. G.* xxxiv. 1099 c. Brief account of Pachomius, who he was, where he lived, &c.
- (β) *P. G.* xxxiv. 1099 c. An angel appears to him, tells him to found monasteries, gives him a Rule written on a tablet of brass.
- (γ) *P. G.* xxxiv. 1099 c—1100 c. Epitome of the Rule.
- (δ) *P. G.* xxxiv. 1100 c, d. Brief general account of the monasteries he founded, and of Aphthonius, the friend of Palladius.
- (ε) *P. G.* xxxiv. 1100 d—1105 b. Special account of the monastery at Panopolis (Akhmtm) which Palladius had visited.
- (ζ) *P. G.* xxxiv. 1105 b, c. Short account of the convent of nuns.
- (η) *P. G.* xxxiv. 1105 c—1106 a. Distressing story of two of the nuns.
- (θ) *P. G.* xxxiv. 1106 a—1107 c. Story of abba Pitirum and the nun who pretended to be foolish.

The Ethiopic Version.

It is quite likely that much more of the *Lausiac History* may exist in Ethiopic than the fragment that has been printed. Wright's *Catalogue* of the Ethiopic MSS. at the British Museum contains a number of entries that might upon examination prove

to contain Palladian matter, such as "Histories of our holy Fathers," "Garden of the Monks." But the only portion of the Lausiaca History in Ethiopic that has been printed consists of sections (a) to (ζ) of the analysis just given. It stands as the first of three "Rules of Pachomius," edited in 1866 from two MSS. by Dillmann in his *Chrestomathia aethiopica* (pp. 57—69). No more editing appears to have been done; but a German translation has been made by König (*Th. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1878, p. 323), an English one by Schodde (*Presbyterian Review*, 1885, p. 678), and quite recently a French one by Basset in his series of *Apocryphes Éthiopiens* (no. VIII., Paris, 1896). This last edition, in which the translation is at any rate roughly confronted with the chief of the other authorities for the text, has been used for the present investigation.

It has been said that the Ethiopic texts contain three "Rules of Pachomius." These are:—

I. The matter corresponding to sections (a) to (ζ) of the Lausiaca History in the analysis of the Greek text given above.

II. A short redaction of the collection of minute rules and regulations found in Greek and translated by St Jerome from Greek into Latin.

III. A miscellaneous collection: it begins with eight brief regulations resembling those in II; then follows an allegorical discourse, purporting to be an address by St Pachomius to his monks.

The Third Rule exists only in Ethiopic. Weingarten², and also Mangold³, held it to be the most primitive of the three Rules; but Basset altogether rejects the idea and declares it to be the latest of them all, and to have been composed in Ethiopic⁴.

The Second Rule exists in two Greek redactions: a shorter, printed by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Tom. III. Maii, Ap. 53*, printed *P. G.* XL. 948), and a longer, printed by Pitra from a St Petersburg MS. (*Analecta Sacra* v. 113). St Jerome's Latin version of it also exists in two redactions, one in Gazaetus' edition of Cassian (cf. *P. L.* L. 271), the other in Holsten's *Codex Regularem* (ed. 1663), pars I. 32 (cf. *P. L.* XXIII. 61); the translation is

in the series of MSS. CCLIX.—CCLXV.; also CCCXXXV. and CCCXLVIII.; all modern editions dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

Trappesius *—Gregorius*, xi. 159.

as *Regul.* Dillmann also pronounces *Regul.* II

the same, and the matter nearly the same, the differences for the most part lying merely in the arrangement. The Ethiopic Second Rule agrees most closely with the shorter of the Greek redactions, but numbers 18—26 of the Greek are missing. This document has in its successive redactions all the appearance of an ever-growing body of minute regulations, framed to meet the emergencies constantly arising in the everyday life of a great monastery. The burden is "let no one do this," "let no one do that." In other words, it seems to be a collection of "declarations" or "rules of the house," lesser regulations for the domestic economy of the monastery, rather than the original Rule of Life. St Jerome in the Preface to his translation speaks of these regulations as "praecepta Pachomii et Theodori et Orsiesii" (the three first superiors); and the redaction printed by Gazaeus begins with the title: "Haec sunt praecepta vitalia tribus a majoribus tradita" (*P. L. L.* 277; cf. no. 8 in the other redaction, *P. L. L.* xxiii. 66).

The First Rule, *i.e.* the form found in Palladius, has much more the appearance of preserving, if not the actual form of the original Rule, at any rate a correct and substantial epitome of it¹.

We may now pass on to consider the bearings of the Ethiopic First Rule on the various problems that have been engaging our attention.

¹ This view of the nature and relations of the three Rules is shared by Grützmaacher (*Pachomius u. das älteste Klosterleben* 117—129), Zöckler (*Askese u. Mönchtum* 200—203), and Basset (*op. cit.* 11—14). Weingarten's main ground of objection to Rule I is the passage wherein it is stated that the monks were to be divided into twenty-four classes according to the letters of the Greek alphabet, and a Greek letter imposed on each class: it is clear that at the beginning St Pachomius did not know Greek. Grützmaacher in answer points out that the Copts used the Greek letters (*op. cit.* 125). Basset says this is not fully satisfactory, as the Coptic alphabet contains thirty-one letters (*op. cit.* 12). The restoration of the true Greek text lessens the difficulty: *ἐκέλευσεν εικοσιτέσσερα τάγματα εἶναι τῶν ἀδελφῶν· καὶ ἐκάστῳ τάγματι ἐπέθηκεν στοιχείον ἑλληνικὸν ἀπὸ α καὶ β καὶ γ καὶ δ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑξῆς* (omitting *ἕως τοῦ ω*). Palladius may be describing the system as he found it a century after its first institution: or he may have modified the terms of the Rule so as to make them more easily intelligible to Greek readers. Notice, however, the reference to the use of Greek letters in St Pachomius' "mystic Epistles," in the Greek *Vita Pach.* c. 63 (not in the Coptic redactions).

Grützmacher and Zöckler, who are infected with the theory of Coptic originals, consider that in the Ethiopic text we have a translation of the original Coptic, independent of the Greek of Palladius and better than it. Basset, on the other hand, while also believing that the original language of the piece was Coptic, takes it for granted throughout his *Notes* that the Ethiopic version was made not from the Coptic but from the Greek as found in the Lausiaca History. And in this he is certainly right, whatever may be the solution of the further problem as to the original language of the *Vita*. For the Coptic theory supposes that the passage originally stood in the *Vita Pachomii*. As a matter of fact it does now stand in two redactions of the Life, one in Arabic, the other in Latin; but naturally the introductory portion (α) of the Greek, giving elementary information about Pachomius, is not found in either of these redactions, for it would be quite out of place in a full Life. But it is found in the Ethiopic, exactly as in Palladius. Again, not only (α), but also (β) and (δ) are missing in both redactions of the Life, and between (γ) and the subsequent sections (ϵ), (ζ), varying quantities of matter occur; whereas in the Ethiopic the sections (α) to (ζ) succeed each other as in the Greek. Lastly, the description of the manner in which funerals were conducted in the convent of nuns (Basset, 27) agrees closely with the Greek of Palladius, but differs altogether from the account given in the Arabic and Coptic forms of the Life (the texts will be found below, p. 162). It is therefore clear that the Ethiopic version of the Rule was made not from any supposed Coptic original, but from the Greek of Palladius.

Thus, though this fragment is of use for the purposes of textual criticism, it throws no light upon the more fundamental question under discussion in this and in the preceding section. It is, perhaps, right to observe that, apart from manifest corruptions, in nearly all the points wherein it differs from the printed Greek text the Ethiopic has the support of some one or other extant

Fragment of the Paris Mss. 1697 and 1698

The Arabic Version.

As in the case of the Ethiopic version, so here, there is ground for supposing that the Lausiatic History exists in an Arabic dress. Not to speak of an Arabic copy of the Syriac *Paradisus* mentioned by Assemani (*Bibl. Mediceae Laurent. et Palat. Cat. Cod. LIX.*), Mrs Gibson's *Catalogue of the Arabic mss.* in St Katharine's, Mount Sinai, appears to contain references to copies and fragments of the Lausiatic History, as do other catalogues also of the chief oriental collections.

But the only portions of the Lausiatic History so far printed in Arabic are the portions relating to St Pachomius and his monks and nuns, which occur in an Arabic version of the *Vita Pachomii*. The interest of this Arabic Life lies in the fact that it was without doubt translated from a Coptic Life; so that we are here once again brought face to face with the question whether Coptic documents were translated by Palladius.

In order to render the following discussion intelligible it is necessary to mention the various redactions of the *Vita Pachomii*. The extant redactions of the Life fall into two groups, a Greek and a Coptic, with a clear line of demarcation between them, and no less clearly marked affinities between their respective members:

Greek Group.

1. The Greek Life printed by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Tom. III. Maii, App. 22*), together with the *Asceticon Pachomii* (called by the Bollandists *Paralipomena*) (*ibid.* 44*) = *gr + asc*
2. A Latin version printed by Lipomanus and Surius (May 14th) = *lat*¹
3. Another Latin version, printed by Rosweyd (cf. *P. L.* LXXIII.) = *lat*²

Coptic Group.

4. A Sahidic Life; existing only in fragments = *sah*
5. A Bohairic Life = *boh*
6. An Arabic version = *ar*

The documents of the Coptic group have been printed for the first time by M. Amélineau¹. He supposes that *sah* was the primitive form of the Life, from which the others, both later Coptic and Greek, were derived. Only fragments of *sah* exist; but Amélineau holds that in *ar* we have a faithful reproduction of *sah*, *boh* being but an abridgment. In *ar* are found certain portions of the Lausiaca History account of Pachomius—viz., (γ) (ε) (ζ) (η) of the analysis on p. 155. Accordingly Amélineau holds that these passages were originally written in Coptic and were simply translated and adopted by Palladius; and in this he is followed by Grützmacher and Basset².

Before proceeding to the consideration of this position, we must take cognisance of *lat*², in which (γ) and (ζ) are found, and found at the same points of the Life as in *ar*. This fact has been put forward as a confirmation of the theory, not indeed by Amélineau himself, but by Grützmacher and Basset, who say that *lat*² was derived from a copy of the Life not mutilated in these places. It is necessary to examine with care the case of *lat*²; for if it gives a real attestation to *ar* in regard to the Palladian passages, the united testimony of the two redactions would go far to prove Amélineau's theory. Fortunately the problem admits of an absolute demonstration, in so far as *lat*² is concerned.

(1) In *lat*² (c. XXII.) one of the rules reads as follows: "Qui uero semel ad hoc intraret monasterium ut ibi iugiter permaneret, per tres annos a studiis sacratoribus arceretur: operaretur tantum opera sua simpliciter, et ita post triennium stadium certaminis introiret." This is a literal translation of the ordinary Greek as found in Meursius and in Migne: Τὸν μέντοι εἰσελθόντα εἰσάπαξ συμμείναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τριετίαν εἰς ἀγῶνα ἀδύτων αὐτὸν οὐ δέξῃ, ἀλλ' ἐργατικώτερα ἔργα ποιήσας, οὕτως εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἐμβαιέντω μετὰ τὴν τριετίαν (*P. G.* XXXIV. 1100). But the words ἀγῶνα and εἰς τὸ στάδιον (in the Latin, *studiis* and *stadium certaminis*) do not occur in any of the versions of the Lausiaca History, neither in Latin I, nor in Syriac I³; nor again in the Ethiopic, nor in the Arabic itself (but the latter in this place departs widely from all

¹ *Monuments*, Tom. II. (*Musée Guimet*, XVII.); Tom. I. Fasc. II.

² *Opp. cit.*, 118, 11 respectively.

³ This whole portion is wanting in Latin II. and Syriac II.

other copies). The evidence of the versions makes it certain that, at any rate in regard to these particular words, the genuine text of the Lausiatic History must have been that preserved in the Paris MSS. 1627 and 919¹, namely:

ΕΙΣΩΤΩΝΑΔΥΤΩΝ,

which got corrupted into

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΝΑΔΥΤΩΝ.

Then *εἰς τὸ στάδιον*, which is not in MSS. 1627, 919 at all, was inserted in the next line to carry on the metaphor of *ἀγών*.

Thus the passage in *lat*² contains a corruption which demonstrably arose among the Greek MSS. of the Lausiatic History; and therefore the text in *lat*² cannot possibly be carried back independently of the Lausiatic History to any supposed Coptic common source of Palladius, *lat*² and *ar*.

(2) In other places *lat*² shows unmistakable signs of alteration under the influence of the Lausiatic History. As a particularly apposite instance let us take the passage which describes the manner in which the funerals of the nuns were carried out, and let us compare the various texts.

(See Table on next page.)

The present question is not whether the Coptic account, as found in *ar* and *boh*, or that of the Greek Life is the more primitive; it is whether the Greek underlying *lat*² in this place has borrowed directly from the Lausiatic History. It is evident at a glance that Palladius' account has been substituted bodily for that of the *Vita*; and thus the fact is established that this redaction of the *Vita Pachomii* has been interpolated by passages taken straight from the Lausiatic History. We are therefore justified in concluding that any Palladian matter found in *lat*² is to be accounted for in the same way.

¹ MS. 919 contains only a few fragments taken from *Hist. Mon.* and *Hist. Laus.* The section on Pachomius (f. 42) contains A 38—42 in the same text as MS. 1627. Preuschen makes a slip in saying that it is the chapter on Pachon, A 29 (*op. cit.* 151). 1628 omits the whole passage.

TABLE.

(Arabic and Bohairic Lives; *Musée Guimet* xvii. 382 and 38.)

(N.B. Words within [] are omitted in *ar*)

If one of them died they took her into the oratory and their mother wrapped her in the shroud; then abba Peter informed our father Pachomius, and he chose wise men [from among the brethren] and took them [with him to the convent]. They entered the enclosure and stayed in the porch and chanted becomingly until they had shrouded her and placed her on the hearse (*ar* in the coffin) [and carried her towards the mountain. The virgin sisters walked behind the hearse]. Their father walked behind them and their mother preceded them until they had buried (the deceased) and had prayed over her [and had returned to their home with great sorrow].

(Lausiaca History, *P. G.*
xxxiv. 1105.)¹

Ἐὰν τελευτήσῃ παρθένος, ἐνταφιάσασαι αὐτὴν αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι φέρουσι καὶ τιθέασιν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ. περάσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μετὰ πορθμοῦ, μετὰ βαιῶν καὶ κλάδων ἐλαιῶν, μετὰ ψαλμωδίας διαφέρουσιν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου. ἡμῶντα ἐστὶν.

(Greek Life, c. 22—Boll. p. 26*.)

καὶ τελευμένης δὲ ἀδελφῆς, συνάγονται μέχρι νῦν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ κατὰ τὴν ὄρισμένον τόπον καὶ οὕτως ψαλλόντων αὐτῶν, αἱ λοιπαὶ κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος ἐνταφιάσασαι ταύτην καλῶς τιθέασιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ· εἰθ' οὕτως λαμβάνοντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μετὰ σεμνῆς ψαλμωδίας, θάπτουσιν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ ὄρει μετ' εὐλαβείας πολλῆς καὶ φόβου θεοῦ, ὡς προσήκεν δούλοις Χριστοῦ.

(*lat*¹ § 29, Lipomanus p. 87,
ed. 1581.)

Quando autem consummatur soror, usque ad hodiernum diem congregantur fratres in aliquo loco definito, et ita iis psallentibus, ceterae in alia parte, cum eam pulchre ad sepeliendum composuerint, ponunt in medio. Deinde sic eam accipientes fratres, cum graui et ueneranda psalmodia in monte sepeliunt cum magna pietate ac Dei metu, ut decet seruos Christi.

(*lat*² § 28, Rosweyd p. 124.)

Quod si defuncta esset uirgo, curantes funus ejus reliquae, cunctaque quae ad sepulturam pertinent adimplentes, deferebant usque ad ripam fluminis quod utraque monasteria dividit, psalmos ex more canentes. Tunc transeuntes monachi cum ramis palmarum et oliuarum frondibus, psallentes transuehant eam, et in sepulchris suis cum hilaritate conuehant.

(3) On the hypothesis that *sah* was the original Life, and that *ar* is its best representative, the only possible pedigree of the redactions of the *Vita* is :

1. *ar* (= *sah*, ex hypothesi)
2. *boh*
3. *gr* + *asc*
4. *lat*¹ (i.e. its Greek original)
5. *lat*² („ „)

This fact is so obvious to any one who takes the trouble to compare the various redactions, that I shall not delay to prove it: indeed even from the Tables given on p. 167 and in Appendix IV it is abundantly evident. Whether it be *ar* or *gr*+*asc* that represents the original, on either hypothesis beyond all question *boh* represents the link between them. Similarly *lat*¹ represents the link between *gr*+*asc* and *lat*². To suppose, as Grützmacher does, and also Basset¹, that the Greek original of *lat*² should have come from the Coptic (*ar* = *sah*) without passing through *boh*, *gr*+*asc* and *lat*¹, is to postulate a literary impossibility. The presence of the Palladian passages in *lat*² is therefore wholly independent of their presence in *ar*, and affords no confirmation whatever of the theory that they stood in the earliest Coptic redaction of the *Vita Pachomii*.

These three arguments demonstrate superabundantly that the passages in question are interpolations in *lat*² from the Lausiatic History: the circumstance that they occur at the same points of the Life as in *ar* is due merely to the fact that these are the natural points for their occurrence.

Having thus cleared away complications arising from supposed attestations of *ar* by *eth* and *lat*², we are in a position to consider the question of the Palladian passages as they stand in *ar*. It has been seen that they must be judged simply on their own merits, as their presence there is unsupported by any external evidence. The following is a list of the passages in question, with the references to the pages of M. Amélineau's volume (*Annales du Musée Guimet* xvii.); he has supplied French translations of all the documents edited therein.

¹ *Opp. citt.* 8 and 11 respectively.

Arabic *Vita*

pp. 366—369. The Rule, (γ) in the analysis, p. 155.

pp. 376—378. Account of the monastery (at Panopolis), the two parts in inverted order, (ϵ).

pp. 382—384. The convent of nuns, (ζ) (much shorter) and (η).

We are not here directly concerned with the question whether the *Vita Pachomii* was first written in Coptic or in Greek; but merely with the much narrower question whether the Pachomian portions of the Lausiaca History were translated by Palladius from Coptic documents. Of course the affirmative answer to this latter question involves the priority of the Coptic form of the *Vita*; but it also assumes the truth of the two following propositions:—

(a) that the earliest Coptic Life—*sah*—is more faithfully preserved in *ar* than in *boh*; and (b) that *ar* has accurately preserved the type of *sah*, without many or serious changes and interpolations.

I think it will be possible to arrive at conclusions concerning these two propositions, which will render unnecessary for present purposes any discussion of the more general question. I shall take (b) before (a).

(b) M. Amélineau himself recognises that *ar* has been in places interpolated and worked up from other documents—indeed the actual words occur in the text: “I will tell you another story concerning our Father which I have found in another volume¹.” And Grützmacher shows that this is the case even more than Amélineau supposed. He points out the existence of doublets, and it would be possible to add to his list: he shows too that a twofold stream of tradition may be detected, manifested by differences in matters of fact, of idea and of treatment, in the second part of *ar* as compared with the first². And in all this what he says is endorsed by Zöckler³. As a matter of fact Grützmacher’s second document is not far to seek: it is neither

¹ *Musée Guimet*, xvii. 599: Amélineau remarks in a note: “Ce passage prouve que cette vie de Pakhôme a été faite un peu de pièces et de morceaux”; and on p. 651 he says that another passage “prouve qu’il y a là une interpolation postérieure.”

² *Pachomius*, 15, 16.

³ *Askesis u. Mönchtum*, 194.

more nor less than the second Greek work, the *Asceticon Pachomii*, the *Paralipomena* of the Bollandists, in which may be found two of the three passages (*ar* 613 and 628) cited by Grützmacher in proof of the presence of a second document¹. Still more significant from our point of view is the presence in *ar* 426 of five of the rules from the collection called the *Second Rule* in the Ethiopic, a manifest interpolation to illustrate and give point to the text. Thus the composite and secondary character of *ar* is clearly demonstrated, and we can have no confidence in any passage in it which is not attested by some other redaction of the *Vita*. But the Palladian passages are wholly unattested. And not only so; there are positive grounds for believing that the Greek form as found in Palladius is the original, and the Arabic is a form that has undergone intentional alteration. Let one instance suffice: in the Greek (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1100 B) it is stated that there were twelve prayers at evensong; we know from Cassian (*Inst.* II.) that it was the early and normal usage in Egypt to have at the evening prayer, as at the nocturns, twelve psalms, each followed by a prayer; and one Ammon who had spent three years at St Pachomius' monastery about A.D. 350, a short time after the death of the saint, and who some fifty years later wrote out his recollections of what he had seen there, incidentally mentions the fact that in his time there were twelve prayers at the evensong². On the other hand the latest redaction of the collection of lesser house-rules (that translated by St Jerome) says more than once that the number of psalms and prayers at vespers was six. Whence we may conclude that the primitive number was twelve, but that by the end of the century it had been reduced to six. Now in this passage in the Arabic Life (p. 369) the number is given as six. Thus it appears that in Palladius the text is correct, whereas in *ar* it is found in an altered form. Of another passage (the one that names some of the Greek letters) Basset declares that the Arabic "n'est qu'un commentaire développé de ce qui est dans le grec de Palladius et l'éthiopien" (p. 12). Thus the secondary character of the

¹ Pp. 605—639 of *ar* are from the *Asceticon*; the chapters occur in the following order: 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 7, 17—27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 12, 34—36.

² Ἐπιστολὴ Ἀμμωνος, § 14 (Boll. Tom. III. Maii 58*); (cf. *infra* § 17).

passages as they actually stand in the Arabic Life, as compared with their form in the Lausiaca History, seems to be quite established. And this affords yet another presumption that they must be regarded as later interpolations in the Arabic redaction of the *Vita Pachomii*.

(a) I now approach the more fundamental question as to whether there are good grounds for the view that the earliest Coptic Life—*sah*—is better preserved in *ar* than in *boh*. And here I must protest that it is only possible to deal with the facts that are actually before us: documents and redactions that may have existed, but of the existence of which there is no evidence, cannot be considered. We must take the printed documents as we find them, and base our conclusions on them as they stand. M. Amélineau in one place says that three different redactions of *sah* are known to him¹. One of them, however, turns out to be *ar*, which he christens the *Great Life*; the second redaction is represented by only two fragments, and on p. 485 he had spoken of one of these as being from “a different *Life*” of Pachomius,—not merely a different *redaction* of the Life; the third redaction is the one represented by the great body of Sahidic fragments, which both by their number and extent afford ample materials for comparison with the other documents². It is obviously only this last Sahidic Life that can be considered here; and we have to ask the plain question whether the Arabic Life, as printed by M. Amélineau, or the Bohairic Life agrees the more closely with the Sahidic fragments before us? To this question only one answer can be given. Let us turn to Fragment I. in the volume of the *Monuments* last referred to: it opens with these words: “She went to the south in great sorrow, because not only Theodore had not come to her, but also her younger son Paphnutius had gone away and had gone to live with him” (p. 521). These words are the conclusion of the account of the visit paid to the monastery by Theodore's mother after he had become a monk; and it is evident that his brother

¹ *Monuments &c.* I. Fasc. ii. 488 (*Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*).

² A full list of the *sah* fragments is given *infra* in Appendix iv., together with their correspondence with the other Lives.

Paphnutius is represented as having accompanied their mother on the journey, and as having stayed at the monastery when she went home. This agrees exactly with the account of the episode given in *boh* (*Musée Guimet* xvii. 53—56); but not with that given in *ar* (ibid. 405—6), where (as in *gr* 26) there is no mention at all of Paphnutius having accompanied his mother. The subject-matter immediately following this incident is quite different in *ar* and *boh*, and here again *sah* agrees closely with *boh*.

To take another case, the long *sah* fragment V in the *Musée Guimet* xvii. (pp. 317—328) agrees closely in matter and structure with *boh* (pp. 91—103); while the corresponding section of *ar* (pp. 411—442) differs very widely, as the following comparative table will show :—

[The figures in columns *ar boh sah* give the pages in vol. xvii. of the *Musée Guimet*; those in *gr* the chapters in the Greek Life. The sign + in *ar* signifies additions or alterations, and the sign - denotes notable lacunae in *ar*, as compared with *boh-sah*. In *gr* the signs * and † signify that *gr* approximates to *boh-sah* or to *ar* respectively; $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{2}$ indicate the early and late portions of the chapter.]

<i>ar</i>	<i>boh</i>	<i>sah</i>	<i>gr</i>
411—12+	91—2	317—18	*44
412			
413+and-	92—3	318—19	†45
414—16			
416—20+	93—5	319—21	*46
420—24+	(88—91)	(vac)	(*43)
424—26+	95—6	321—22	*47 $\frac{2}{2}$
426—27 (5 rules from "Rule II")			
427—29+	96—9	322—24	*48
429—30			
430—32+	99—101	324—26	*49
432—33			
434-	101	326	*50 $\frac{1}{2}$
	102	327	*52 $\frac{2}{2}$
434—39			
439—40			†54
440	(104)	(vac)	(*56 $\frac{1}{2}$)
441—42+	102—3	327—28 (fin.)	*55 $\frac{1}{2}$

[Other similar instances might be given.]

In structure (as appears from the Table), and also in subject-matter (as any one will discover who takes the trouble to read the portions of the documents indicated), *sah* and *boh* run perfectly parallel; but in *ar*, as compared with *sah*, there are transpositions and omissions, and many very considerable additions; and even where the matter is the same, in almost every case there are notable alterations of the text. This one set of parallel passages, even if it were unsupported by similar instances, would suffice to dispose of the only argument brought forward by Amélineau in support of the claims of *ar* to represent *sah*. Having printed from the three documents the (in this case) closely parallel accounts of St Athanasius' visit to Tabennisi (cf. *gr* 20), he comments as follows (in 1889): "Comme il est facile de le voir, ce second récit (*ar*) ne diffère du premier (*boh*) que par quelques légères différences échappées à l'inadvertence du copiste, et cependant il est plus clair et semble mieux traduit de l'original thébain (*sah*).....Ce fragment (*sah*) se continue par un récit qui, dans les deux versions, se trouve aussi à la suite de ce fait et qui est identiquement le même dans les trois œuvres. Comme on l'a pu voir, le fragment qui représente pour nous l'original thébain (*sah*) est à peu de chose près le même que les deux versions. J'en peux donc conclure, autant qu'une conclusion est possible, que la version arabe représente sans doute la *vis* originale, mais qu'elle a été traduite avec cette liberté d'allures dont les auteurs coptes ont toujours usé dans tout ce qu'ils faisaient!" The idea seems to be that as *ar* followed *sah* closely in this particular passage, there is a good presumption that it followed it equally closely throughout. It is curious that, with the other Sahidic fragments before him, Amélineau should have drawn such a conclusion; and indeed six years later (1895) he seems to have become doubtful as to the substantial identity of *ar* and *sah*°. But if so, what becomes of the only reason put forward to make us believe in *ar*?

Still more unaccountable is it that Gritzmacher who criticizes Amélineau's conclusion (see *op. cit.* p. 271) should

° *Annuaire de l'Institut Oriental de Paris*, 1895, p. 107. "On ne peut pas dire que le texte arabe soit une traduction de l'original thébain, car il y a trop de différences entre les deux textes." *ibid.* p. 108.

declare that a comparison of the fragments of *sah* with the other recensions shows that *sah* was a fuller Life than any of them, and that of all the recensions *ar* is the one that most closely resembles *sah*¹. He appears indeed to have been unaware of the many considerable fragments of *sah* published by Amélineau in 1895, the year preceding the publication of his own *Pachomius*, as also of those published by Mingarelli long ago.

The whole question has nothing recondite in it; it turns on the merest matters of fact, whether the Sahidic fragments come from a redaction of the *Vita* which more closely resembled *boh* or *ar*. The following conclusions in regard to the inter-relations of the various documents are suggested by a study of the passages analysed on p. 167, and I have no hesitation in saying that they are amply borne out by the phenomena of the different Lives as a whole:—

(1) *sah* and *boh*, while often differing from *gr*, on the whole agree very closely with one another;

(2) *ar* differs from them very considerably, especially in regard to additions; the additional matter, when judged by ordinary canons, being often of a character unmistakably apocryphal;

(3) each one of the redactions (*sah*, *boh*, *ar*, *gr*) contains matter not found in any other redaction;

(4) if we compare the three Coptic texts in detail, we find agreements usually between *sah* and *boh*, but sometimes between *sah* and *ar*, and sometimes between *boh* and *ar*;

(5) usually *sah-boh* are much nearer to *gr* than is *ar*; but sometimes *ar* is nearer to *gr* (see cases in Table p. 167; also the instance of Theodore's mother given above, p. 166).

¹ "Die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme (*i.e.* that *sah* was the original *Vita*) lässt sich noch durch einen Vergleich der wenigen Fragmente der koptisch-thebanischen *Vita* (*sah*) mit den übrigen Rezensionen erweisen; darnach war die k.-th. *Vita* (*sah*) die ausführlichste Darstellung des Lebens des Pachomius und seiner Nachfolger...Aber so richtig es ist, dass diese *Vita* (*ar*), wie aus einem Vergleich der Fragmente der k.-th. *Vita* (*sah*) mit dieser Rezension hervorgeht, genauer als alle anderen Rezensionen sich an das Original (*sah*) hält, so ist sie doch keineswegs als absolut wortgetreue Uebersetzung zu bezeichnen" (*Pachomius* 14).

The general inferences to be drawn from these facts seem to be that *sah*, *boh* and *ar* are independent derivatives from a Coptic archetype, which approximated more closely than any of them to the archetype of the Greek Lives; and that *sah-boh* preserve this archetype much more faithfully than *ar*.

It has I think been sufficiently demonstrated that the Pachomian passages of the Lausiac History formed no part of the *Vita Pachomii*; and therefore it is unnecessary to enter upon the question of the original language of the *Vita*. But it did seem necessary to thresh out in this and the preceding section the whole question of the alleged Coptic originals of portions of the Lausiac History, and to show that there is as yet no reason for supposing that Palladius made direct translations from Coptic documents, the Greek having so far in each case turned out to be the original.

NOTE. I had hoped, as stated in a note on p. 108, to be able to indicate here the reasons which, after a careful study of the various redactions of the *Vita Pachomii*, have convinced me that the Greek *Vita* and *Asceticon* are the original documents from which the others have been derived. I find however that it would be impossible to do this within the limits of a page or two. I shall therefore only state my belief that an overwhelming case might easily be made out. When the Coptic Life is reconstructed from its three representatives (*sah*, *boh*, *ar*) it is seen that many of the parts wherein it differs from *gr* present the features of a secondary document—apocryphal character, “tendenz,” and unmistakable doublets. In three passages of *gr* (cc. 6, 31, 62) the writer speaks as the actual author, and specifies as his sources of information the elder monks who had known Pachomius, and states expressly that before him no one had written a biography of the saint. Of course such passages might well stand in a translation: but they do not stand in the Coptic redactions;—so far as it is possible to judge, the whole contexts of *gr* 31 and 62 never had a place in the Coptic Life; the context of *gr* 6 is found in *boh* 22 and *ar* 356, but in both the particular passage in question is wanting. It must be concluded, therefore, either that a Coptic translator omitted the passages, or that a Greek translator invented them. The first is the obvious alternative to adopt in the absence of any good reason for holding the priority of the Coptic. This evidence of *gr* in its own favour receives support from a statement in a Coptic *Vita Theodori*, which in part corresponds with the later sections of *gr* 96. It has the effect that the first biography of Pachomius was written in Greek, and that the one listed as Greek is a translation of the Coptic original (see *Boh* 258).

These facts, taken together with the evidence which give countenance to the idea that the Greek original of the *Vita* is a translation of the Coptic original, having

been guilty of theft; in *ar* 428 it is represented as an act of impurity. It might be argued that *gr* here shows "tendenz" in softening down the offence. But *saĥ* 323 (also *boh* 97) agrees with *gr*; so that it is in *ar* that the alteration has been made.

It is probable from the nature of the case that the Coptic version was almost contemporary with the Greek; and M. Amélineau says that many of the actual fragments of *saĥ* date from the fourth century, or the beginning of the fifth (*Mémoires* Fasc. II. 484). It was made in an entourage familiar with the early traditions about Pachomius; and therefore I am prepared (with obvious limitations) to accept the supplementary historical data of the Coptic as being of practically the same value as those of the Greek. In the Coptic the Life of Theodore seems to have been greatly enlarged and sometimes separated from the Life of Pachomius.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF PART I.

At the conclusion of Part I. it may be convenient to sum up the main results of the investigation. I conceive that the following positions have been made good:—

I. The currently received text of the *Lausiaca History*—the Long Recension—must be rejected: it is a fusion of that work and the *Historia Monachorum*.

II. The early versions, chiefly Latin I. and Syriac I., bear witness to the fact that the Latin *Paradisus Heraclidis*, as printed in Rosweyd, substantially represents in matter and structure the original work of Palladius: if a printed Greek text be sought, recourse must at present be had to that of Meursius, but certain lacunæ must be filled up from the later editions.

III. There is no ground for supposing that Palladius made use of any Greek documents.

IV. Nor is there any sufficient reason for thinking that he translated Coptic documents.

The book when restored to its true shape may rightly claim to be the authentic and original handiwork of its author. The textual and literary difficulties with which it has been encompassed have been removed.

It remains to enquire whether the *Lausiaca History* in its restored form is better able to face the historical criticism to which it has been subjected; and whether it now affords a firmer ground than has hitherto been available for the investigation of Christian Monastic History.

PART II. HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

§ 14. THE THEOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF PALLADIUS.

Before we enter upon the discussion of the historical problems opened out by the Lausiac History, it may be well briefly to touch upon our author's theological and ecclesiastical character. In this regard Palladius has borne a bad name; he is commonly spoken of by Church historians as one gravely suspected of Pelagianism and Origenism, if not altogether compromised. This section contains a few notes on the broad facts of the case.

A reader of the Lausiac History, even one who does not sympathise with Palladius' ideas or respect his judgment, will, I think, carry away the impression that the author was, according to his lights at all events, a man sincere and pious. He was moreover the trusted friend of St John Chrysostom, suffering deprivation of his see, and an exile of several years' duration for his fidelity to the Saint, and travelling to Rome as his envoy to secure the favourable hearing of his case before the Pope¹. This intimate connection with St John Chrysostom must raise a strong presumption in favour of Palladius' orthodoxy.

Yet we find his contemporaries St Epiphanius of Salamis (*P. L.* xxii. 527) and St Jerome (*Vall.* ii. 681, *P. L.* xxiii. 497) accusing Palladius of Origenism; and we have it on the authority of Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 59, *P. G.* ciii. 109) that the alleged Origenism of Palladius was used as a weapon against St John Chrysostom.

¹ All that is stated in the text holds good, whether Palladius who wrote the Lausiac History be identified or not with the writer of the *Dialogue* on St John Chrysostom. Tillemont refuses to identify them (*Mémoires*, xi. 530 and 642); Zückler inclines the other way (*Herzog-Plitt*, xi. 174), and probably he is right. [Dr Preuschen also favours the identification (*Palladius und Rufinus*, 246, note).]

It is to be noted that in regard to such accusations, Palladius does not stand alone. He shares the charge of Origenism with a whole group of well-known personages—Dioscorus bishop of Hermopolis, Ammonius Parotes, and their two brothers (the famous four Tall Brothers), Heraclides bishop of Ephesus, Isidore the Almsgiver, and above all Evagrius; in short the group of monks opposed to and persecuted by Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria. Into the story of this quarrel it is unnecessary to enter. Suffice it to say that it appears to have been a question of ecclesiastical politics quite as much as of doctrine. At the beginning of the fifth century the Eastern Church was divided into two bitterly opposed parties, the leaders of which were Theophilus of Alexandria and St John Chrysostom. Few will now be found either to admire or defend Theophilus and his proceedings: "unscrupulous" is the epithet which Newman applies to him: and elsewhere he asks: "Who can speak with patience of the enemy of St John Chrysostom, that Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria?"¹ It was Theophilus and his partisans who violently expelled St John Chrysostom from his see, and were responsible for the exile and the outrages that caused his death; and the extent to which party spirit carried away even good men may be gauged from the fact that St Cyril of Alexandria, nephew and successor of Theophilus, "did not hesitate, in a letter still extant, to compare the great Confessor [St John Chrysostom] to Judas, and to affirm that the restoration of his name to the episcopal roll would be like paying honour to the traitor instead of recognizing Matthias. For twelve years did he and the Egyptians persist in this course."² Theophilus accused his opponents of Origenism; and Origenistic sympathies formed one of the charges levelled against St John Chrysostom. It seems strange that their zeal against Origenism should have induced St Epiphanius and St Jerome to make common cause with such a man as Theophilus, and to support him and look to him as their leader, even though they did not take actual part in his violent deeds. Without question the main cause of their adverse judgment

that the ecclesiastical reputation of Palladius and the others has suffered.

But it is necessary to ask whether St Jerome's verdict on the doctrine and character of Theophilus' opponents must needs be accepted. And even if he may often have judged rightly as to the real tendency of their writings, may it not be that his estimate of their persons was biassed by the party spirit that ran so high at the time? For it is a fact that cannot be gainsaid that St Jerome was a thorough-going partisan of Theophilus; he even translated into Latin a scurrilous invective by Theophilus against St John Chrysostom (*Vall.* i. 750—754, *P. L.* xxii. 931—5, and LXVII. 676—8). St Jerome's opinions in regard to Rufinus were not shared by St Augustine or St Paulinus of Nola (*P. L.* xxxiii. 248, and LXI. 311, 371, 397, 398); and the same two saints extol in the highest terms the virtues and good deeds of the elder Melania (*P. L.* LXI. 315—321, 392—3), of whom St Jerome said, even after her death, that "the blackness of her name indicated the darkness of her perfidy" (*Vall.* i. 1023, *P. L.* xxii. 1151). John bishop of Jerusalem, too, one of the chief objects of the attack of St Jerome and St Epiphanius, was very highly spoken of by St Augustine, St John Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Pope Anastasius (Tillemont *Mémoires*, xii. 342). It is thus clearly seen that St Jerome's unfavourable estimate of several of the more prominent so-called Origenists was not at all the view of other contemporaries, whose words and opinions must carry as great, if not greater weight. Indeed, as Abbé Duchesne says: "On diminueraient notablement le nombre des Pères de l'Église s'il fallait en déduire tous ceux qui ont provoqué les vivacités de St Jérôme."¹

To say this is no real disparagement of St Jerome. What Newman says of St Cyril of Alexandria, "I don't think Cyril himself would like his historical acts to be taken as the measure of his inward sanctity,"² may surely be said of St Jerome in his controversial writings. And it may well be that, in spite of outbursts and mistakes, the bringing of that rugged and impetuous

¹ *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* (1882). *Les Témoins ante-nicéens du dogme de la Trinité.*

² *Theodoret* (ut sup.).

nature under control, bespeaks a greater virtue and was a more admirable conquest than the perfect serenity of other saints in whom human passions raged less boisterously at first.

When we turn to the specific charges against Palladius and those who suffer with him from the accusation of Origenism, we find that the chief rock of offence is their use of the term *ἀπάθεια*, or *impassivity*, to describe the state attained by various ascetics. The term was later on used by the Pelagians to express one of their tenets—a state of complete mastery over sensuality and of entire freedom from temptation. Tillemont, however, shows that the word was freely used in the generation before Palladius by writers of unquestionable orthodoxy, and therefore was susceptible of a sound meaning¹. As employed in the Lausiaca History it seems to be used in this earlier sense².

Another of the counts against Palladius rests on the two bitter attacks he makes upon St Jerome (A 78—82 and 125): if we make allowance, however, for the party feeling natural under the circumstances, we shall see that this is only what might be expected from a prominent adherent of St John Chrysostom against a prominent adherent of Theophilus.

But the great cause of suspicion at a later date against Palladius individually is undoubtedly the fact that he was the disciple and friend of Evagrius, who was named along with Origen and Didymus in lists of teachers of heresy drawn up at the sixth and seventh General Councils. The evidence concerning Evagrius' orthodoxy or the reverse is brought together and discussed by Zöckler (*Evagrius Ponticus* 80—91). It appears that the only points in his teaching ever condemned explicitly were certain fantastic ideas as to the origin of souls and spirits³. That

¹ *Mémoires*, x. 381.

² Such was clearly the opinion of Rosweyde (Prol. § xv.).

³ The following fragments are quoted by Maximus (*Schol. in Dion. Areopag. De Ec. Hier.* vi., P. G. iv. 173) from a work of Evagrius: "Ἐκαστον τάγμα τῶν οὐρανῶν δυνάμεων ἢ ὅλον ἐκ τῶν κάτω, ἢ ὅλον ἐκ τῶν ἄνω, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω καὶ ἐκ τῶν κάτω συνέστηκε. And immediately after: 'Ἐξ ἀγγελικῆς καταστάσεως καὶ ἀρχαγγελικῆς ψυχικῆς κατάστασις γίγνεται: ἐκ δὲ τῆς ψυχικῆς δαιμονιώδους καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης' ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀγγελοι πάλιν καὶ δαίμονες γίγνονται. In the Acts of the Synod held at Constantinople in 543, these propositions are recited word for word and anathematised among a series of Origenistic propositions (*Manst* ix. 397); and it

Evagrius' doctrine on these points was derived from Origen seems plain; but of the more fundamental errors that go under the name of the great Alexandrian, especially those in regard to the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, Zöckler declares that not a trace is to be found in the extant writings of Evagrius. The same is the witness of Tillemont: "Ce qui nous reste des écrits d'Évagre ne le fait condamner de personne que nous sachions"¹; and his verdict was endorsed by the Bollandist reviewer of Zöckler's *Evagrius* only four years ago². That Evagrius, Palladius, and their friends, read Origen's works and admired and defended them is unquestionable; but so did Athanasius, and Basil, and the two Gregories. In those days his teaching had hardly as yet fallen under the suspicion, much less the ban of the Church. And as there is a disposition on all hands to rescue the memory of the master, whatever may have been his misbeliefs, from the charge of having been a heretic, may not the like indulgence be extended to his disciples also?

Tillemont well sums up the case, so far as Palladius is concerned: "Un soupçon si peu appuyé ne nous doit pas empêcher de respecter un évêque, dont la vie n'a rien que d'édifiant, dont les écrits ne portent qu'à la piété, qui paroist avoir eu beaucoup de simplicité et d'humilité, qui a mérité très justement le titre de Confesseur pour avoir défendu avec une générosité extraordinaire la cause de la vérité et de l'Église dans l'innocence de St Chrysostome, et pour avoir enduré beaucoup en la défendant; à qui les auteurs contemporains attribuent l'esprit de prophétie; qui, nonobstant l'accusation d'Origénisme, a esté receu à Rome comme un prélat très Catholique, quoique les *Origénistes* y eussent esté

is probable that the fifth General Council, held at Constantinople ten years later, repeated the condemnation. To Zöckler belongs the merit of identifying the passages, and thus making clear the precise teaching of Evagrius condemned by the Church (*op. cit.* 78, 86), and justifying Tillemont's verdict on the great body of his writings.

¹ *Mémoires*, x. 381.

² "Tillemont a eu raison de dire que (*ut supra*), et que 'le crime d'Origénisme est commun à beaucoup de personnes qu'on peut croire avec fondement avoir été très bons catholiques'" (*Analecta Boll.* xiv. 120). Particularly hard is the case of abbot Or of Nitria: through having been identified by the redactor of A with his namesake of the Thebaid, who rightly or wrongly is set down by St Jerome as an Origenist, he himself has gone down to posterity as a heretic.

condannez trois ou quatre ans auparavant, et qui sans doute a de mesme esté reconnu pour Catholique par tout l'Orient, puisqu'après avoir souffert avec patience durant beaucoup d'années la perte de son évesché, on lui en a confié un autre."¹

§ 15. HISTORICITY OF THE LAUSIAC HISTORY.

We now enter upon the consideration of the question for the sake of which all the foregoing discussions have been undertaken. Is the Lausiaca history a mere romance, or is it a work of genuine historical character?

Those who condemn the book are very much influenced by the miraculous element which so largely pervades it, and which to their minds proves the wilful mendacity of the writer. This point I shall not touch upon for the present, but shall allow it to stand over till the end of this section. My immediate task is to subject the book to the ordinary tests of historicity and truthfulness, to examine its chronology and geography, and to supply some material for judging whether its statements accord with those of the accredited documents of the time.

It will be well in the first place to consider the specific reasons, apart from miracles, put forward by Dr Weingarten as justifying his extremely unfavourable verdict as to the trustworthiness of the Lausiaca History. He calls attention to two cases wherein the Lausiaca History is in contradiction of the ascertained history of the time².

(1) In A 136 Palladius relates that he had seen at Alexandria in her old age a certain virgin, and that the city clergy had told him that St Athanasius fled to her house in 356 as a refuge from his pursuers, and abode there in concealment for six years, until the death of Constantius. Now it is known from St Athanasius' own writings that on that occasion he fled to the desert, and lived there among the monks during the period in question—a proof, says Weingarten, of the shamelessness with which Palladius falsified the history of his time.

¹ *Chroniques*, 22, 356. The "apocryphous" allusion by Basilides in regard to Palladius' private character, and contained by Rev. J. J. G. in his "Introduction to Book VIII., are in some points, as we shall see, palpable errors which he committed himself, and in others are mere inferences drawn from the very passages which he quotes.

On the question of fact, viz. that it is not true that Athanasius stayed all these years in Alexandria, Tillemont agrees with Weingarten; but he suggests that there may have been some foundation for the story, as, e.g. that on the night of the search made for him Athanasius may have gone to the young virgin's house as the safest place, and may have stayed there for a time, until he found an opportunity of slipping away¹. This suggestion has commended itself as likely to Cave and Montfaucon, and in our own day to Canon Bright, who considers that there are independent reasons pointing to the conclusion that Athanasius did not at once withdraw to the desert². It is to be noted that although Palladius tells us that he saw this virgin, then in her seventieth year, he heard the story not from her, but from the clergy of Alexandria. There is little difficulty in supposing that, in an age when written records were necessarily scarce, some exaggeration or error may have crept into the popular tradition of an event that had happened some forty years previously³.

(2) The Greek text of A 20 makes Melania say that she had seen St Athanasius in Egypt; but she did not come to Egypt till after his death.

Here it is enough, waiving all discussion of the chronology of Melania's life, a somewhat intricate question, to inform the reader that only one family of Greek mss. introduces St Athanasius' name in this place; that it is absent from all the versions; and accordingly is a certain interpolation.

Thus Weingarten's case against Palladius, in so far as it rests on alleged historical misstatements, may safely be said to break down⁴.

We now pass on to test the chronology of the Lausiatic History.

*Palladius' Chronology of his own life*⁵.

At the outset of his work, in the prefatory *Διήγησις* (beginning *Πολλῶν πολλὰ*), Palladius tells Lausus that at the time he writes he is in the thirty-third year of his monastic life, the twentieth of his episcopate, and the fifty-third of his age (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1001). There is no variation in these figures⁶. From them we learn that

¹ *Mémoires*, viii. 698.

² *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i. 194.

³ Palladius was in Alexandria in 388—390, and again in 400.

⁴ Dr Lucius also rejects the historical character of the book; his argument is a corollary of his theory as to its composition, viz. that Palladius' accounts of the Egyptian monks were not his own. This theory has already been shown to be untenable (cf. § 8); and with the theory falls also the whole superstructure built upon it. Therefore Palladius' character as an historian is unaffected by Dr Lucius' particular line of attack.

⁵ Cf. note, p. 182.

⁶ The Paris ms. 1628 gives the fifty-sixth year of his age; but Dr Preuschen puts this down without hesitation as a paleographical error (*op. cit.* 284).

Palladius became a monk in his twentieth year, and bishop in his thirty-third; and that therefore he had been a monk for some thirteen years when he was made bishop;—the data allow a margin of nearly two years, practically covering any period from over twelve to under fourteen years. We learn also that, as the greater part of the Lausiaca History is concerned with what took place before Palladius was a bishop, most of the book is made up from the writer's memory of events from which he was separated by an interval of from twenty to thirty years. A reasonable elasticity must therefore be allowed to the notes of time he gives, and his figures must not be strained by an undue arithmetical precision; he must be allowed the privilege of speaking now and then in round numbers.

In the body of his work Palladius in various places gives sufficient details as to his movements to render it possible to construct a chronology of his life. Fortunately he supplies a determinate starting-point; for he begins by telling us that he first came to Alexandria in the second consulate of Theodosius the Great, i.e. in the year 388 (A 1). He remained in the neighbourhood of Alexandria from two to three years (A 2 and 7), and then betook himself to Nitria, probably towards the end of 390 or the beginning of the following year; there he spent a full year, *ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον* (A 7), after which he passed into the more remote desert of "the Cells," where he remained for nine years (A 20, *P. G.* xxxiv. 1050). Towards the close of this period his health broke down, and at last he was sent by his brethren to Alexandria; the physicians there sent him on to Palestine, whence he passed to Bithynia, and there he was consecrated bishop (A 43, *P. G.* xxxiv. 1114). These figures would point to the year 400 or 401 as that in which Palladius left the desert; and A 4 implies that his absence from Alexandria covered a period of just ten years. But it must have been in 400, and in the very beginning of it, that he left the desert; for he was present as bishop at a synod held by St John Chrysostom at Constantinople in the May of that year. This makes up the period of twelve or thirteen years mentioned in the preface.

But the most important point in the chronology of Palladius's life is the date of his death. He states

he gives in A 86, in connection with the facts of Evagrius' life, prevents us, I think, from thus anticipating his departure from Egypt; for Palladius there practically tells us that he was present at Evagrius' death. Now the starting-point for the chronology of Evagrius is the fact that he was present at the Council of Constantinople, and was left by St Gregory Nazianzen with his successor Nectarius, to aid him by his preaching in the suppression of Arianism. This was the summer of 381. At least a year must be allowed for Evagrius' activity at Constantinople and for the episode that led to his withdrawal to Jerusalem. His sojourn at Jerusalem lasted more than six months; so that it cannot have been before the summer or autumn of 383 that he arrived at Nitria. At Nitria he spent two years, and then entered the desert of "the Cells," where Palladius' various statements would lead us to infer that he lived for a period of fifteen or sixteen years, his entire monastic life extending over seventeen or eighteen years: Palladius' details do not demand more than a full seventeen years. This would place his death in 400; and as he died on the Epiphany, there was just sufficient time for Palladius to have travelled to Bithynia and to have been consecrated by May in that year¹.

I exhibit the two sets of figures in tabular form :—

EVAGRIUS.	PALLADIUS.
381 at C. of Constantinople.	
1 year at Constantinople.	388 came to Alexandria.
1 year at Jerusalem.	2½ years at Alexandria.
2 years in Nitria.	1 year in Nitria.
15 years in Cellia.	8½ years in Cellia.
400 (Epiphany) died.	400 (Epiphany) left the desert.

One point there is which seems to place earlier than 400 the date of Palladius' leaving the desert. He says (A 43) that it was three years after his visit to John of Lycopolis that the illness came upon him which compelled him to repair to Alexandria.

¹ Tillemont places Evagrius' death twelve months earlier (*Mémoires*, x. 379); but I do not think this is compatible with Palladius' narrative, and in this view I have the support of Zöckler, who thinks Evagrius' death cannot have taken place earlier than the Epiphany in 400, and that there is no reason for putting it later. (*Evagrius Ponticus*, 17.)

Now John of Lycopolis died (if any credit is to be attached to the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, c. i. *fin.*) at the end of 394 or early in 395, shortly after the victory of Theodosius over Eugenius; and Palladius' visit to him cannot be placed later than the summer of 394. Now his illness came upon him a full three years after this; and it is not to be supposed that he should at once have made up his mind to relinquish his monastic life without struggling for some time against the malady. And so there does not seem to be any real inconsistency between this statement and the others¹.

At another point also Palladius' chronology of his own life touches that of the *Historia Monachorum*, and so it is possible to make the two works test each other. He tells us that Macarius of Alexandria was alive for three years after his coming to Cellia (A 20). From what has been said above it would seem that Palladius came to Cellia towards the end of 391, or early in 392. This would place Macarius' death in 394 or 395; and as his feast is kept in January by both East and West, there seems to be reason in Tillemont's surmise that he died in January 395 (*Mémoires*, VIII. 648). But he was already dead when the party, whose tour is narrated in the *Historia Monachorum*, reached Nitria and Cellia (cc. 28, 29); and as they were with John of Lycopolis about the end of September 394, when the news of Theodosius' victory reached Egypt (c. i. *fin.*), the question arises whether the tour described in that book can reasonably be supposed to have extended over some four or five months. It took Palladius eighteen days to travel direct without any stoppage from Nitria to Lycopolis (A 43). The narrative of the *Historia Monachorum* supplies

¹ Dr Preuschen says that the disentanglement of the two texts in the account of John of Lycopolis makes 394 an impossible date for Palladius' visit to John (*Palladius und Rufinus*, 243). I cannot see anything in the restored text of the Lausiac History that militates against this date. It was necessitated by the interpolated text: it is not necessitated by the true text; but neither is there any intrinsic ground for rejecting it. I have carefully studied Dr Preuschen's ample and quite fresh treatment of the chronology of Palladius' life (*op. cit.* 233—246). On my consideration I am not led to alter what I had already written. I see the force of the difficulties he raises; but I think his own system is economical and consistent. The question demands further treatment.

evidence that the seven made their journey in a leisurely way; it is expressly stated that they stopped three days with John of Lycopolis (c. 1, *fin.*), and a week with abbot Apollonius or Apollos (c. 7, *fin.*); and it is reasonable to suppose that similar stoppages were made at other places. Accordingly it is not surprising to read in the *Epilogue* that the Epiphany (A.D. 395) found them still on their travels, and apparently not yet arrived at Nitria. So that there is no difficulty whatever in reconciling Palladius' dates with the fact that Macarius of Alexandria was already dead when the writer of the *Historia Monachorum* reached Nitria.

It thus appears that the general statement in the Preface to the Lausiatic History, the various autobiographical notes scattered throughout the body of the work, the set of chronological data given for Evagrius' Life, and the points of time fixed by the *Historia Monachorum*, all tally with sufficient accuracy. This raises a presumption that both books have at any rate an historical framework¹.

¹ In regard to the *Historia Monachorum* Tillemont raises some chronological difficulties:—

(1) It is stated (c. 7, *init.*) that Apollonius or Apollos was about eighty years of age (in the Greek *ὄνδρακοστόν ὡν ἔσους*, cf. A 52) at the time the writer saw him, *i. e.* at the end of 394. But it is stated in the same place that he retired to the desert at the age of fifteen and passed forty years in solitude, until "the times of Julian" (361—8); which would make him at least eighty-five in 394. Tillemont devotes a whole page to the discussion of this difficulty (*Mémoires*, x. 721);—and yet it is but reasonable in such cases to take the ages assigned to the solitaries as being but approximations.

(2) According to Palladius (A 43) John of Lycopolis was thirty years of age when he enclosed himself in his cell, and seventy-eight when he died; according to the Latin *Historia Monachorum* (c. 1, *init.*) these dates should be forty and ninety respectively (*Mémoires*, x. 718). Here again it is unreasonable to press too closely such figures, based on hearsay and mere recollections. On the one point, however, which Palladius professes to have learned from John himself, the figures of the two accounts practically agree, giving forty-eight and fifty years respectively as the period of John's inclusion.

(3) The Latin *Historia Monachorum* (c. 27) says that Evagrius abstained altogether from bread, *i. e.* in 395; but according to Palladius (A 86) it seems as if it was not until the last two years of his life that he so abstained, *i. e.* 397—8 (*Mémoires*, x. 795). There are textual uncertainties about both passages. In any case, when we recollect that Palladius did not write his account of Evagrius till

General Chronology of the Lausiaca History.

To test one by one all the statements of Palladius which bear upon chronology, and to bring the whole of his narrative into contact with the contemporary documents, would be a long and wearisome task. Fortunately a more compendious method is at hand which will suffice for our present purpose. It will probably be admitted that not many historians, if any, have rivalled Tillemont's extraordinarily minute and accurate knowledge of the whole body of great sources for the history of the fourth and fifth centuries. The preceding foot-note affords examples of the scrupulous care, at times even bordering upon excessive fastidiousness, with which he collects scattered statements and exposes discrepancies no matter how trifling. The wonderful *Notes et Éclaircissements* attached to each volume of his great work are, in spite of incidental errors, a monument to all ages of labour, of scholarship, of sagacity, and of exquisite tact. In the *Notes* to several of the volumes the Lausiaca History is freely used and is diligently compared with all other sources of information. At times it is shown that Palladius is in error—as is only to be expected of any historian in any age, and especially of a writer who records his reminiscences of what took place a quarter of a century before¹. But on the whole Palladius emerges from this searching ordeal unscathed; and he has won from the prince of historical critics

some twenty years after his death, it will not be a matter of surprise should it appear that he was in error upon such a point by two or three years.

Chronological difficulties such as these are not of a nature to deserve further consideration.

On the other side we may note the following as an instance of accuracy: the *Historia Monachorum*, in the Latin version (c. 23), speaks of Dioscorus the Tall as being already a bishop in the beginning of 395. Now we know from the Lausiaca History (A 13) that in 391 he was but a priest; in September 394, however, he sat as bishop of Hermopolis at the Council held at Constantinople (cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, xi. 447). So that here again the *Historia Monachorum* fits in with the history of the time in a matter where owing to the small margin it would have been easy to go astray.

¹ One of the most serious difficulties is in regard to Pambo (A 10); it is discussed by Tillemont, viii. 768.

the high encomium already quoted in full in the Introductory paragraph of this Study.

I had intended to have worked out as a test case Palladius' account of the two Roman ladies who bore the name of Melania (A 117—121); but it soon appeared that such an undertaking would outrun my available space. I therefore content myself with referring to the *Notes (Mémoires, x. 821—3)*, wherein Tillemont discusses the chronology etc. of the elder Melania's life; it will there be seen how consistently Palladius' different pieces of information hold together; and when in two important points the united authority of St Jerome and St Paulinus of Nola stands against him, Tillemont still holds that Palladius is right. And if Palladius' account of the early years of the elder Melania be compared with that given by her other friend St Paulinus¹; or his account of the younger with the recently printed contemporary *Vita S. Melaniae Junioris*²; it will appear that the accounts are substantially the same, while there are those natural discrepancies in detail which are ever to be looked for in the most authentic independent accounts of the same series of events³. Palladius in connection with Melania (A 117) makes reference to a number of bishops and others banished under Valens from Egypt to Diocæsarea in Palestine; and this is supported by contemporary letters of St Peter of Alexandria, and St Basil, and by St Epiphanius⁴.

M. Amélineau's special knowledge of the early Christian literature and history of Egypt makes the following testimony an important corroboration, from an independent standpoint, of what has here been put forward: "Nihil in illius (*sc. Palladii*) scriptis inveni quod ab aliorum scriptorum dictis discrepet⁵."

¹ Ep. xxix. (*P. L. lxi. 816*).

² *Analecta Bollandiana*, viii. 16—63.

³ To give one instance, compare Palladius' statement (A 121) that when at Rome on St John Chrysostom's business he was hospitably entertained in Campania by Pinian and Melania the Younger, with the following passage of the *Vita* of the latter, referring to the very period of Palladius' visit to Rome: "Sanctis etiam episcopis et presbyteris et omnibus aduenientibus peregrinis in suburbano urbis Romae in rure constituentes non paruum humanitatem exhibentes administrabant" (p. 25).

⁴ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vi. 586—7.

De Hist. Laus. 8.

One point, however, only recently raised, must be noticed in detail. I refer to the statement that John of Lycopolis was a bishop. Were this the case, it would tend to shake our confidence in the credibility of the *Historia Lausiaca*, and also of the *Historia Monachorum*; for the writers of both claim to have visited and interviewed John a short time before his death, and what they say is quite irreconcilable with the idea that he was a bishop. Mr Evetts, in a note to his edition of Abu Salih's Arabic History, writes: "On the approach of the officers of Theodosius to Lycopolis, the bishop John gave orders for their reception,"—thus making him bishop of Lycopolis or Asyut¹. But in the Coptic fragment in Zoega referred to as the authority, he is spoken of not as "bishop," but as "abbot" John²; and M. Amélineau assures me in a letter that there is nothing in the original document to suggest that John was a bishop. But in the title of a Coptic sermon attributed to Theophilus, it is said that the sermon was preached "in the presence of abbot John the anchorite, the Archimandrite of the mount of Lycopolis, who afterwards became bishop of the town of Hermopolis Magna³." In the Introduction to his volume published in 1895, M. Amélineau briefly discusses the point, and he declares the statement to be very doubtful⁴; and in a letter to me, dated May 15th, 1896, he altogether rejects it⁵. He tells me further that the Coptic *Synaxarium*, "la meilleure autorité que nous avons à ce sujet," does not know of John having been a bishop; and the same is the case with the wide circle of contemporary writers who make mention of John, some of whom claim to have met those who had come into contact with him:—St Augustine, Cassian, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, Theodoret, Sozomen, St Jerome, St Eucherius: the references may be found in Tillemont (*Mémoires*, x. 9—29). The statement accordingly may be rejected without hesitation.

¹ *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt, attributed to Abu Salih (Anecdota Ozoniensia, Semitic Series, vii. 1895), 6, note 2.*

² *Catalogus*, 540.

³ *Ibid.* 107.

⁴ *Monuments*, Tom. i., Fasc. ii., 504.

⁵ "Je regarde le sermon de Théophile comme apocryphe; par conséquent le titre qui a été ajouté peut n'avoir pas grande valeur, et n'en a pas en effet." And when referring to Mr Evetts's statement, M. Amélineau says that John never was

Geography of the Lausiac History.

In the case of the chronology of the Lausiac History Tillemont saved us from the inconvenience of a detailed examination, and now in regard to its geography M. Amélineau will do us the same good service. Indeed, seeing that he knows the ground thoroughly, having travelled over it several times, and that he is an expert on the geography of Christian Egypt—for he has produced a standard work upon the subject¹—it is clear that his judgment is of peculiar value. M. Amélineau gives it as his deliberate conviction that Palladius must have spent a long time in Egypt and have seen much of the country. The reason on which he relies is the accuracy of the geography of the Lausiac History: “*Multa sunt quae, nisi vidisset, tam accurate describere nequivisset. Quaedam enim apud illum inveniuntur locorum descriptiones quibus ab illo visa fuisse ipsa loca demonstratur. Cujus rei ut exempla referam, accuratissime arenosa loca Alexandriae circumjecta (A 2), et iter Alexandria ad Nitriae montem perducens describit*”: and he quotes the passage from A 7, remarking that the reference to Ethiopia, which would now be erroneous, is in strict accord with the nomenclature of Palladius’ time. The local descriptions of Nitria and Scete, found in A 20 and 33, are also instanced in evidence of Palladius’ accuracy in point of topography; and then M. Amélineau concludes: “*Itaque Palladius quod omnia loca, ut supra dixi, accuratissime describit, non debet dubitari quin omnia suis ipse oculis perspexerit*”².

Palladius’ general picture of Monastic Life in Egypt.

The point I wish to examine is this: whether the *mise-en-scène*, the background of the Lausiac History, in which the various sketches given by Palladius are set, is conformable to that derived from other sources of information: whether the general impression of life in the Desert conveyed by Palladius’ book is true.

bishop of Lycopolis, “pas plus d’ailleurs, je crois, que Jean n’a été évêque d’Eschmounein” (Hermopolis Magna).

¹ *Géographie de l’Égypte à l’époque Copte.* Cf. *supra*, p. 108.

² *De Hist. Laus.* 8—9. (These examples are all from the true Lausiac History. Not understanding the composite nature of the A redaction, M. Amélineau later on treats of the geography of the *Historia Monachorum* as if it also was due to Palladius.)

In regard to the austerities which Palladius records of so many of the solitaries, M. Amélineau writes: "As often as he describes localities, or names monks, or relates their practices, fasts, and *crucifixions*, as they called them, he is worthy of credit."¹ And indeed what is known of oriental asceticism at the present day must go far to remove any hesitation in accepting what Palladius relates. It may be of interest to point out that the mortifications recorded of the Egyptian solitaries, extraordinary and appalling as they were, were all of a kind that may be called natural, consisting in privation of food, of drink, of sleep, of clothing; in exposure to heat and cold; in rigorous enclosure in cell or cave or tomb; in prolonged silence and vigils and prayer; in arduous labour, in wandering through the desert, in bodily fatigue: but of the self-inflicted scourgings, the spikes and chains, and other artificial penances of a later time, I do not recollect any instances among the Egyptian monks of the fourth century.

The long fasts spoken of by Palladius may, indeed, be thought to present a special difficulty; and therefore it may be well to adduce two corroborative testimonies drawn from sources quite outside the range of writings dealt with in this Study. The first is from the treatise *De Vita Contemplativa*, in which we read that the Therapeutae never partook of food until sunset, and that many of them would altogether abstain from food for three days together, and some even for six days². The value of this evidence is unaffected by any question as to whether the *D. V. C.* was written in the first century or the third. Whether the treatise describes Jewish ascetics of the first century, or Christian monks of the third, there cannot, I think, be any reasonable doubt that it portrays the actual manner of life of a real community in Egypt. A still more unimpeachable witness is St Dionysius of Alexandria, who, in his Canonical Letter to

¹ *De Hist. Laus.* 18.

² Σιτίον δὲ ἢ ποτὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν ἀξιον φωτὸς κρίνουσι εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας· ὅθεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέραν, ταῖς δὲ νυκτὸς βραχὺ τι μέρος ἐνειμαν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπομνησκονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλείων ὁ πῶθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυται· τινὲς δὲ οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐστιώμενοι, πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόρως τὰ δόγματα χορηγούσης, ὡς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίωα χρόνον ἀντέχειν, καὶ μόλις δι' ἑξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας (Mangey 476; Conybeare 71). Quoted by Eusebius, ii. 17.

Basilides on the time for breaking the fast on Easter Day, states that at Alexandria in the middle of the third century many of the faithful partook of no food whatever for two whole days preceding Easter, some for three days, and some for four, while some used even to keep an unbroken fast for the entire week; and he says that if these latter, all but dead from their prolonged fast, take food on Easter Day at an earlier hour than the others, they are not to be criticised for so doing¹. With these authentic and independent witnesses before us, even the great fast of Paul the Simple ceases to be very wonderful; for according to Palladius (when restored to his true form) it lasted but for four days, and according to the Greek text of the *Historia Monachorum* for no more than a week;—that it extended over twelve days is the fiction of the redactor of A, who has combined the two versions of the story.

This is perhaps the most suitable place to refer to an anecdote vouched for by Palladius, which, though not claiming to be in any sense supernatural, is certainly wonderful, and has been seized upon by both Weingarten and Lucius as a proof of Palladius' mendacity and the fabulous character of the Lausiatic History². Palladius assures us (A 13) that he himself saw abbot Benjamin suffering from dropsy to such a degree that his little finger could not be spanned by the fingers of Palladius' two hands; and that, when he died, the door-posts of his cell had to be moved in order to allow the body to be carried out. There is nothing incredible in the second statement; for the doorway may have been narrow. In regard to the first, I consulted a competent physician, and he said that such an enlargement of the finger would be quite impossible in dropsy; but that in certain forms of elephantiasis, especi-

¹ 'Ἐπει μὴδὲ τὰς ἐξ τῶν νηστειῶν ἡμέρας ἴσως μὴδὲ ὁμοίως πάντες διαμένονουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ πάσας ὑπερτιθέουσιν ἄσιτοι διατελοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρας, οἱ δὲ οὐδεμίαν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάνυ διαπονηθεῖσιν ἐν ταῖς ὑπερθέσεσιν, εἶτα ἀποκάμνουσι καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκλείπουσι, συγγνώμη τῆς ταχύτερας γέσεως. εἰ δὲ τινες οὐχ ὅπως οὐχ ὑπερτιθέμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ νηστεύσαντες ἢ καὶ τρυφήσαντες τὰς προαγοῦσας τέσσαρας, εἶτα ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς τελευταίας δύο ἢ μίνας ἡμέρας, αὐτὰς ὑπερτιθέντες, τὴν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ σάββατον, μέγα τι καὶ λαμπρὸν ποιεῖν νομίζουσιν, ἀν' ἕως τῆς ἕως διαμεινώσιν, τοῦτους οὐκ οἶμαι τὴν ἰσὴν ἀθλήσιν πεποιήσθαι τοῖς τὰς πλείονας ἡμέρας προσηκῆκόσι (P. G. x. 1277).

² It is cited by M. Amélineau also as a specimen of the reckless exaggeration at times indulged in by Palladius (*De Hist. Laus.*, 18).

ally in a tropical country, very extraordinary enlargements may occur; and that in former times elephantiasis and any other forms of disease in which the symptom was an abnormal swelling were often spoken of as dropsy. So that, if we make allowance for some exaggeration in the narrative of thirty years later, I do not think that even this anecdote affords ground for a general charge of wilful untruthfulness.

Nor, again, is the Lausiaca History a mere idealising and glorification of the monastic life. It is by no means an unvaried record of extraordinary virtue. Even in the case of the most illustrious monks, the difficulties, temptations, and struggles which they underwent are narrated with a simplicity at times verging on crudeness; and the weaknesses, failures and falls of many are freely chronicled. If anywhere, we should look for an ideal state of things in the great convent for women established a generation previously by St Pachomius¹; but Palladius' picture of the inner life of this convent is by no means ideal (A 40—42): a nun there committed suicide on account of a calumny wilfully uttered against her by a sister; another, who pretended to be foolish, was treated with great unkindness by several of the sisters, and made the object of rude practical jokes². Again, it may be thought that there is a curious touch of nature in Palladius' account of Dorotheus (A 36), who was chaplain or director of another convent of nuns, and used to sit without ceasing at a window that overlooked the convent, and strive to keep the peace among them: *ἀδιαλείπτως παρακαθεζόμενος τῇ θυρίδι τὴν ἀμαχίαν αὐταῖς ἐπραγματεύσατο* (P. G. xxxiv. 1098). Indeed it can be clearly seen from Palladius' pages that, in the midst of the prevalent asceticism and together with much real holiness, a great deal of human nature survived even in the desert.

To sum up the results of the investigations instituted in this section: the Lausiaca History does not at all present the charac-

¹ When Grützmaacher says (*Pachomius*, 4 and 138) that Palladius erroneously places this convent at Panopolis (Ἀκῆμῖμ) instead of at Tabennisi, it is he himself who is in error: the *τούτων* in P. G. xxxiv. 1105 v, line 14, refers not to the particular monks of Panopolis, but to the Tabennesiote congregation in general.

² Ἐγὼ τοῦ πίνακος τὸ ἀπόπλυμα πολλάκις αὐτῇ κατέχεα. ἄλλη Πληγὰς αὐτῇ ἐγὼ ἔδωκα... ἄλλη πάλιν Ἐγὼ πολλάκις τὴν βίνα αὐτῆς ἐσωάκησα (P. G. xxxiv. 1107).

teristics of a "Gulliver's Travels," or of a romance. Quite the reverse: its chronology holds well together, its geography and topography are minutely accurate, its statements accord with well ascertained history and with the general conditions of the time. In other words, it is found to possess the ordinary marks of an authentic and veracious document. And as such it is received, with certain obvious limitations, by critics so little liable to the suspicion of credulity as Amélineau and Zöckler, who, after a special study of the book from very different standpoints, declare their belief that it contains a solid and ascertainable kernel of fact¹.

I am pleased to be able to add that this is also the conclusion to which Dr Preuschen's investigations have led him: the closing words of his recent book express his belief that the Lausiatic History is on the whole a true picture of the monachism it professes to describe, and that anyone who undertakes to write of early monachism must rely without hesitation on the general presentation of it given in the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Historia Monachorum*².

¹ Amélineau: "Sunt *Historia Lausiaca* loca quæ ab auctore ipso esse excogitata apparet [i.e. not borrowed from Coptic or other sources], nemo enim nisi ille talia scribere potuit. Itinera quæ fecerit non solum recte indicat amicosque nominibus suis designat, sed etiam intimas mentis cogitationes adultique corporis concupiscentias confitetur." And after quoting in illustration A 29, he goes on: "Quæ nemo, nisi ille qui fuerit expertus, scribere potuisse, neque ad hæc scribenda ullo alio scripto opus fuisse videtur." (*De Hist. Laus.* 10.) Elsewhere: "In priore *Historia Lausiaca* parte [sc. A 1—87] multa scripta sunt quæ Palladium ipsum spectant. Auctor enim ipse suas peregrinationes, suam agendi rationem, mali ingenii ad peccatum sollicitationes, quas tentationes nunc vocant, describit, neque illa respuenda mihi esse videntur" (*Ibid.* 6). Zöckler: after saying that without doubt the account is "stark gefärbt und mit verschiedenen wunderhaften Zutaten bereichert," he continues: "Aber an ein willkürliches Erdichten nach moderner Romanschriftstellerart oder auch nur in der Weise mittelalterlicher Legenden-schmiede ist bei ihnen [i.e. both the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Historia Monachorum*] noch nicht zu denken. Die Angaben betreffs der Lebensumstände, Aussprüche und Taten der grössten Mehrzahl der geschilderten Heiligen lauten viel zu konkret und genau, als dass jene extreme Fiktionshypothese sich durchführen liesse" (*Herzog-Plitt*, xi. 174).

² His words are that, apart from incidental errors, "werden wir in der *Historia Lausiaca* einen ziemlich treuen Spiegel der Stimmungen und Empfindungen innerhalb der Mönchskreise zu erblicken haben. Und insofern ist sie uns, wie der *Historia Monachorum*, von hohem Wert. Wie uns in diesen Darstellungen das Mönchtum entgegentritt, so muss es im wesentlichen damals gewesen sein. Wenn

The Miracles of the Lausiaca History.

It remains to consider how far the credibility of the Lausiaca History is affected by the frequent record of miracles and wonders. It is not my intention to institute any discussion as to the credibility of miracles in general, or of those of the Lausiaca History in particular. But as the whole book has been discredited and declared to be altogether unhistorical on account of the miraculous element found in it, it becomes necessary to consider whether this extreme view is really dictated by a sober criticism. A moment's reflection tells us that the Lausiaca History and the other records of early Egyptian monachism do not stand alone in this regard: the severest historical schools of our day construct the history, on all hands received as scientific, of the early Middle Ages out of documents in which the supernatural element is as strongly marked as in the Lausiaca History. This is obvious, and needs no illustration. The question therefore arises: Is there anything in the Lausiaca History to differentiate it from the great body of documents just referred to, and to demand special methods of treatment? I am unable to see any such difference. I repeat, there is no question here of the objective truth or falsehood of the miraculous occurrences recorded; but merely whether, even from the most sceptical standpoint, it is reasonable to set them down as wilful inventions on the part of Palladius, and to look on him as a writer so mendacious that his book must forfeit all claim to an historical character.

I cannot help thinking that such views are due to the want of a proper exercise of the historical imagination, a failure to realise and throw oneself back into the conditions and surroundings of the writer. And in truth it is no easy thing to enter in this way into the modes of thought reflected by the literature to which the Lausiaca History belongs. The Copts, whether monks or laymen, lived in an atmosphere of the supernatural; they expected miracles at every turn, and were ready to see the direct operation of angels and demons in the everyday occurrences of life, and they believed

man daher das Mönchtum jener Zeit zu schildern unternimmt, so darf man sich unbedenklich auf die beiden Darstellungen des Rufin und des Palladius stützen" (*Palladius und Rufinus*, 260).

with avidity whatever wonders were suggested to them. The Coptic spirit revelled, and still revels, in the marvellous. On this subject I would direct attention to two of M. Amélineau's writings, *Le Christianisme chez les anciens Coptes* (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1887), and the *Introduction* to the *Contes et Romans de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, where this side of the Coptic character is illustrated very fully. Thus it came to pass that stories of all kinds circulated freely in the desert relating the virtues, the penances, and above all the miracles of the great solitaries. It is but natural that a Greek or Roman living for ten years, as Palladius did, in this environment, should have been carried away by the *genius loci*, and have given credence to all that he heard of the wonders wrought by the servants of God. Nay, it does not even argue any extraordinary credulity in him. The *Zeitgeist* in both East and West was only a degree less prone than in Egypt to accept the marvellous in whatever guise it came. It was not Christians only who admitted supernatural occurrences; the belief in magic and sorcery was universal among pagans, even the most highly educated and cultured. I offer as a single example Gibbon's account of his favourite Julian. I might also refer my readers to the first portion of Mr Lecky's chapter on *Magic and Witchcraft* (*History of Rationalism*, c. I.).

Therefore, that there should have been current in the Egyptian deserts a vast floating tradition of marvellous stories, some of a type merely magical, and that Palladius should have believed every thing of the kind that he heard, and should have recorded it in his book, is only what might have been expected; and it cannot be taken as a sign of any want of truthfulness on his part, or as a reason for questioning the substantial worth of his history. It is not easy to see why Palladius should be judged in this matter by a different standard from St Augustine; and it may safely be said that the single well-known chapter in the *De Civitate Dei* (XXII. 8) presents a problem at least as remarkable as the whole of the Lausiatic History¹.

¹ Mr Lecky thus epitomises the chapter: "St Augustine, the ablest and most clear-headed of all the Fathers, and a man of undoubted piety, solemnly asserts that in his own diocese of Hippo, in the space of two years [*i.e.* the two years immediately preceding the time at which he wrote], no less than seventy miracles

The Lausiaca History contains some seventy references to miraculous occurrences, if we include dreams, visions, apparitions, and readings of the heart, as well as cures and prophecies. The large majority are reported upon hearsay, and, after what has been said, I do not think that these ought to present any difficulty. Palladius vouches for about ten on his own personal authority; and the accounts of some of them are no less circumstantial than startling. I had drawn up a table of these first-hand narratives of miracles, but on reflection it seemed unnecessary to print it¹. The most intellectual and the most upright of Palladius' contemporaries make similar claims to have witnessed miracles,—e.g. St Augustine, Theodoret, Sulpitius Severus. The Lausiaca History and the kindred works dealing with Egyptian Monachism are therefore only particular instances of a very wide question; and unless special reasons can be shown, they should be judged by the same canons and interpreted by the same methods as prevail in analogous cases. So long, indeed, as the Lausiaca History was encompassed by special literary and historical difficulties, it was natural that the marvels it relates should attract undue attention; now, however, that the literary problem has been disentangled, I do not think that the question of the miracles should any more be raised.

Weingarten's own view is that the Lausiaca History and its fellows—*Historia Monachorum*, *Vita Antonii*, Cassian and the rest—are all mere imitations of the Greek romances so popular

had been wrought by the body of St Stephen.....He gives a catalogue of what he deems undoubted miracles, which he says he had selected from a multitude so great that volumes would be required to relate them all. In that catalogue we find no less than five cases of restoration of life to the dead" (*History of Rationalism* (ed. 7), i. 163 note); cf. also *Supernatural Religion* (complete ed.) i. 170—186, where the facts concerning St Augustine are brought together.

¹ They may be found in A 2, 20 (3), 43, 77, 86, and 103. Perhaps it is right to print the most extraordinary of these accounts (A 20). Palladius says: ὑπ' ὄψεσιν πάντων ἐμαῖς προσενέχθη τῷ Μακαρίῳ παιδαρικός ενεργούμενος ὑπὸ πνεύματος χαλεπού. ἐπιθεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὴν εὐώνυμον ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ ἅγιος τούτῳ ἐπηύξατο, ἕως οὗ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀέρος ἐποίησεν κρεμασθῆναι. οἰδήσας οὖν ὁ παῖς ὡς ἀσκὸς ὄλων τῷ σώματι τοσοῦτον ἐφλέγμαινεν, ὡς γενέσθαι πολυτάλαντον τῷ σηκώματι. καὶ αἰφνίδιον ἀνακράξας διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὑδωρ ἤρρακεν· καὶ λωφίσας γέγονεν εἰς τὸ μέτρον ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. (G. P. xxxiv. 1059.) Cf. the Coptic account, *supra* p. 151.

at the time. This position he maintains at some length in the *Ursprung* (47—49, 58—63), and reasserts in the *Mönchtum*¹. He appeals for illustration and proof to the various collections of *Θαυμάσια* (especially that of Phlegon) in Westermann's *Paradoxographi*, and to the *Μεταμορφώσεις* of Antonius Liberalis in the same editor's *Mythographi*.

Let the reader look through these collections and judge for himself. Here are the titles of some of the chapters in Antonius' *Metamorphoses*:—1, "Ktesylla into a Pleiad after her death"; 8, "Lamia the Sybarite into a fountain named after her"; 15, "Meropis into an owl." Anyone who knows his Ovid will be able from these specimens to form a just idea of the nature of the book. It is especially to c. 17, "Leucippus from a woman into a man," that Weingarten refers, as in it he finds a parallel to a repulsive anecdote in the Latin *Historia Monachorum* (c. 28), how a girl was not only cured of a disease by Macarius of Egypt, but at the same time turned into a man. As this is the particular piece on which Weingarten especially fastens in support of his hypothesis, I remark:—

- (1) the story is reported only on hearsay;
- (2) it is not found in the Greek, nor have I anywhere met with it in Greek;
- (3) the text of the Latin is here doubtful: it stands as in Rosweyd (p. 480) in all copies of the *Hist. Mon.* known to me; but it is one of the passages interpolated in c. 9 of Latin Version II. of the *Hist. Laus.*, and there the passage is so worded as to suggest no such grotesque idea (Rosweyd 189). In our present want of knowledge in regard to the Latin text of the *Hist. Mon.* it is impossible to say which reading is the true one.

¹ "Die *Mythographi* und *Paradoxa* der antiken griechischen Sage sind die Vorbilder und Quellen der christlichen Legenden und Mythen, die Rufinus, Hieronymus, Palladius, und ihr Gefolge geschaffen. Eine wesentliche, bis jetzt übersehene, aber sehr wichtige Grundlage für den christlichen Heroenroman bildet auch des Philostratus' Leben des Apollonius von Tyana, dessen vielfach überraschende Beziehungen zur pseudoathanasianischen *Vita Antonii*, zu des Hieronymus *Vita Hilarionis* und zu *Cassians* Tendenzgesprächen die Ergänzung dieses Artikels im nächsten Heft der Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte dartun wird" (*Herzog-Plitt*, x. 786). The supplementary article here promised I have not been able to find.

Weingarten appeals also to the epitomes of the chief Greek romances in Rohde's *Griechische Romane* (361 ff.), and in particular to the Life of Apollonius of Tyana as the prototype of the *Vita Antonii* and of Cassian. I invite the reader with confidence to compare the two classes of literature and to judge for himself. Let him even only read Mr Baring Gould's article "Early Christian Romances" (*Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1877), and he will be able to realise in some measure how essentially Palladius and Cassian and the others differ from the Christian romances of the time, and much more from the heathen romances.

Unquestionably there are myths and romances in the *Vitae Patrum*: Rosweyd pronounces the story of "Macarius the Roman, who travelled to Paradise" to be a "fabula"; the Bollandists declare the Life of Postumian to be "fabulosissima"; "Barlaam and Josaphat," concerning which Rosweyd expresses some cautious doubts, is now known to be a religious novel; and there are other instances. But the line of demarcation between a fourth century romance and the Lausiaca History, marvels and all, is as clear cut and distinct as that between Sinbad the Sailor and Christopher Columbus.

§ 16. OTHER SOURCES OF EARLY EGYPTIAN MONASTIC HISTORY.

The historical value of the foregoing investigations into the problems, literary and other, that encompass Palladius' book, consists mainly in the light which they shed upon the origin and early development of Christian monachism. But there are other sources, akin to the Lausiaca History, which give rise to similar problems. The enquiries which it has been our duty to make in regard to the various points raised concerning the Lausiaca History, suggest certain broad principles of criticism that should guide us in dealing with this whole cycle of literature. It is therefore germane to the scope of this Study to indicate the application of these principles to three or four of the other chief sources of Egyptian monastic history, with a view to the establishment on firmer foundations of this whole department of study.

A list of the more important sources will be of use.

Primary Sources.

1. The *Vita Antonii* (cf. § 17).
2. The *Vita*, the *Asceticon*, the *Regulae* of Pachomius, and the *Epistola Ammonis* on Theodore (cf. §§ 13 and 17).
3. The *Historia Lausiaca*.
4. The *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*.
5. The *Institutes* and *Conferences* of Cassian.
6. The *Apophthegmata Patrum*.

Subsidiary Sources.

7. The Coptic documents relating to Schnoudi (printed by Amélineau) (cf. *supra* p. 107).
8. The Life of Macarius of Egypt by Serapion, in Coptic (Amélineau) and Syriac (Bedjan) (cf. § 17).
9. The chapter in Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23) (cf. § 12).
10. The *First Dialogue* of Sulpitius Severus (cf. § 18).
11. Statements by Rufinus, chiefly *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 4, 8; and *Apol.* ii. 12.
12. The *Regula Antonii*, *Regula Macarii*, and similar Rules, printed by Holsten (*Codex Regularum*) (cf. *P. G.* xxxiv. 967 ff.).

NOTE. The list does not claim to be exhaustive: there are various *Vitae*, Letters, Sermons, and ascetical treatises, some of which no doubt are authentic; but this literature has not yet been properly investigated (cf. *P. G.* xl. and xxxiv.). Nor have the Rules (No. 12) been subjected to criticism as yet, except the *Regula Antonii*, on which Dom Gontzen of Metten has recently published a careful study¹: the *Regula* exists in Latin and Arabic versions (*P. G.* xl. 1067); it is not by St Anthony, but is made up out of the *Vita*, *Apophthegmata* and writings attributed to him. Sozomen's information on the Egyptian monks has no independent value, as it is wholly based on known extant sources (except the second half of vi. 31); what he tells, however, concerning the monks of Asia Minor, Syria and the East (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 32—34) is of great value, being based for the most part on sources that are at present unknown; while, from the manner in which he has used his Egyptian sources, we can see that he was careful and accurate in the work of abridgement.

¹ *Die Regel des h. Antonius* (1896).

The Historia Monachorum in Aegypto.

This book has been constantly before us in the preceding investigations. It bears, as we have seen already, a bad character with the critics; Weingarten and Lucius are as severe in their judgments on it as they are on the Lausiaca History, and Professor Gwatkin declares it to be "past defence except as a novel¹." Dr Preuschen's views on the nature of the book, being the outcome of careful study, must claim our best attention. He has arrived at the conclusion that the Latin is the original form of the work, and that Rufinus is the author in the full sense of the word. He thus rejects Tillemont's Petronius-hypothesis, revived by Zöckler and Grützmacher (cf. *supra*, p. 12)²; but he is alive to the chronological difficulties, and in view of them he does not believe that Rufinus himself ever made the journey described, or, indeed, that any such tour ever took place. His view is that Rufinus, during his prolonged sojourn in Egypt, visited a number of the solitaries—this we know on his own authority—and thus acquired a thorough knowledge of the character and working of Egyptian monachism about the year 375. A quarter of a century later (c. 402—3) he set himself to draw a picture of the monastic system in Egypt for the benefit of the brethren of his monastery on the Mount of Olives: the picture which he drew is a faithful one; but he has thrown it into the popular form of a narrative of travels. Thus the book is true in the sense that a good historical novel is true, and is a most valuable source for the general history of Egyptian monachism; but the framework of the story is the invention of the writer³.

Dr Preuschen's theory of the character of the *Historia Monachorum*, which thus preserves the substantial truthfulness of the book—on this point he is uncompromising—is on the face

¹ *Studies of Arianism* 93.

² *Palladius und Rufinus* 174—6.

³ *Op. cit.* 178 ff. and 205 ff. In regard to St Jerome's statement that Rufinus wrote a book "quasi de monachis," but that many of them "nunquam fuerunt" (cp. *sup.*, p. 11 note), Dr Preuschen points out that St Jerome had passed far too short a time in Egypt to be able to say with competent knowledge what monks did or did not exist in the remoter regions (p. 205).

of it a reasonable one, and it fairly meets many of the difficulties of the case. But it is evidently a corollary of the view that the Latin, not the Greek, is the original form of the work. After a renewed survey of the ground, I am confirmed in my previous conviction that the Latin is a translation from the Greek. The really substantial reasons that move me are based on a variety of linguistic and textual considerations, and I hope to be able in Appendix I. to establish from such evidence the truth of my view. But questions of this kind must usually be determined by a number of converging probabilities; and I therefore propose to develop in this place certain aspects of the problem, which will at once reveal difficulties in the way of Dr Preuschen's theory of the nature of the book, and furnish illustrations of its true origin and historical character.

(1) M. Amélineau declares that the description of the mountain overhanging the Nile on which Pityrion dwelt (*gr.* 17, *lat.* 13, cf. A 74) is so accurate that anyone who has been over the ground will easily recognise it as the present Gebel-el-Ter¹. If this be the case, it is evident that the writer of the *Historia Monachorum* must have seen the spot; and the question arises, Did Rufinus ever make his way so far south? In three places in his works (*Apol.* II. 12, *Hist. Eccl.* II. 4 and 8) he gives lists of the celebrated monks whom he had seen, and all the names he mentions, whether of monks or of places, so far as they can be identified, are confined to Nitria and Scete and to the district of Pispir. The details given in the Lausiac History (A 25; *P. G.* xxxiv. 1073) indicate that Pispir was situated by the Nile, somewhere between Babylon and Heracleopolis; and Amélineau identifies "the Mount of Anthony in Pispir" with Der-el-Mémûn, half way between Aphrodito-polis (Atfih) and Beni Suef, some seventy miles north of Gebel-el-Ter². In his *Hist. Eccl.* II. 8, however, Rufinus says that among persons whom he had seen were "Scyrion (*al.* Quirtori) et Helias et Paulus in Apeliote." No place is known of the name Apeliote: and Preuschen conjectures that it is a corruption of Antinoite or

¹ *De Hist. Laus.* 47, 48. The mountain is there called Gebel-el-Ataka; but on the page of Isambert to which reference is made, as also in the handbooks of Baedeker and Murray, it is called Gebel-el-Ter.

² *Géographie de l'Égypte* 353.

Hermopolite, and further that Scyriion is a corruption of Pityriion¹. If these conjectures are well grounded, it follows that Rufinus was at Gebel-el-Ter. But I cannot help thinking that Amélineau is wiser in declaring himself unable to offer any suggestion in regard to the name Apeliote². As a matter of fact, it must have been some place in the neighbourhood of Scete; for Scyriion can be no other than the Ἰσχυρίων of the *Apophthegmata* (called Cyrion, Squirion and Histirion in the Latin MSS.), who is stated to have dwelt near Scete³. Thus there is no reason for supposing that Rufinus ever set eyes on Gebel-el-Ter, or ever was further south than the Faiyum; and, as he more than once gives lists of the districts of Egypt which he had visited, the argument from silence is valid and cogent.

(2) In any case, it may safely be said that he never was at Lycopolis; otherwise he surely would have mentioned the great John, the Seer of the Thebaid, as among the monks whom in his *Apology* and *Ecclesiastical History* he says he had been privileged to see. For a like reason, he can hardly have visited Hermopolis Magna, or he would have mentioned that Apollonius or Apollos, of whom so long an account is given in the *Historia Monachorum*. Now in the *Historia Monachorum* eleven localities are mentioned by name as having been successively visited by the tourists; and M. Amélineau thinks that in addition to Gebel-el-Ter it is possible to identify a second place visited but not named, and that the monastery of Tabennesiote monks presided over by Ammon (c. 3) may be placed at Schmoun, a village which stood on the bank of the Nile, half way between the neighbouring towns (on opposite banks of the river) Hermopolis Magna (Eshmunēn) and Antinoë⁴.

¹ *Palladius und Rufinus* 179.

² *Géographie* 54. [Professor Robinson remarks: "ἀφελιώτης (Att. δτ.) is of course a good word. It comes several times in the Berlin papyri in describing the boundaries of properties. But I do not know an instance of it as a place-name."]

³ The statement that he lived in Scete occurs in some Greek mss. (*P. G.* LXV. *); in the Coptic version (Zoega, *Cat.* 358); and in the Latin version found in MSS. v. and vi. of Rosweyde (p. 646), but not in Bk. III. (p. 529).

⁴ Amélineau's words are: "Quem Ammonem monasterium Schmoun incoluisse mentem neque enim ullum aliud erat in hac regione coenobitarum us. 45). For Schmoun cf. his *Géographie* (168 and seems to me to create an unnecessary difficulty by Tabennesiotes meaning non"

We thus have thirteen localities fixed, and it will be of interest to compare with the strict geographical sequence the order in which they occur in the respective itineraries of the Greek and Latin *Historia Monachorum*. The journey is represented as beginning from the south and working northwards. I add in col. 1 the modern names from the maps in the *Archaeological Report* of the "Egyptian Exploration Fund," 1896—7; and in cols. 2 and 3 the numbers of the chapters in which the names occur.

<i>True geographical order.</i>	<i>Greek Itinerary.</i>	<i>Latin Itinerary.</i>
S. Lycopolis (Asyut)	Lycopolis (1)	Lycopolis (1)
¹ (Schmoun)	¹ (Schmoun) (3)	¹ (Schmoun) (3)
Hermopolis (Eshmunēn)	Oxyrhynchus (5)	Oxyrhynchus (5)
Antinoë (Sheikh Abadeh)	Antinoë (7)	Hermopolis (7)
Akoris (Tehneh)	Hermopolis (8)	Antinoë (12)
¹ (Gebel-el-Ter)	Akoris (14)	¹ (Gebel-el-Ter) (13)
Oxyrhynchus (Behneseh)	Heracleopolis (16)	[Akoris (15)]
Heracleopolis (Ahnas)	¹ (Gebel-el-Ter) (17)	Heracleopolis (16)
Arsenoitis (Faiyum)	Arsenoitis (20)	Arsenoitis (18)
Memphis (Tel Monf)	Babylon and	Memphis and
Babylon (Fostat)	Memphis } (20)	Babylon } (18)
Nitria (Wady Natron)	Nitria (23)	Nitria (21)
N. Diolcos (Sebennyitic Mouth in Lake Burlus)	Diolcos (32)	Diolcos (32)

Oxyrhynchus is seriously displaced in both itineraries, being several places too far to the south². There is also in both a

the monastery of Tabennisi, and thus making his author place Tabennisi north of Lycopolis. It seems more natural to suppose that the term designated in general monks of the Pachomian observance (cf. the later terms Cluniac and Cistercian). Preuschen says that there is no evidence of any Pachomian monastery so far north: but the Arabic *Vita Pachomii* (p. 676) distinctly says that Theodore founded a monastery at Eshmunēn: *sah* and *boh* here fail us: but in the Bohairic *Vita Theodori* (p. 269) the existence of more than one Pachomian monastery in the district of Schmoun is implied (cf. ar 693, *sah* vac). Amélineau's "libri coptici" must be further witnesses, as they mention Ammon by name.

¹ It must be remembered that Schmoun and Gebel-el-Ter are but conjectures, however well founded, of Amélineau's; also that the name Akoris does not stand in the Latin text, though it unquestionably should be there (cf. *sup.* p. 14).

² The recent literary finds at Behneseh have brought into unwonted prominence the description of Oxyrhynchus in the *Hist. Mon.*, and what is there found has excited some scepticism and criticism of the book, especially the statement that there were in the place ten thousand monks and twenty thousand virgins. It is to be noticed, however, that these figures are given on the authority of the bishop of Oxyrhynchus; and it seems to be a well-established fact that Orientals, and

further displacement of Gebel-el-Ter, to the north in the Greek, to the south in the Latin. The fact that the Greek seems to invert Hermopolis and Antinoë, and also Memphis and Babylon, is of no significance: the two former are so near to one another (on opposite sides of the Nile) that it is impossible to say which of them would be visited first; the latter are merely named together. I say "seems to invert H. and A.," because one of the Syriac versions makes it practically certain that in this point the Greek order was originally the same as that of Rufinus and Sozomen (cf. Appendix I. iv.). Thus neither itinerary has a perceptible advantage over the other. The point, however, to which I wish to call attention is the substantial accuracy of the itinerary in both forms. In those days, when the helps which we now enjoy were not available, it would have been a matter of extreme difficulty—indeed an extraordinary feat of memory—to draw up in proper order this list of places visited more than twenty years previously. Still more difficult would it have been for one who never had been over the greater part of the ground to construct such an itinerary out of current sources of information, either written or oral; and it seems pretty certain that Rufinus never traversed the country between Lycopolis and Heracleopolis.

(3) Dr Preuschen's theory postulates that Rufinus, writing in 402—3, fixed on the winter of 394—5 as the period in which to place the journey; and though he had not set foot in Egypt for some twenty years (not since 385), he deliberately set himself to reproduce the circumstances of the year he had thus arbitrarily chosen¹. Thus he calculated the approximate ages of the chief solitaries, as John and Apollonius, and represented the Macarii as deceased, Evagrius as still living, and Dioscorus as already a bishop. I doubt whether fiction was so understood or so written in the year 400.

(4) I would direct attention to the Epilogue and the enumeration it contains of the eight dangers encountered by the travellers on their journey—*e.g.* their wading through a deep marsh and through a . . . by the Nile; their thinking a crocodile

¹ . . . byrhynchus was a . . .
 . . . great Christian . . . beyond doubt.

was dead, and being attacked by it on approaching unwarily; their being pursued by robbers along the sea-bank of Lake Burlus (at Diolcos) "until the breath almost failed from their nostrils." The account appears to me to have all the freshness and circumstantiality and simplicity of a narration of facts, and not at all to present the characteristics of a made-up piece.

These are among the reasons which make me think that the journey was a real one, that the writer himself was one of the party, and that the story was written while the recollection of the incidents was still fresh in his mind. Rufinus' authorship would thus be excluded, and a strong additional presumption raised in favour of the Greek being the original; for if Rufinus was not the author of the book, the natural alternative is that he was the translator¹.

Cassian's Institutes and Collations.

The writings of Cassian are the most important source of information, if not as to the lives of individual monks, yet certainly as to the general spirit and the practical working of early Egyptian monachism. But Weingarten has passed the same verdict on Cassian as on Palladius and the *Historia Monachorum*:—the cities and caves and old men are all mythical; the geographical details must be treated as we treat the geography of Homer; and the dialogues are merely expressions of Cassian's own dogmatic views; they are his personal contribution to the Semi-pelagian controversy, and never were spoken by the monks into whose mouths he puts them².

In considering such a view, it is necessary to remember that Cassian's life from the year 400 onwards is bound up with historical personages, such as St John Chrysostom, St Leo the Great, and certain Gallic bishops. I do not know whether Weingarten questions the fact of Cassian's having been in Egypt; but the most recent editors, Petschenig in the *Vienna Corpus*, and Gibbon in the *Nicene Library* (a translation), accept the

¹ I see that in his review of Dr Preuschen's book, Dr Grützmaier indicates that he too feels difficulties of the kind developed above in the way of accepting Dr Preuschen's theory (*Theol. Lit. Zeitung*, 1898, no. 4).

² *Ursprung des Mönchtums* 62; cf. his Article *Mönchtum* in Herzog-Plitt x. 788.

framework of his earlier life as contained in his writings. According to this, Cassian was twice in Egypt, about the Delta and in Scete or Nitria, and must have spent there the greater part of the years 390—400, and perhaps even a longer period. As to his geography, it is limited to descriptions of two localities: on two occasions (*Coll.* VII. 26 and XI. 1—3) he describes the district about Thennesus or Tanis, the modern San, at the mouth of the Tanitic branch of the Nile in lake Menzaleh; the two pictures agree very well with one another, and with the accounts of the same district given by Murray (*Egypt*, 311—313) and Baedeker (*Lower Egypt*, 213 and 227), who describe it as a territory once very rich, but through an inundation of the sea now a brackish marsh, with here and there lakes and islands on which stand the ruins of towns. These modern authorities do not describe in the same detail the district at the Sebennytic mouth, in lake Burlus, where stood Diolcos, the other locality described by Cassian (*Inst.* v. 36); but it seems possible to judge from the maps that what he says must be fairly correct.

As compared with his compeers, there is in Cassian a marked sobriety in regard to supernatural occurrences; I do not recollect that he anywhere claims to have himself witnessed a miracle. Cassian's general picture of the life and manners of the Egyptian monks, their discourses, their visits to one another, their austerities and self-drill in virtue, agrees with that presented by Palladius and the other contemporary sources of information.

But there is one point special to Cassian, to which I would invite attention. He claims to have practised the monastic life not only in Egypt but also in Palestine; and in various passages he draws a sharp contrast between the observances which obtained in the two countries, above all in regard to matters liturgical (*Inst.* II. and III.). Here his information is of the most minute character, so that he is perhaps the most important single authority for the early history of the Canonical Office. The chief points of difference which he notes are that in Egypt at the public offices the psalms were recited by a single voice, and that the hours of tierce, sext and none were not said publicly or in common; whereas in Palestine and Mesopotamia antiphonal singing was in vogue, and the three day-hours formed part of

the regular public office. The statements of Cassian are in one way or another borne out by authorities on either side: on the side of Egypt by the Lausiac History, the *Vita* and *Regulae Pachomii*, the Rules of Serapion and three other Fathers, the *Apophthegmata*, pseudo-Athanasius *de Virginitate*, and St Jerome: on the side of Palestine by SS. Basil, Ephraim, Chrysostom, Jerome and Theodoret, and the *Peregrinatio Sylvaie*¹. This accuracy of Cassian in the minutiae of liturgical practice is a sign that he is recounting what he had seen, and that he had a practical knowledge of monasticism both in Egypt and the East.

For such reasons as these, I think it is impossible to doubt the substantial truth of Cassian's picture of Egyptian monastic life, based, as it appears to be, upon the writer's personal observation. But an interesting question arises, how far the Conferences are to be taken as historical, *i.e.* as actually spoken by those into whose mouths they are put. Cassian left Egypt within a year or two of 400, and he did not write his Collations till 426. It is not likely that he had any shorthand notes; probably he had nothing but his memory to rely upon. Under these circumstances it is, as Dr Gibson says, "impossible to determine with certainty how far they really represent the discourses actually spoken by the Egyptian Fathers, or how far they are the ideal compositions of Cassian himself" (*Prolegomena* 188). I am ready, too, with Dr Gibson (*ibid.* 191), to believe that the thirteenth Conference was written to combat some of St Augustine's positions on free-will, grace and predestination, and that its language is coloured by the Semi-pelagian controversy which was then raging. But I observe that this need only imply that the teaching Cassian had imbibed in Egypt should be brought to a point and cast in the terminology of the actual controversy; for St Augustine's teaching was not that which had been current in the East and in Egypt. St Pachomius, indeed, is represented in his Life as a strong opponent of Origen and as banishing Origen's works from his monasteries; but in those parts of Egypt where Cassian had dwelt Origen was a dominant influence. Now within the range of questions connected with the controversy on grace, Origen's teaching seems to

¹ This list of authorities is mainly based on the passages brought together by Dom Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers* 69—180.

have resembled that of a prominent theological school in modern times, which has found itself unable to follow St Augustine to the later fully matured and characteristic positions which he took up¹. That there were in Nitria and Scete certain initial tendencies which in antagonism to St Augustine's system would easily have been repelled in the direction of Semi-pelagianism, is, I think, a fact that is established by the general circumstances of the case; accordingly I do not think that even in this matter Cassian is merely inventing².

On the Conferences in general my own view is that, without regarding them as literal reports of what was spoken, we may accept the historicity of Cassian's matter;—we may believe that he really saw and conversed with the monks he claims to have known, and that the Conferences truly represent the teaching current in the desert; and that in some cases Cassian's account reproduces with substantial accuracy what actually was said and done. There are throughout the Conferences a number of passages which seem to have all the freshness and life that mark a true narrative. I single out at random the "sumptuous repast" wherewith abbot Serenus regaled his guests,—it consisted of parched vetches with salt and a more liberal allowance of oil than was usual, together with three olives, two prunes and a fig for each (*Coll.* VIII. 1). But in this regard the picture of abbot Sarapion stands out pre-eminent (*Coll.* x. 2 and 3): the occasion of the episode is historical,—the promulgation in 399 of the Festal Letter of Theophilus against Anthropomorphism, which caused such a disturbance in Nitria and Scete. Cassian writes³:

And this was received by almost all the body of monks residing in the whole province of Egypt with such bitterness owing to their simplicity and error, that the greater part of the Elders decreed that on the contrary the aforesaid Bishop ought to be abhorred by the whole body of the brethren as

¹ Cf. Origen, *De Oratione* §§ 5 and 6, and *Philocalia* (ed. Robinson) c. xxv. For a brief and clear statement, from the historical standpoint, of St Augustine's teaching, see the Study entitled *Der Augustinismus* (Munich, 1892) by Dom Rottmanner of Munich, whom Wölfflin has styled "der beste Kenner Augustina."

² I do not wish to express any opinion on the authorship or provenance of the Homilies &c. attributed to St Macarius of Egypt; but it is worth noting that Tillemont perceives in them distinct Pelagian tendencies (*Mémoires* VIII. 810).

³ I avail myself of Dr Gibson's translation.

tainted with heresy of the worst kind, because he seemed to impugn the teaching of Holy Scripture by the denial that Almighty God was formed in the fashion of a human figure, though Scripture teaches with perfect clearness that Adam was created in His image. Lastly this letter was rejected also by those who were living in the desert of Scete, and who excelled all who were in the monasteries of Egypt, in perfection and in knowledge, so that, except Abbot Paphnutius the presbyter of our congregation, not one of the other presbyters, who presided over the other three churches in the same desert, would suffer it to be even read or repeated at all in their meetings. Among those then who were caught by this mistaken notion was one named Sarapion, a man of long-standing strictness of life, and one who was altogether perfect in actual discipline, whose ignorance with regard to the view of the doctrine first mentioned was so far a stumbling block to all who held the true faith, as he himself outstripped almost all the monks both in the merits of his life and in the length of time (he had been there). And when this man could not be brought back to the way of the right faith by many exhortations of the holy presbyter Paphnutius, because this view seemed to him a novelty, and one that was not ever known to or handed down by his predecessors, it chanced that a certain deacon, a man of very great learning, named Photinus, arrived from the region of Cappadocia with the desire of visiting the brethren living in the same desert: whom the blessed Paphnutius received with the warmest welcome, and, in order to confirm the faith which had been stated in the letters of the aforesaid Bishop, placed him in the midst and asked him before all the brethren how the Catholic Churches throughout the East interpreted the passage in Genesis where it says "Let us make man after our image and likeness." And when he explained that the image and likeness of God was taken by all the leaders of the churches not according to the base sound of the letters, but spiritually, and supported this very fully and by many passages of Scripture, and showed that nothing of this sort could happen to that infinite and incomprehensible and invisible glory, so that it could be comprised in a human form and likeness, since its nature is incorporeal and uncompounded and simple, and what can neither be apprehended by the eyes nor conceived by the mind, at length the old man was shaken by the numerous and very weighty assertions of this most learned man, and was drawn to the faith of the Catholic tradition. And when both Abbot Paphnutius and all of us were filled with intense delight at his adhesion, for this reason; viz., that the Lord had not permitted a man of such age and crowned with such virtues, and one who erred only from ignorance and rustic simplicity, to wander from the path of the right faith up to the very last, and when we arose to give thanks, and were all together offering up our prayers to the Lord, the old man was so bewildered in mind during his prayer because he felt that the Anthropomorphic image of the Godhead, which he used to set before himself in prayer, was banished from his heart, that on a sudden he burst into a flood of bitter tears and continual sobs, and cast himself down on the ground and exclaimed with strong groanings: "Alas! wretched man that

I am ! they have taken away my God from me, and I have now none to lay hold of; and whom to worship and address I know not." By which scene we were terribly disturbed, and moreover, with the effect of the former Conference still remaining in our hearts, we returned to Abbot Isaac, whom when we saw close at hand, we addressed with these words : &c.

It is impossible to read this impressive passage without the conviction that Cassian must have witnessed the scene he so graphically describes. By its circumstantiality, its realism, its pathos, its bare humanism as contrasted with anything like "tendenziös" idealising, it is stamped with the stamp of truth: it is separated by an impassable gulf from the fiction written in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The Apophthegmata Patrum.

Dr Preuschen in a review of one of M. Amélineau's volumes declared that it was impossible in that place to say anything on the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, as the subject is practically uninvestigated¹. This statement of a specialist emboldens me to make some beginning of an investigation into this highly interesting group of documents by registering the results to which I have been led in the course of my studies on Palladius. Weingarten declares with confidence that the Apophthegmata are wholly unhistorical in character, were written later than the fourth century, and belong to the period of the best mystics of the Greek Church². He does not explicitly define that period; but from what he says elsewhere I gather he would place it even after the fifth century³. And so Zöckler seems to understand him; for he says that the Apophthegmata are "in any case of much later origin" than the writings of Palladius, and in support of this

¹ "Ueber diese Sammlungen etwas zu sagen, scheint mir z. Zt. unmöglich, da die in den Hss. stehenden, an Umfang sehr verschiedenen Rezensionen so gut wie gar nicht untersucht sind." (*Deutsche Litt. Zeitung* 1896, No. 12.)

² The Apophthegmata "sind überhaupt keine historische, sondern eine ethische Schrift, die einer späteren Zeit als dem vierten Jahrhundert angehört, von einer über alle Wertlegung auf mönchische Askese und auf das Mönchtum überhaupt so erhabenen, so reinen und anziehenden Gesinnung, wie man sie nur bei den besten Mystikern der griechischen Kirche findet. Sie bieten keine Geschichte, sondern die Kritik und Ueberwindung der Mönchsgesinnung." (*Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, 25, note.)

³ Cf. Herzog-Plitt x. 788.

statement he merely refers to Weingarten; and in his most recent work he repeats that the collection is undoubtedly late, though it contains individual points of value¹. When we go back to Weingarten and examine the basis of his opinion, it turns out to be as follows: he clearly perceives the spirituality and beauty of the apophthegmata, but he has a fixed idea as to the low and debased character of Egyptian monachism in the fourth century, so that he does not believe it possible that the apophthegmata can have emanated from it. It may be gathered from Weingarten's language that he supposes the apophthegmata were composed by a Greek writer in the sixth century as a moral and spiritual treatise. If however we are to consider the questions of origin and date as matters to be determined by the evidence, it must in the first place be observed that there were at least three Greek collections or redactions of apophthegmata:—

(i) Alphabetical: the apophthegmata connected with each Father are brought together, and the collection is arranged alphabetically according to the names of the Fathers; so that under A come in groups the apophthegmata of Anthony, of Ammonius, of Arsenius, and so on; and it is in this shape that the only printed Greek text exists².

(ii) Topical, or according to subject matter: this form has not hitherto been printed in Greek, nor do I know that a complete copy exists; but Photius possessed one, and he has preserved the titles of the chapters³: moreover translations of the book exist in various languages:

(a) Latin, printed by Rosweyd, Books V. and VI., which in reality form but a single work (as Rosweyd himself points out, p. 644); since c. 1 of Book VI. is really part of c. 18 of Book V.

¹ The apophthegmata "sind jedenfalls viel späteren Ursprungs" (*Herzog-Plitt*, xi. 174). "Eine zwar späte und in manchen Partien stark apokryphen Charakter tragende, aber doch auch einzelnes Wertvolle umschliessende Kompilation" (*Askese und Mönchtum*, 324).

² Cotelier, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, i. 388—712; reprinted in Migne, *P. G.* LXV. 71—440. A more ample collection on the same alphabetical principle exists in the British Museum, *Burney* ms. 50.

³ Photius gives as the title of the work 'Ἀνδρῶν ἁγίων βιβλίος (*Bibliotheca*, Cod. CXCIII.; *P. G.* CIII. 664); then follow the titles of the sections or Books (cf. Rosweyd, p. 559; *P. L.* LXXIII. 852).

When the true form is thus restored, we get a work in twenty chapters, the titles whereof correspond to those given by Photius, —his cc. 21 and 22 are not found in any MS. or version that I am acquainted with, and are probably an addition.

(β) Armenian, in the Venice *Lives of the Fathers* (cf. *supra*, p. 97).

(γ) Coptic, printed by Zoega (*Catal.* 287—361) from a Vatican MS., but in a very fragmentary state. The titles however of sections XVI, XVII, and XVIII are preserved and are the same as those of sections XVII, XVIII, and XIX of the Greek, as given by Photius.

(iii) Another topical collection in forty-four chapters: this redaction, so far as I know, exists only in the Latin version, which is printed by Rosweyd as Book VII. of his *Vitae Patrum*. But the Latin book was broken up and reconstructed in various fashions: thus we find in Book III. of Rosweyd 220 of these apophthegmata, in no special order either of names or of subject matter; and in Appendix III. a similar miscellaneous selection of 109 apophthegmata¹. These three Latin collections present the same translation: see *e.g.* Bk. III. 201, Bk. VII. c. 37 No. 3, and App. III. 14 (cf. Bk. V. xvii. 10). The Prologue of Book VII. sets forth that it was translated by Paschasius the deacon at the request of Martin the presbyter and abbot; the name of St Martin of Dumes is given in two Spanish MSS. as the translator of Appendix III., but this must be an error; and Rosweyd's attribution of Book III. to Rufinus is certainly wrong².

These three great collections are for the most part made up of the same materials, but each contains apophthegmata not found in the others. The Preface to the alphabetical collection explicitly states that it was formed from a number of small collections (the narrative in most of them being *συγκεχυμένη και ἰσούτακτος*) by the process of hearing together the apophthegmata that belonged to each Father. It adds that the anonymous compiler has inserted a contrary saying at the end of

¹ The alphabetical collection is printed in the *Historia*, p. 100. The other two collections are printed in the *Vitae Patrum*, p. 100.

each letter of the alphabet¹. And there can be little doubt that the other two redactions were similarly made up out of much the same materials²; so that (as is but natural) a number of minor sets of apophthegmata preceded the great Greek collections. Therefore if we can determine the date at which the latter were formed, we shall have fixed the posterior limit for the date of the composition of the apophthegmata in their primitive state. Could we be certain that Paschasius the deacon really was the translator of Redaction iii., we should be able to fix the date of the translation at about 500. But in regard to Redaction ii., an absolutely certain posterior limit is supplied by the fact that the Latin version is older than St Benedict's Rule; for St Benedict says: "Licet legamus unum omnino monachorum non esse," evidently quoting this Latin translation of Abba Poemen's apophthegm, which runs: "quia unum monachorum omnino non est."³ Now some year about 530 may be taken as the probable date at which St Benedict wrote his Rule; so that the Latin version of Redaction ii. of the apophthegmata must have existed in the early years of the sixth century, and the redaction itself in the fifth⁴.

When we come to consider the earlier materials out of which the great collections were made up, it has to be pointed out that Evagrius made collections of apophthegmata which were used by Socrates in the second half of his long chapter on the monks (IV. 23); and that for the first half Socrates evidently had at hand one or more similar collections. I am glad to find that on this point Dr Preuschen has arrived at the same conclusion as myself⁵. Thus minor Greek collections may be traced in the

¹ P. G. Lxv. 78.

² I do not think that any weight can be attached to Photinus' statement (*loc. cit.*) that Redaction ii. is an abridgment of the *Μέγα Λειμωνάριον*.

³ *St Benedict's Rule*, c. 40; Rosweyd, Bk. V. libellus iv. No. 81. St Benedict's manner of introducing the saying, "licet legamus," makes it certain that he is quoting the apophthegm—which is found too in the Greek: *ὁ οἶνος δλωσ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν μοναχῶν* (P. G. Lxv. 325). So that it could not with any show of reason be suggested that the saying in the book of apophthegmata was borrowed from St Benedict.

⁴ The points noticed by Dietrich (*Codicum syriacorum specimina* 6), as indicating a somewhat later date, are based on apophthegmata found in the alphabetical Redaction only. Historical references in some of the apophthegmata in Redaction ii. show that it cannot have been put together until a period later than 450.

⁵ *Palladius und Rufinus*, 225, 226, cf. 180.

early years of the fifth century. I think that the early Syriac sets of apophthegmata must represent such primitive smaller Greek collections. The apophthegmata themselves are in the main the same as those of the Greek: this appears from the numerous examples printed by Dr Budge, which may nearly all be identified with apophthegmata in the Greek and Latin collections¹. But I have not succeeded in detecting among the Syriac MSS. any trace of the great Greek collections: on the contrary, there is an almost endless variety of minor collections of every shape and form. And these multitudinous Syriac sets of apophthegmata were in wide circulation at the beginning of the sixth century: they are found in one MS. dated 532, and in another dated 534², and in very many MSS. assigned by Wright to the sixth century. Therefore they probably were translated in the previous century; and the narrow margin of time, no less than the internal evidence of the MSS., forbids us to look on them as the *débris* of Syriac translations of the greater Greek collections: they rather represent the earlier unredacted forms in which the apophthegmata first circulated.

As to the original lesser sets, I believe they came from Egypt. Some of the sayings may be traced to Evagrius, Palladius, and the *Historia Monachorum*. Greek-speaking monks resident in Egypt would naturally make collections of the anecdotes and sayings that were in circulation concerning the leading solitaries. They may have translated such collections already existing in Coptic: it is shown however in Appendix III. that the actual sets of apophthegmata in Coptic printed by Amélineau cannot be regarded as such primitive Coptic collections. Moreover evidence can be adduced to prove that apophthegmata did circulate in Egypt at the end of the fourth century. Let the reader compare the following anecdotes:—

Cassian (*Inst.* v. 27).

Apud senem Paesium in heremo uastissima commorantem cum senex Ioannes magno coenobio ac multitudini fratrum præpositus aduenisset,

Sulpitius Severus (*Dial.* I. 12).

In hoc monasterio duos ego senes uidi, qui iam per quadraginta annos ibi degere, ita ut nunquam inde discesserint, ferebantur. quorum præ-

¹ *Book of the Governors and Laughable Stories of Bar Hebraeus.*

² Wright's *Catal.* Nos. 2000xxxy. and 2000xxvii.

et ab eodem uelut antiquissimo sodali perquireret, quidnam per omnes quadraginta annos, quibus ab eodem separatus in solitudine minime a fratribus interpellatus est, egisset, Numquam me sol, ait, reficientem uidit. et ille, Nec me, inquit, iratum (ed. Petschenig¹).

tereunda mihi commemoratio non uidetur, siquidem id de eorum uirtutibus et abbatibus ipsius testimonio et omnium fratrum audierim sermone celebrari, quod unum eorum sol numquam uidisset epulantem, alterum numquam uidisset iratum (ed. Halm).

Now the differences in the two recitals are such as to make it clear that Cassian (who wrote the later of the two) did not derive the story from Sulpitius; and I have not perceived elsewhere in Cassian any trace of a dependence upon him. Nor have I been able to find among the apophthegmata any story that might have been their common source. It remains then that Cassian and Postumian (whose travels Sulpitius records) heard some such story in Egypt².

I cite one other apophthegma which seems to bear upon the obscure question of the consecration of the early patriarchs of Alexandria³, and which can hardly have originated out of Egypt or after the fourth century: Ἠλθόν ποτέ τινες αἰρετικοὶ πρὸς τὸν Ποιμένα, καὶ ἤρξαντο καταλαλεῖν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὡς ὅτι παρὰ πρεσβυτέρων ἔχοι τὴν χειροτονίαν. ὁ δὲ γέροντων σωπήσας ἐφώνησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπε· Παράθεσ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ ποιήσον αὐτοὺς φαγεῖν, καὶ πέμψον αὐτοὺς μετ' εἰρήνης (P. G. LXV. 341).

Thus it seems to be established that the apophthegmata passed through the following stages:—

(1) Isolated anecdotes current in Egypt during the second half of the fourth century.

¹ A Greek translation stands in the alphabetical collection of apophthegmata as one out of eight *περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ* (P. G. LXV. 244); it has been retranslated into Latin in c. iv. of Redaction ii. (Rosweyd, 569); six out of the eight extracts are similarly retranslated in various parts of the collection.

² I have not thought it necessary to discuss the *Dialogue* of Sulpitius: in spite of a "traveller's story" by Postumian that in Egypt water commonly boils and food is cooked by the heat of the sun, I think the same general verdict may be passed on it as on the other documents; and I see that such is Dr Preuschen's opinion also (*op. cit.* 177). Cf. *infra*, p. 231.

³ Cf. Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry* (Philippians, 231). The apophthegma printed in the text is not there cited among the evidence; nor does Canon Gore refer to it when treating of the same question (*Christian Ministry*, Note B).

(2) Groups of such anecdotes, sometimes centring round a special Father, sometimes dealing with a particular virtue or vice, often quite miscellaneous; also sets of extracts from writers such as Evagrius, Cassian, etc.: all these were in continual process of formation during the fifth century.

(3) Great collections, whereof three are known to have existed in Greek; in these the lesser groups were sorted out and co-ordinated on various principles, alphabetical or topical. They were made towards the end of the fifth century¹.

(4) These collections were often broken up, and detached pieces of them circulated widely: thus most of the Greek MSS. that I have seen are fragments of this kind, and the apophthegmata of Anthony, or of Macarius, etc., are frequently found by themselves.

Dr Kattenbusch has occasion in his work on the Creed to examine the series of apophthegmata brought together under the name of Macarius of Egypt (*P. G.* LXV. 257, or XXXIV. 232, 236), which certainly are second to none in regard to the apocryphal element they contain. His verdict is that the marvels are not of a sort to be set down as simply "unhistorical," when due allowance is made for all the circumstances of the case; and he evidently sees no reason for doubting that on the whole they emanated from Macarius himself and his disciples².

This is my own position in regard to the *Apophthegmata* in general: without for a moment questioning that there are apocryphal additions, I believe that on the whole the *Apophthegmata* are substantially genuine, and represent the ideas and the teaching of those to whom they are attributed; and that therefore they are a true record of Egyptian monachism.

The source entered as "principal" in the list given at the beginning of this section, the *Vita Antonii* will be referred

to the analogous list in the collection of Syriac apophthegmata, made at a later date.

1 "Wer die Apophthegmata des Macarius liest, findet auch Wundergeschichten, aber doch nur solche, die nicht unbillig zu halten sind, wenn man einmal annimmt, dass sie wirklich von dem heiligen Antonius oder von den andern Jüngern seiner Schule erzählt worden sind." — *Die Apophthegmata des Macarius*, p. 10.

2 *ibid.* p. 10.

to again in the ensuing section: of the Pachomian documents it seems unnecessary to treat specifically,—they are freely accepted as historical by the French and German scholars who in recent years have had occasion to deal with them: but in regard to the other four principal sources—viz. the *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Historia Monachorum*, Cassian, and the *Apophthegmata*—enough has, I hope, been said in vindication of their substantially historical character, to warrant their use in the investigation of monastic origins, according to the recognised methods of historical criticism.

§ 17. RECENT THEORIES CONCERNING ST ANTHONY.

The traditional view concerning St Anthony is that he was born about A.D. 250, embraced the monastic state in his early manhood, and died about 356. Dr Weingarten was the first to challenge the tradition. He maintained that there were no Christian monks earlier than the year 340; and that the *Vita Antonii* was not written by St Athanasius, but was a mere romance composed for the purpose of expounding and propagating the monastic ideal¹. He was understood to question St Anthony's very existence; but this position he repudiated. While holding that Paul the Hermit and Hilarion were absolute myths, he declared his belief that St Anthony did exist, but not until a century later than the time fixed by tradition; and that beyond his mere existence nothing whatever is known about him².

The more extreme position has, however, been taken up by writers who have popularised Weingarten's theories in England. Dean Farrar in an article entitled "Was there a Real St Antony the Hermit?" (*Contemporary Review*, Nov. 1887) hesitates indeed to return a simple negative to the question he proposes; but he discredits the *Vita*, and says that if it "be spurious or a novel, there is no contemporary evidence that St Antony ever existed." Two years later in his *Lives of the Fathers* he writes: "I must

¹ *Ursprung des Mönchtums* (1877).

² Article *Mönchtum* (*Herzog-Plitt*, x. 774), "Ich habe nicht, wie ich misverstanden bin, die Frage aufgeworfen, ob es überhaupt einen Antonius gegeben,—als historische Persönlichkeit ist er auch durch...bezeugt."

reluctantly acknowledge a deepening uncertainty about any single fact in the life of Antony" (i. 451). Professor Gwatkin in his *Studies of Arianism* (pp. 98—103) summarises the controversy, and gives a useful list of the literature it called forth up to the year 1882. He concludes: "Christian monks there were none" in the supposed date of Anthony's lifetime. This last position he was led to modify in his *Arian Controversy* (1889), where he says: "There may have been Christian monks [in Egypt] by the end of the third century" (p. 123); but he speaks of St Anthony as "the great hermit Antony who never existed" (p. 48).

The necessary preliminary for any satisfactory consideration of monastic origins is obviously a settlement of the question raised concerning St Anthony. The controversy has hitherto been made to turn almost wholly on the *Vita Antonii*. The discussion involves numerous points of detail, minute and technical; but it is not my purpose to enter on this branch of the subject at all. I propose to leave the *Vita Antonii* on one side, and to see how the case stands without it.

Weingarten's rejection of the *Vita* and his whole position in regard to St Anthony are but a corollary of his general theory as to the date at which Christian monachism originated. He says categorically that before 340 there were not yet any Christian hermits, whether in Egypt or out of it¹. The reasons for fixing this date are: (1) St Athanasius' Festal Letter of 338, in which when speaking of the desert he refers not to any monks or hermits, but to Elijah²; and (2) the fact that nowhere in his writings does Eusebius make any mention of the monks. This last is the point on which Weingarten really relies: he urges that Eusebius never once mentions St Anthony's name, and that there are places in his writings, especially in the *Life and the Martyrdom of Constantine* (written 337—340), in which he certainly would have referred to St Anthony and the monks, had he known of them.

We are here in the presence of another instance of the "Silence of Eusebius," to use the phrase made famous by Bishop Lightfoot. To justify Weingarten's inferences it would have to be established:

(1) that Eusebius nowhere throughout his voluminous writings makes any mention of Christian monks;

(2) that had he known of the institution he would surely have spoken of it;

(3) that had the institution existed Eusebius must have known of it.

It is evident that (2) and (3) are very difficult and uncertain ground, and I do not intend to enter on it¹: (1) however is a question of fact, and Weingarten's statement has been formally challenged by Nestle and by Zöckler, who believe that Eusebius does betray an acquaintance with the monastic institute². It is my purpose to look at the matter from the other side, and to call attention to the wholesale clearing of the ground that has to be effected in order to make way for the new theory of the late origin of Christian monachism. Weingarten labours manfully at the task in his article in *Herzog-Plitt*. Not to speak of certain

¹ In regard to (3) it is perhaps worth remarking, as the subject-matter happens to be so entirely analogous, that we have it on St Augustine's own authority that he had been at Milan for two years before he knew of the existence of St Ambrose's great monastery just outside the city walls (*Conf.* viii. c. 15). Mr Conybeare in his *Excursus* on the authorship of the *De Vita Contemplativa* collects some very curious examples of "Silence" (316—9).

² In Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1882, pp. 504 ff.) Nestle called attention to passages in the Commentary on the Psalms which is printed by Montfaucon as that of Eusebius. The following expressions occur: Τὸ γοῦν πρῶτον τάγμα τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ προκοπόντων τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν τυγχάνει. σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσιν οὗτοι... ταιοῦτοι δὲ πάντες εἰσιν οἱ τῶν μονῆρῶν καὶ ἀγνῶν κατορθούντες βίωσιν, ὡς πρῶτοι γεγόνασι οἱ τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν μαθηταί, οἷς εἴρητο· Μὴ κτήσησθε χρυσὸν κ.τ.λ. (*Comm. in Ps.* lxxvii. 7; cf. *in Ps.* lxxxi. 4; *P. G.* xxiii. 689 and 1008). Zöckler (*Ask. u. Mönchtum*, 181) agrees with Nestle and Montfaucon in accepting these words as written by Eusebius, and in seeing in them a reference to Christian monks: Bishop Lightfoot also accepts the Commentary as genuine, and from internal evidence fixes the date at c. 330 (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* ii. 336): Bardenhewer (*Patrologie*, 1894, p. 232) gives no indication that it has been suspected. Preuschen, however, expresses a grave doubt, but gives no reasons beyond saying that the question has not as yet been sufficiently investigated for a final judgment to be formed (ap. Harnack, *Altchristl. Lit.* i. 575). Zöckler (*loc. cit.*) refers also to other but less clear passages in Eusebius' writings.

obscure cases referred to by Eusebius, or of the Hieracitae, or of the Novatian hermit Eutychian spoken of by Socrates (i. 13), Weingarten has to explain away the references to the *μονάζοντες* in St Athanasius' writings previous to 340; and when he comes to Aphraates' Homilies, he has to declare the whole range of questions—who Aphraates was, when he lived, and whether the Homilies are really his,—to be so uncertain, that any evidence based upon them is valueless (p. 776). It may have been possible to write thus in 1882; but Dr Nestle's article on Aphraates in the new edition of *Herzog* (vol. i. 1897) shows that these questions are no longer open, and that Aphraates' Homily VI. is proof that by the year 336 monachism had spread from Egypt to the East, and had already acquired a certain organisation in Mesopotamia¹. The testimony of Aphraates is confirmed by the recently published Syriac Life of Mar Awgin (Eugenius), the introducer of the monastic system into Mesopotamia². Although it abounds in marvels beside which anything found in the Lausiaca History pales, Dr Budge has no scruple in believing that true history may be extracted from it. He writes:

"It is a notorious fact that Christian monachism was first introduced into Mesopotamia by Mar Awgin the Egyptian, who forsook his occupation as a pearl-fisher in his native place on the 'island of Clysmas' near the modern Suez, and went to live at the monastery of Pachomius in Egypt. After a short time he departed for Mesopotamia, and built a monastery in the mountains near Nisibis. The period of this saint's life is well known, for he was a friend of James of Nisibis, he watched the siege of Nisibis by Sapor, and in his days the Emperor Constantine died; Mar Awgin himself died A.D. 362, being an old man³."

Now Mar Awgin lived in his monastery at Nisibis for more than thirty years⁴; so that it was founded before the year 333. Assemani, relying on various Syriac authorities, says it was

Herzog-Hauck, i. 611. "Die ersten 10 (Homilien) aus dem Jahr 336/7." "Die Homilie von den 'Runden Kindern' d. h. Mönche und Einsiedlern setzt schon eine gewisse Organisation der Mönchtümer voraus."
Syriac Life of Mar Awgin, p. 27. "The first of the Homilies of Aphraates, which is dated 336/7, is a proof of the existence of a monastic system in Mesopotamia at that time."
 Budge, *Life of Mar Awgin*, p. 10. "The fact that Mar Awgin lived in his monastery at Nisibis for more than thirty years, and that he died in the year 362, being an old man, is a proof that the monastery was founded before the year 333."

founded before the Council of Nicea (325)¹. Thus Mar Awgin's sojourn at St Pachomius' monastery must be placed c. 320.

In an article on St Epiphanius of Salamis Lipsius places the birth of that Father in the decade 310—320; he says: "much of his early life was spent among the monks of Egypt....At twenty years of age [*i.e.* between 330 and 340] he returned home and built a monastery near Besanduke" in Palestine².

Up to this we have been dealing with non-Egyptian evidence. When we turn to Egypt, we find that, in order to make room for the new theory, it is necessary to reject the whole set of dates implied in the cycle of Pachomian literature. But among the scholars who of late years have occupied themselves with St Pachomius, the only question in debate is whether the year of his death was 348 (Amélineau and Mangold), 345 (Krüger, Grütz-macher, Preuschen, and Zöckler), or 340 (Achelis). The monastery of Tabennisi was founded forty years before his death, and therefore probably in 305, certainly before 310. To place the foundation after 340 would be inconsistent not only with the chronology but with the whole framework and substance of the cycle of documents dealing with Pachomius and Theodore³. It is necessary to reject also the independent cycle of Coptic documents relating to Schnoudi. Schnoudi was born in 333; he was taken at the age of nine (342) to the great monastery presided over by his uncle Bgoul, at that time advanced in years, but formerly a disciple of Pachomius⁴.

¹ Dissertation on the Syrian Nestorians (*Bibl. Orient.* III. ii. c. xiv.). He shows that Mar Awgin is to be identified with the Aones mentioned by Sozomen (vi. 33).

² *Dict. Christ. Biog.* II. 149.

³ Grütz-macher's chapter on the Chronology (*Pachomius*, 23 ff.) shows that the dates are not obtained solely from the *Vita*, but from a careful process of confronting the statements of the *Vita* with facts of external history, and in particular with the Festal Letters of St Athanasius: the *Epistola Ammonis* bears independent witness to the fact that St Pachomius was dead before 350.

⁴ Amélineau, *Vie de Schnoudi*, 15, 29, 41, 83. In the Schnoudi documents we find ourselves in another atmosphere than that of the Greek documents. M. Amélineau's judgment on such purely Coptic sources is valuable: "Toujours ces inventions merveilleuses reposent sur un fait réel: ce sont ces faits qui recueillis et analysés un à un permettent de reconstruire l'histoire. Le plus souvent il est facile de retrouver sous l'enveloppe merveilleux la réalité qu'on cache en voulant l'orner; d'autres fois la chose est assez difficile....Les écrivains de cette nation n'ont jamais inventé de toute pièce" (*S. Pachôme*, 3).

The evidence so far adduced, to prove that Christian monachism existed in Egypt long before 340, is quite independent of all question of St Anthony. I now proceed to examine the statement that apart from the *Vita* "there is no contemporary evidence that St Antony ever existed."

(1) Since those words were written, a Life of Macarius of Egypt by Serapion or Sarapamon has been published, in Coptic and French by Amélineau, and in Syriac by Bedjan¹. In the Life a passage occurs in which the writer speaks in the first person, using the words "I, Sarapamon," and describing the personal intercourse between himself and Macarius². On the strength of this Amélineau declares: "Je regarde l'attribution de cette vie à l'auteur nommé comme parfaitement certaine, et nous sommes en présence d'une œuvre réellement authentique" (*Introd.* xxvii). This may be so; but the biographer cannot have been, as is stated in the title of the Coptic Life, the well-known Serapion bishop of Thmoui, for he was dead by 370 at the latest, whereas the Life includes the death of Macarius (390) and various subsequent events. It may be that additions have been made to the Life, which in its extant shape is a lection for liturgical use; but more probably the statement in the Coptic title, that Serapion the writer was the bishop of Thmoui, is a gloss, for it does not occur in the Syriac title. It seems then that in this document we have a Life of Macarius written by a monk Serapion or Sarapamon who actually knew him, and that the narrative is authentic and contemporary. But Sarapamon was a disciple of St Anthony, and in various places in the Life he speaks of his personal connection with him³. If then M. Amélineau's judgment on the nature of the Life be correct, we have, quite independently of the *Vita Antonii*, not merely contemporary evidence to St Anthony's existence, but the evidence of one who knew him intimately

¹ *Monachisme en Egypte* (Paris, 1894), cols. v. (1894)

Amélineau, 79; Bedjan, 205. In one of the Coptic MSS the name of the author is given as Serapion; but the Syriac attests the use of the first person, which may safely be taken as correct in the original. See also *Monachisme en Egypte*, cols. v. (1894).

² *Monachisme en Egypte*, cols. 100-101. See also *Monachisme en Egypte*, cols. 100-101.

³ *Monachisme en Egypte*, cols. 100-101.

But there is a great body of evidence of a more satisfactory character, in my judgment, than that of Sarapamon.

(2) Palladius (A 4) claims to have visited and conversed with the famous Didymus the Blind. He declares that on one occasion Didymus said to him: "Thrice did the blessed Anthony come into this cell to see me"; and that he related to him an anecdote about what St Anthony had done on one of these occasions. I can see no reason for supposing that Palladius is less trustworthy in what he relates concerning his intercourse with Didymus than in regard to his intercourse with the Melanias¹.

(3) Another anecdote of Didymus' intercourse with St Anthony is told by St Jerome (Ep. LXVIII). Canon Bright believes that St Jerome "probably heard it from Didymus' own lips," during the month which he passed at Alexandria mainly in order to see Didymus². This probability is heightened when we notice that Rufinus also tells the same story, but in a slightly varied form (*Hist. Eccl.* II. 7). Of course it is possible, but it seems hardly likely, that Rufinus should have seen St Jerome's *Epistola ad Castrutium*, written in 397 to console Castrutius on his blindness. Rufinus' intercourse with Didymus was much longer and more intimate than was St Jerome's. It seems altogether reasonable to suppose that each of them heard the story from Didymus himself.

(4) In A 3 Palladius tells us that Isidore, the Xenodochus or Hospitaller of the Alexandrian Church, had met St Anthony, and related to Palladius a story he had heard from St Anthony. This Isidore is an historical personage no less than Didymus, and played a conspicuous part in the quarrel between Theophilus and the monks³.

¹ Weingarten (*Ursprung*, 29 note) says that this piece of evidence is rendered suspicious by the fact that Palladius immediately goes on to relate that Didymus told him he had learned in a dream the death of Julian at the very time it occurred, and had been directed to give information thereof to St Athanasius; this is but a case of the supernatural occurrences already sufficiently discussed. Weingarten compares a similar revelation of the same event to two other monks, who communicated it to St Athanasius. His reference is to the *Opera Athanasii* (ed. Ben. I. II. 869); but the story is in reality an extract from the *Epistola Ammonis ad Theophilum* § 23 (cf. *infra*, p. 228).

² *Dict. Christ. Biog.* I. 827.

³ *Dict. Christ. Biog.* III. 315.

(5) Palladius mentions a Stephen "the Libyan" as having known St Anthony: Palladius never saw this Stephen; but his friends Evagrius and Ammonius went to visit him, and told Palladius about him (A 30).

(6) Chronius a presbyter of Nitria told Palladius that he had gone to St Anthony's monastery in Pispir, and had seen him, and had acted as interpreter between St Anthony and the Greek Eulogius, as St Anthony did not know Greek (A 25, 26); and in another place (A 89—91) Palladius again makes mention of this Chronius (and also of a Jacob) as having been known to St Anthony and seen by himself.

(7) In the *Historia Monachorum* (gr. 26, lat. 25) the author says that he saw in Nitria a Chronius (so Rufinus and Sozomen) or Kronides (so the Greek and Syriac), one of the surviving disciples of Anthony. This Chronius may safely be identified with the preceding; so that Palladius and the author of the *Historia Monachorum* corroborate each other.

(8) Two other disciples of St Anthony were seen by this same writer, Pityrion at Gebel-el-Ter (gr. 17, lat. 13), and a certain Origen in Nitria (lat. 26). The latter chapter does not occur in the Greek, but it is attested by Sozomen (cf. *supra*, p. 54), and I have no doubt its absence is due to anti-Origenistic tendencies (cf. *supra*, p. 113).

(9) The conclusion of Cassian's First Conference, with the opening of the Second, are among the passages I had marked for citation in proof of the actuality and truthfulness to nature that characterise so many of his accounts. These two Conferences are given by abbot Moses of Scete, and he thus begins the second chapter of the Second Conference: "And so I remember that while I was still a boy in the region of Thebaid, where the blessed Antony lived, the elders came to him to enquire about perfection and though the conference lasted from evening till morning the greatest part of the night was taken up with this question. And when each one gave his opinion according to the bent of his mind, some said that the best way was to sit up and work all night long, and some said that it was better to sleep and to rise early in the morning." (lat. 10, 11)

(10) The biographer of St Pachomius relates that Zacchaeus, one of the disciples of the saint, and some others of the brethren visited St Anthony after the death of Pachomius; he gives an account of the interview, and also of an address which Theodore made to the community in commemoration of the event (*gr* cc. 77 and 87; cf. *sah* 297, and *ar* 657). He does not say that he was present on the occasion; but he was one of the Pachomian monks at the time, and was well informed of all that went on.

(11) Ammon, however, the writer of the *Epistola ad Theophilum*, does claim to have been present, and gives a much fuller account of Theodore's discourse, and also what purports to be a translation of a Coptic letter sent by St Anthony to the community (c. 20). He states further that he had heard St Athanasius and other bishops speaking in his presence about St Anthony (c. 23)¹.

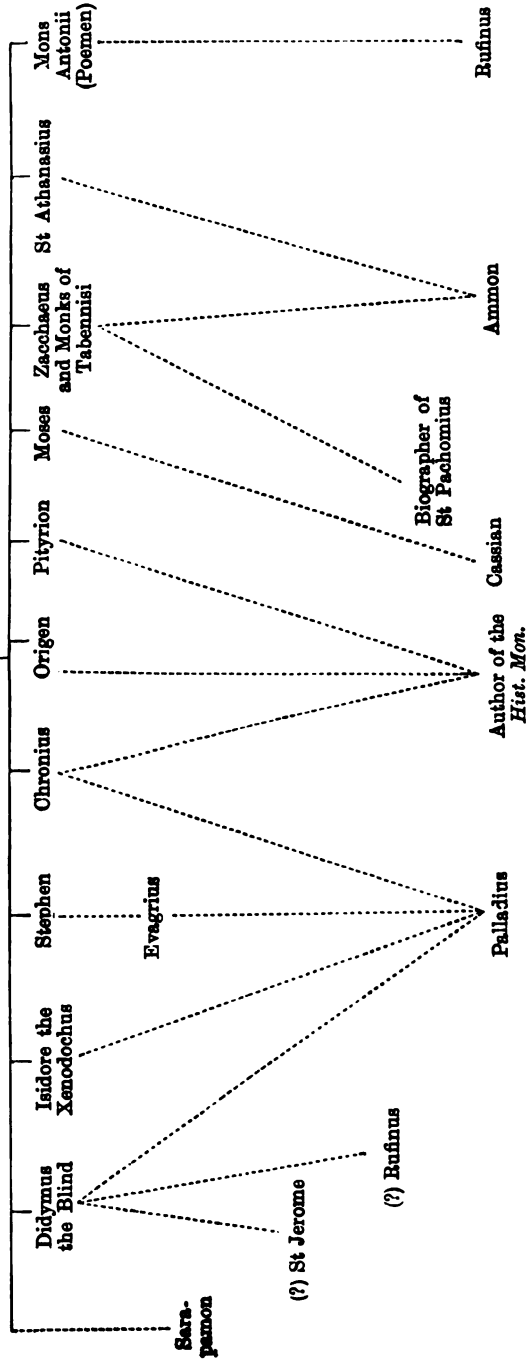
(12) In his *Hist. Eccl.* II. 8, Rufinus says that he had seen "Poemen et Joseph in Pispiri, qui appellabatur Mons Antonii." We have already seen that Palladius bears witness to the fact that St Anthony had a monastery in the district of Pispir (p. 199); and the *Apophthegmata* represent Poemen as having lived in contact with St Anthony. Rufinus' visit took place about 375; and Weingarten considers the existence of a monastery of Anthony as so early a date a sufficient proof of the existence of Anthony himself².

The Table subjoined exhibits the various threads connecting St Anthony with writers who vouch for his existence, not indeed (except Sarapamon) as having themselves seen him, but as having heard about him from those who had come into personal contact with him.

¹ *Acta SS.* die xiv Maii, App. 54* ff. As the *Epistola Ammonis* professes to have been written some forty or fifty years after the events narrated, the question arises how this letter of St Anthony can have been reproduced. I do not know that the *Epistola Ammonis* has as yet been subjected to adequate critical examination. The names of the monks that occur in it, both Pachomian and Nitrian, are for the most part attested by other documents, and I do not see on the surface any reason for suspecting the *Epistola*. This seems to be the attitude also of Amslincou (*Monuments*, etc. Tome II; *Musée Guimet*, xvii. *Introduction*, xliii), Grützmacher (*Pachomius*, 13, 82), and Preuschen (*Palladius u. Rufinus*, 208); indeed they tacitly accept it as a valuable historical source. I therefore give for what it is worth Ammon's twofold testimony to St Anthony's existence.

² *Mönchtum*, 774.

St Anthony



I do not say that all these testimonies are of equal authenticity or authority; but the evidence of Palladius, of Cassian, and of the author of the *Historia Monachorum*, seems to be beyond reasonable suspicion. It is quite likely that in a law court this body of evidence would not be admitted as "contemporary evidence"; but if it be not admitted as such at the bar of history, it will have to be confessed that no contemporary evidence can be produced for many historical facts that have hitherto been accepted without scruple by the scientific historians of the day.

But stronger than the testimony of any individual witness is what may be called the "Nitrian tradition." Macarius of Egypt lived the greater part of his life in Nitria, and there was a fixed tradition there during his own lifetime that he had been "the disciple of Anthony"¹. This tradition is attested by the *Apophtegmata*; by Rufinus (*Apol.* II. 12), who had himself seen Macarius and gives to him alone, out of several whom he mentions, the title "discipulus Antonii"; by the *Historia Monachorum* (*gr.* 28, *lat.* 27). It seems impossible to suppose that such a tradition should have grown up around Macarius, had St Anthony never existed, or had Macarius not really been his disciple.

Strongest of all is the broad fact that, turn where we will in the monastic literature that has its roots in Egypt between the years 370 and 400, the lofty figure of Anthony rises up in the background of the history. Whether in works which may claim to be history, or in the vaguer traditions enshrined in the *Apophtegmata*, or in the pure romances, a firmly set tradition ever looks back to Anthony as the inspirer, nay even the creator, of that monastic system which, on Weingarten's own showing, had by the

¹ Tillemont's perplexities (*Mémoires*, VIII. 806), as to which of the two Macarii was "the disciple of Anthony," arose from the fact that two paragraphs from the Greek account of Macarius of Egypt in the *Hist. Mon.* had been interpolated in Palladius' account of Macarius of Alexandria by the Redactor of the Long Recension. The difficulty no longer exists. On the other hand, I think Amélineau is certainly right in distinguishing Macarius of Egypt from Macarius "the disciple of Anthony," who is so often spoken of in this literature as having, along with Amatas, buried St Anthony. This is a third Macarius (*Monuments*, III.; *Musée Guimet*, XXV. *Introd.* XXXI).

² In another place (*Hist. Eccl.* II. 4) he speaks in a more vague manner.

year 370 attained to vast proportions in Egypt and elsewhere. Such a tradition, so early and so widespread, is a historical fact, and behind it must stand historical facts. To suppose that a fictitious "character of the novels of the day" should have grown within a few years into such an 'Antonius-myth' as this: or that a real Anthony should have gone to the desert and done his life's work and died, and his work have grown to such magnitude, and himself have come to occupy such an overmastering position in the monastic world, all in a short thirty years: or that his very contemporaries should, as by common consent, have put back his date by a whole century; these, one and all, are suppositions that do not commend themselves by any intrinsic probability.

It is necessary now to say a brief word upon the *Vita Antonii*¹. Concerning this document two distinct questions have been raised:

- (1) Is it a genuine work of St Athanasius?
- (2) Is it history or romance?

On the first of these questions it would be obviously out of place to enter in any detail; nor have I made such a careful textual study either of the works of St Athanasius or of the *Vita* itself as would entitle me to express any opinion on the subject. Weingarten denied the authenticity²; and he has been followed by a number of scholars: other scholars no less distinguished, and belonging to various schools of thought, have taken the opposite view, and the question must be declared to be still open. The tendency, however, seems to be in the direction of connecting the *Vita* with St Athanasius. The most recent summary of the controversy is by Zöckler in his *Askese und Mönchtum* (1897), and he inclines to the view that, at the least, St Athanasius had a hand in the work, editing it and publishing it in his own name³. And Grützmacher, in reviewing Zöckler's book, expresses a regret that St Athanasius' full authorship had not been maintained⁴.

¹ *Opera Athanasii* (ed. Ben. i. ii. 793, P. G. xxvi. 837); the contemporary Latin version by Evagrius is given in Rosweyd and P. L. lxxiii.

² *Ursprung*, 10—22; *Mönchtum*, 767—774.

³ *Op. cit.* 188—192.

⁴ *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1897, No. 9.

On the second point, the historical character of the *Vita*, something more definite may here be said. In addition to arguments of the same kind as those employed against the Lausiatic History and the rest, Weingarten brings forward certain difficulties proper to the *Vita Antonii* which claim serious consideration. They are mainly based upon the long discourse on the theory and practice of asceticism (cc. 16—43) and the disputation with certain Greek philosophers (cc. 72—80), both which passages betray an acquaintance with the LXX. and with Greek philosophy and mythology impossible in St Anthony, who is uniformly represented as ignorant of Greek. In regard to the ascetical discourse, there seems no need to believe that it represents an actual sermon preached by St Anthony on any given occasion: it may rather be regarded as an orderly exposition of his general teaching, brought together from divers sources by the Greek biographer and co-ordinated in language of his own. Such a view in no way compromises the historicity of the *Vita*. In regard to the disputations with the philosophers, it has to be noticed that Dr Schulthess has recently edited a portion of the *Vita* in Syriac with a critical Introduction, in which he comes to the conclusion that the Syriac MSS. are evidence that the extant Greek text (early though it is shown to be by the Latin version made within a year or two of St Athanasius' death) is not the primitive Greek *Vita*. For the Greek that underlies the Syriac differed notably from our Greek; and in particular in the passages in cc. 75, 76, instead of the detailed lists of Greek gods and goddesses, the simple question is found: "What are these beasts and reptiles that you reverence as gods?" The ascetical discourse, too, is much shorter¹. Without a very careful study of both the Greek and the Syriac forms of the *Vita*, it would be premature to express an opinion on this point. It is not impossible that a

¹ *Probe einer syrischen Version der Vita S. Antonii* (Leipzig, 1894). Only cc. 1—15 of the Syriac are there printed; but the whole has been published by Bedjan, *Acta v.* Schulthess says: "Vielmehr scheint aus der syrischen Version hervorzugehen, dass der uns vorliegende griechische Text nicht der ursprüngliche zu sein braucht, sondern dass die Vita Antonii des Athanasius oder Pseudo-Athanasius schon sehr frühe in zwei, vielleicht auch mehreren, z. T. stark abweichenden Gestalten existiert hat" (p. 14; cf. 19).

Syriac translator might abbreviate the longer discourses. I merely call attention to the existence of this shorter redaction.

For the rest, the general verdict to be passed on the Lausiaca History, on Cassian, on the *Vita Pachomii*, and the other works of the class, must be extended to the *Vita Antonii* also; there seems to be no intrinsic reason for placing this last on a lower historical level.

It may perhaps not be out of place to conclude with Newman's appreciation of the Anthony of the *Vita*: "His doctrine surely was pure and unimpeachable; and his temper is high and heavenly,—without cowardice, without gloom, without formality, without self-complacency. Superstition is abject and crouching, it is full of thoughts of guilt; it distrusts God, and dreads the powers of evil. Antony at least has nothing of this, being full of holy confidence, divine peace, cheerfulness and valorousness, be he (as some men may judge) ever so much an enthusiast¹."

§ 18. ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF EARLY CHRISTIAN MONACHISM IN EGYPT.

I venture to hope that the investigations which have been undertaken in the foregoing pages will help to place on a firmer footing the study of the early history of Christian monachism. It is no part of my plan to enter into details in regard to the origins and characteristics of the monastic life as it is presented to us in the various documents with which we have had to deal: but the familiarity with the documents which has resulted from my attempts to solve some of the problems which they present has enabled me to observe certain clear lines of distinction, the recognition of which may, I believe, be of value to other students. I propose therefore to record some of the impressions left on my mind as the result of a somewhat prolonged acquaintance with a literature which is peculiarly bewildering from its wealth of detail, and which has not only been so method in its presentation,

It will be necessary to say a few words at the outset as to what appears to be the actual history of the first beginnings of Christian monachism in Egypt.

Precursors.

Asceticism and mysticism are the expressions of a deeply seated instinct of human nature. This fact is abundantly attested by the first part of Dr Zöckler's *Askese und Mönchtum*, which deals with pre-Christian asceticism and shows how widespread are the indications of it, and that among races the most distinct (pp. 1—135).

According to Mr Flinders Petrie a love of asceticism was not one of the marks of the early Egyptian character¹; but the tendency had manifested itself already in the time of the Ptolemies, before the Roman occupation of Egypt: for in the temples of Serapis, and especially in the great Serapeum at Memphis, the priests lived a severe monastic, or rather, eremitical life of seclusion, abstinence and austerities. Chaeremon gives an account of the priests' settlement at Heliopolis. These Egyptian ascetics were called *κάτοχοι*: and there is reason for believing that the institution was widespread, and that it survived into the Christian period. This monachism was indigenous, and grew out of the old Egyptian religion². It is remarkable, too, that it was on Egyptian soil, among the Neo-platonists of Alexandria, that Hellenist asceticism reached its fullest development. It appears however to have remained a purely personal matter, and not to have led to the practice of the eremitical life or the formation of religious communities. But such communities were formed among the Jews resident at Alexandria. I am not going to speak of the Essenes, or of the Therapeutae of the *De Vita Contemplativa*. It is enough for my purpose to call attention to a catena of passages from the undoubted works of Philo, which is given by Mr Conybeare in his able defence of the Philonic authorship of the last-named work. From these it appears that many Alexandrian

¹ *Religion and Conscience in Early Egypt* (1898), 122—3.

² Fuller information on the *κάτοχοι*, with references to the original sources, will be found in Weingarten's *Ursprung*, 30—36, and *Mönchtum*, 784.

Jews in his day used to leave parents and property, and go forth into the country there to make their abode, each in his own cottage, *ἐν μοναγρίῳ*, leading a solitary and austere life of poverty, of chastity, of silence and labour, of watching and prayer¹. When these facts are kept in mind, when it is remembered that both pagan and Jewish religious communities existed in Egypt during the first and second centuries, there ceases to be any difficulty in explaining the origin of Christian monachism. It might have been predicted that tendencies which found expression in forms of monastic life among Egyptian pagans and Egyptian Jews, would soon find a similar expression in the case of Egyptian Christians.

Beginnings of Christian Monachism.

The earliest practice of asceticism in the Christian Church did not lead its votaries to withdraw from the world; they carried out the ascetical life in the midst of their families, keeping fasts, abstaining from marriage, devoting themselves to prayer and good works.

When Dionysius of Alexandria writes that under the stress of the Decian Persecution (c. 250) a great number of Christians fled from the cities of Egypt to the deserts and mountains, and lived there for a time in solitude (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 42), it is quite clear that he is talking of a merely passing episode, and not of any inauguration of the monastic life. He does not even imply that any of these fugitives in the desert took up their permanent abode there, and became the first Christian hermits. On the other hand, there is nothing unlikely in the supposition that some of the more ascetically inclined may have done so; and when we find a later tradition, attested by Eusebius (?), St Jerome and Sozomen², that such was the case there seems to be no good reason for hesitating to accept what might *a priori* be expected.

¹ Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa* (ed. Conybeare's Loeb edition) is an interesting contribution to the

² Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 19. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 42. Jerome, *De Vita Solitaria* (ed. Conybeare's Loeb edition).

Nor is there anything unreasonable in supposing that one of these first hermits was named Paul, that he lived in a cave near the shore of the Red Sea, and that a short time before his death (c. 340) he was visited by St Anthony.

A few words are necessary on St Jerome's *Vita Pauli*.

(1) In the first place it has to be said that this work contains a distinctly mythological element quite different from what is to be found in Palladius or the other writers whose works have been before us. Thus in the *Vita Pauli* a hippocentaur and a satyr are introduced as meeting St Anthony in the desert and conversing with him. The style of the work, too, is highly rhetorical, and the whole tone is different from that of the writings whose substantial historicity has been maintained in these pages. The *Vita Pauli* was written in 374, before St Jerome had ever been in Egypt. Accordingly he cannot have received his information at first hand from Macarius and Amatas, the disciples of Anthony, who are cited at the beginning as the authorities for the whole story. It is evident from the Introduction to St Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis* that in his own day some had questioned the very existence of Paul the Hermit—"detrahentes Paulo meo...ut qui semper latuit non fuisse"; and the same view has been maintained by various modern critics.

(2) Were there nothing else besides the *Vita* to be considered, there would perhaps be no difficulty in supposing that it was a religious romance written by St Jerome for purposes of edification, and that Paul was an absolute fiction of his own imagination: no reasonable blame could attach to the writing of such a piece. But it is hardly conceivable, were it all a pure invention of St Jerome's own, that when writing to Eustochium of the anachoretic life he could have said: "Hujus vitæ auctor Paulus, illustrator Antonius¹"; and still less that in his Chronicle he should have written (A.D. 359): "Antonius monachus...in eremo moritur, qui solitus multis ad se uenientibus de Paulo quodam Thebaeo miræ beatitudinis uiro referre quam plurima." It seems altogether more in accord with probability that St Jerome had heard at any rate the broad outlines of the story from others. How far he may have worked it up, and adorned it with details, must remain a matter of conjecture².

(3) The *Vita* is not the only evidence that is forthcoming for the existence of Paul the Hermit. We have a statement regarding him recorded by Cassian as that of Abbot Piamun of Diolcos (*Conf.* xviii. 6), and one of Postumian recorded in the First Dialogue of Sulpitius Severus (c. 17). There is no reason whatever for the assertion that these two statements are based upon the *Vita*. The passage in Sulpitius is important; Postumian says: "I visited two monasteries of St Anthony which are at the present

¹ Ep. xxii (*Yall.* i. 119; *P. L.* xxii. 421).

² It is shown in Appendix III. that the Latin, not the Coptic, is the original.

day occupied by his disciples. I also went to that place in which the most blessed Paul, the first of the hermits, had his abode. I saw the Red Sea and the ridges of Mount Sinai." There were two monasteries of St Anthony (cf. *Vita Antonii*), one in Pispir (cf. *supra*, p. 199), and one near the Red Sea, the present Deir Mar Antonios; at some distance from the latter stands the Deir Mar Boulos, and from these two monasteries, as Isambert says, "on a une belle échappée de vue sur le désert, la Mer Rouge, et les montagnes sinaitiques¹." It will be seen how correct are the topographical details of Postumian's account. At the present day this would have little or no significance; but in a work written about 400 A.D. it is a strong proof that he who gives the description had seen the spot². If the existence of a monastery of Anthony in 375, as vouched for by Rufinus, is satisfactory evidence of the existence of St Anthony (cf. *supra*, p. 223), it is hard to see why the existence of a monastery of Paul in 400 should not be evidence of the existence of St Paul the Hermit³.

But Paul must have been an almost unique example of a hermit living in complete isolation at so early a date; for the *Vita Antonii* says that when St Anthony became a monk (c. 270), men leading the eremitical life had not yet gone out into the desert, but built for themselves huts in the neighbourhood of the towns and there practised the ascetical life. St Anthony at first followed their example; but after fifteen years, at the age of thirty-five, he withdrew to the desert (c. 285) and lived a life of strict enclosure in a cave for some twenty years. Many followed his example, and came and settled near his own retreat; and at last, in compliance with their importunities, he came forth and undertook the direction and organisation of the multitude of monks that had grown up around him. This was about the year 305; almost at the same time Pachomius founded his proto-monastery at Tabennisi in the far south.

This is but a restatement of the old familiar story; and I have made it for the purpose of indicating my belief that the

¹ *Itinéraires de l'Orient*, 2^e partie, p. 460 (ed. 1878).

² The internal evidence of the *Dialogue* fixes c. 400 as the date of Postumian's journey; and we know from the Letters of Isidore of Neb. that about that time Postumian travelled to the East (cf. *supra*, p. 199).

³ It is a well-known fact that the Deir Mar Antonios and the Deir Mar Boulos were the only monasteries of the Desert of St Anthony which were founded before the year 400. The Deir Mar Antonios was founded by St Anthony himself, and the Deir Mar Boulos by St Paul the Hermit. The Deir Mar Antonios was founded about the year 375, and the Deir Mar Boulos about the year 400.

critical study of the documents issues in the confirmation of the traditional account in all its main features.

Two types of Egyptian monachism: (a) the Antonian or semi-eremitical.

It is not my purpose to make any study of the monastic ideal—the scientific treatment of ideals is a territory in which Englishmen as a rule do not feel at home—but I wish to point out certain salient features of primitive Egyptian monachism, a recognition of which appears to be necessary for a right understanding of monastic history.

It is to be noted, then, that monachism developed along two lines in Egypt, the Antonian and the Pachomian. The former took its rise among those monks who settled around St Anthony's mountain, and whom he organised and guided. This was the form of monachism which by the end of the fourth century had come to prevail from Lycopolis (Asyut) to the Mediterranean. But it is in Nitria and Scete that it can best be studied; for the system was carried out on a larger scale and we have more accurate pictures of its working there than elsewhere. We learn a great deal about it from Cassian, and minute details are given in the *Lausiac History* (A 7) and in the *Historia Monachorum* (*lat.* 21, 22); the latter passage is printed in full in Appendix I. iv.; the chief passages of the former are here given in a footnote¹. The close agreement between the two passages is evidence of their authentic and accurate character. From them we learn that there was a vast number of monks in Nitria, some of whom dwelt in the inner desert of "the Cells." These last were hermits in the strict sense of the word, living out of earshot of one another, and coming together for divine worship only on the

¹ Ἐν ᾧ ὄρει οἰκοῦσιν ἄνδρες ὡς πεντακισχίλιοι, οἵτινες διαφόρους ἔχουσι πολιτείας, ἕκαστος ὡς δύναται καὶ ὡς βούλεται ὡς ἐξείναι καὶ μόνον μένειν καὶ δεύτερον καὶ πολλοστὸν. κάκεινοι καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν πανέρημον ἀναχωρηταῖς, ἀνδράσιν οὖσιν ἑξακοσίοις. ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ τῆς Νιτρίας ἐκκλησία μία ἐστὶ μέγιστη. καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης ἐστὶν ἐστάναι καὶ ἀκούειν ἀφ' ἑκάστης μονῆς ὕμνους καὶ ψαλμοὺς τῷ Χριστῷ ᾄδομένους, καὶ προσευχὰς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναπεμπομένας, ὡς νομίσει τιὰ μετάρσιον ἐν τῷ τῆς τρυφῆς παραδείσῳ μετοικισθῆναι. τὴν δὲ ἐκκλησίαν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ καταλαμβάνουσι μόνον (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1020).

Saturdays and Sundays. In Nitria itself the monk might at choice live either by himself or in the same dwelling with one or two or with several of his brethren. Here also the monks assembled in the great church for divine worship only on Saturdays and Sundays; on other days they celebrated the office apart in the separate cells and monasteries, so that at evening one might stand and hear the psalms and hymns arising from all the cells around, and, as Palladius says (*loc. cit.*), "believe oneself to be in Paradise." Cassian too (*Inst.* II. 11) illustrates this practice by showing that it was common for two or three or four to perform the services together.

On this system every man was left very much to himself and his own discretion—"they have different practices, each as he is able and as he wishes¹." There was no Rule of Life. The elders exercised an authority; but it was mainly personal, and was but a supremacy of greater spiritual wisdom. The society appears to have been a sort of spiritual democracy, ruled by the personal influence of the leading ascetics; but there was no efficient hold upon individuals to keep them from falling into extravagances. The monks used to visit one another frequently and discourse, two or three or more together, on holy Scripture or on the spiritual life. At times too there were general conferences in which a large number took part. Moreover, as occasion arose, one would give another a broad hint or a practical rebuke, if he observed anything of which he disapproved. A young man would put himself under the guidance of a senior and obey him in all things; but the bonds between them were wholly voluntary. The purely eremitical life tended to die out (*Cassian, Conf. xix.*); but what took its place continued to be semi-eremitical, at any rate until after the period with which we are dealing.

b. *Pachomian or cenobitical type.*

South of Thebaidis a monastic institute underwent a different development. The eremitical life was the first step towards the Pachomian type.

began his career. About the year 305, almost at the same time that St Anthony came forth from his seclusion to win for himself the title of "Father of Monks," St Pachomius, still a young man, founded his first monastery at Tabennisi near Denderah, a locality not to be confounded with the island of Tabenna in the Nile near Syene¹. The institute spread with astonishing rapidity, and by the time of Pachomius' death, c. 345, it reckoned eight monasteries and several hundreds of monks. The most remarkable feature about it is that (like Citeaux in a later age) it almost at once assumed the shape of a fully-organised congregation or order, with a superior general and a system of visitation and general chapters,—in short all the machinery of centralised government, such as does not appear again in the monastic world until the Cistercian and the Mendicant orders arose in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The internal organisation of the Pachomian monasteries had nothing of the family ideal: the communities were too large for this. It was on a military system; and St Pachomius' Rules resemble a code of discipline. In the different monasteries there were a number of separate houses, each containing thirty or forty monks, and having a *praepositus*, a cellarer, and other officers of its own. Many of the liturgical services were performed in them, and only for the more solemn offices did the whole community assemble in the church. The houses were organised on the basis of trades,—the fullers being gathered together in one, the carpenters in another, and so on (St Jerome, *Pref. in Reg. Pach.*, P. L. xxiii. 63). There is besides mention of one house being set apart for Greek-speaking monks (*Epistola Ammonis* § 4). One of the features which distinguished the monasteries of St Pachomius from those of Nitria and northern Egypt was regular and organised work, not merely for the sake of providing occupation or as a penitential exercise, but as an integral part of the life. Palladius tells us that at the monastery at Panopolis

¹ I do not think that there is any solid ground for a view put forward by Revillout (*Revue Égyptologique*, 1880, p. 160), and adopted by other writers, that Pachomius before his conversion to Christianity had been a monk of Serapis (Grützacher, *op. cit.* 89 ff.). In this opinion Dr Preuschen agrees with me (*Deutsche Lit. Zeitung*, 1896, no. 23).

need we have recourse to any theory of Coptic documents? What more natural, more certain, than that he should have visited the monastery? Palladius tells us that the tables were laid and a meal was prepared at midday, so that the delicate monks might have their dinner then; dinners were provided at each successive hour until evening, for some of the monks kept the fast till the late evening. Some he tells us ate only every second day, others only every third day, and some only every fifth day. St Jerome also speaks of their voluntary abstinence from the common food provided, and says that if any liked to absent themselves altogether from the common table they were free to do so, and might if they preferred have bread and water and salt provided for them in their cells every day or every second day¹. The Rule said "Allow them either to eat or to fast²."

This voluntariness, or system of private venture, even in the monasteries of St Pachomius, this absence in Egyptian monachism of what is now understood by Common Life and living according to the Rule, is an important feature of the whole system which is not, I think, commonly noticed or understood.

The spirit of Egyptian monachism.

After what has been said, it is possible to indicate what appears to be the spirit, the dominating principle, that pervaded Egyptian monachism in all its manifestations—whether the purely eremitical, the semi-eremitical of Nitria, or the cenobitical. It was a spirit of strongly-marked individualism. Each worked for his personal advance in virtue; each strove to do his utmost in all kinds of ascetical exercises and austerities,—in prolonging his fasts, his prayers, his silence. The favourite name used to describe any of the prominent monks was "great athlete." And they were athletes, and filled with the spirit of the modern athlete. They loved to "make a record" in austerities, and to contend with one another in mortifications; and they would freely boast of their spiritual achievements. The author of the *Historia Monachorum*, describes the Nitrian monks as "surpassing one another in virtues,

¹ *Preface to his trans. of the Reg. Pach. (P. L. xxiii. 64).*

² *Μήτε νηστεύσαι κωλύσθαι μήτε φαγεῖν (Palladius, A 88; P. G. xxxiv. 1099).*

and being filled with a spirit of rivalry in asceticism, showing forth all virtue, and striving to outdo one another in manner of life¹." But it is in Palladius' account of Macarius of Alexandria that this spirit stands out most conspicuously: "if he ever heard of any one having performed a work of asceticism, he was all on fire to do the same²"; and Palladius illustrates it by examples. Did Macarius hear that another monk ate nothing but one pound of bread a day? For three years he ate each day only what he could extract in a single handful through the narrow neck of a jar. Did he hear that the Tabennesiotes ate nothing cooked by fire throughout Lent? He did the same for seven years. Did he hear that their general observance was "great"? He did not rest satisfied until he had gone to see, and had beaten them all.

The idea of individual effort, of surpassing one's brethren, was the dominant note in the Pachomian monasteries also; but there it was confined within narrower limits³. A strange system it was, and often leading to extravagances, eccentricities, and worse.

But that is only one side of the picture; there is another side. If it be true that "by their fruits ye shall know them"; if the system is to be judged by the men and the teaching it produced; if the great beauty and the deep spiritual sense of the *Apo-phthegmata* and of Cassian's *Conferences* are to be taken, as surely they must, as the measure of holiness and true Christian spirit in those whose teaching they embody; if they breathe a mysticism as high and pure as any that has since been seen; then must the system be justified when it is judged. At any rate a more easy Christianity can ill afford to criticise the Egyptian monks.

¹ Ἀλλήλους ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβάλλοντας καὶ φιλονικώτερον πρὸς τὴν ἀσκησιν διακειμένους, πᾶσάν τε ἀρετὴν ἐνδεικνυμένους καὶ ἀγωνιζομένους ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀλλήλους ὑπερβάλλειν (c. 23, Freuschen p. 83; cf. also the account of the monks with Apollon, πειρᾶσθαι ἀλλήλους ὑπερβάλλειν τῶν ἀρετῶν μή τις ἄλλῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐδοκίμησιν ταύταις τοῦ ἑτέρου φανεῖν, c. 8, p. 36.

² Ἐὰν τι ἀκούσῃεν ἡμετέροις τιμῶν ἄλλων ἀσκητῶν ἢ τῶν ἡμετέρων πάντως τοῦτο ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ποιῆσαι; cf. Freuschen p. 151.

³ The Pachomian system is described in the *Historia Lausiaca* (c. 10-12) and in the *Conferences* of Cassian (c. 1-10).

This closes what I have to say concerning the ancient monks of Egypt. The Deir Mar Antonios and the Deir Mar Boulos still stand by the shore of the Red Sea; along the banks of the Nile there are several monasteries inhabited by monks; in Nitria and Scete there are four, and the ruins of many others lie about the desert. An account of many of these will be found in Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*. A more recent visitor to the Wady Natron is Mr A. J. Butler. He tells us that the body of Macarius of Alexandria still reposes in the church of the Deir Mar Makar. There are but twenty monks in the monastery. The old spirit of austerity survives: every evening the monks perform the "Metance" or Penance, making a hundred and fifty prostrations, falling flat on the ground with outstretched arms; and in the course of each day they make three hundred such prostrations. For the rest Mr Butler says: "The life, in its outer guise at least, is scarcely altered since the dawn of monasticism, though the high ideals of the early recluses are long since levelled with the dust, though their heroic enthusiasms have sunk down to a dull stagnation, though the lamp of their knowledge is extinguished, and the pulse of their devotion is still¹."

§ 19. EPILOGUE.

In the preceding section certain great features of the monastic system in Egypt have been singled out as in a special way characteristic of the spirit of the institute in the land of its birth: in this *Epilogue* I propose rapidly to sketch the main developments and modifications which these fundamental ideas underwent when monachism was transplanted to other climes. I do this in the hope of supplying some suggestions that may prove useful to the student of later monastic history.

Early Oriental Monachism.

The chief sources are:—

- (1) Certain chapters in the second half of the *Lausiaca History* (A 102—104, 108—115).

¹ *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* (Clarendon Press, 1884), i. 287.

- (2) Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 32—34.
- (3) Various parts of Cassian.
- (4) Theodoret, *Philotheus* (Rosweyd, Bk. IX.); also *Hist. Eccl.* iv.
- (5) The *Book of the Governors* by Thomas of Marga (ed. Budge).

In this section the term "Oriental" is used of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia: for in monastic matters, as in others, Egypt is not to be regarded as an eastern land; it holds its own place apart, midway between East and West. Monachism was at an early date introduced from Egypt into Syria by St Hilarion, and into Mesopotamia by Mar Awgin¹. It has been stated already that there was in Egypt during the second half of the fourth century a tendency to give up the purely eremitical life for a form of life which, though called cenobitical, in most places remained in effect semi-eremitical. In Syria and Mesopotamia the opposite tendency set in, and the practice of the eremitical life was strongly emphasised. This appears above all from Theodoret's *Philotheus*, which shows how common a strictly eremitical life became: I may mention also in illustration the account given by Palladius of St John Chrysostom's sojourn with the hermit near Antioch (*Dialogus*, c. 5). The details given by Theodoret and the other authorities show, moreover, that the austerities practised by the Oriental hermits surpassed anything that is read of in Egypt². The institute, too, underwent certain strange developments unheard of there, the most remarkable being the life of the pillar-hermits³. Sozomen tells us (vi. 33) that some of the Syrian monks were called "Shepherds"—*βοσκοί*—because "they had no houses but dwelt on the mountains, and ate neither meat nor bread; but when meal-time came they took sickles and went forth to cut grass, and on this they made their repast, as though they were cattle." Here too we find frequent references to mortifications of a character not met with in the records of primitive

¹ On St Hilarion see an excellent article by Zöckler, "Hilarion von Gaza" (*Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie*, 1894); on Mar Awgin, cf. *supra* § 17.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 188.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History: Some Syrian Saints* (trans.). The pillar of the monophysite hermit mentioned in the *Book of the Governors* (ii. 330 ff.) seems to have been like an Irish round tower, and it had a window; he is spoken of as dwelling in the pillar, not on it. But St Simeon's pillar seems to have been a pillar in the strict sense (Nöldeke, *op. cit.* 214).

Egyptian monachism: St Simeon Stylites, before ascending a pillar, had dwelt in an enclosure on a mountain, his right leg fastened to a large stone by an iron chain twenty cubits long¹; Theodoret relates that some of the hermits constantly carried on their shoulders heavy weights of iron², and that he had seen another who had passed ten years in a tub suspended in mid-air from poles³; Palladius tells us of a hermit in Palestine who dwelt in a cave on the top of a mountain, and for the space of twenty-five years never turned his face to the west⁴; St Jerome solemnly declares that he knew a Syrian hermit who lived in an old cistern on five figs a day⁵; St Gregory Nazianzen speaks of Syrian hermits who wore iron fetters, slept on the bare ground, fasted for twenty days together, and stood immovable in prayer in the rain and wind and snow⁶; Sozomen mentions by name one Syrian monk who ate no bread for eighty years, and another who abstained and fasted to such an excess ὥστε σκώληκας ἐκ τῶν ὀδόντων ἔρπειν (VI. 34)⁷.

It is evident from the writings of Cassian that he had a deeply rooted belief in the superiority of Egyptian (*i.e.* Antonian, for he never encountered Pachomian) monachism over that of Syria⁸. At first sight he might be supposed to mean that Oriental monachism was less austere than Egyptian; but a closer inspection shows that Cassian falls into line with the other witnesses that have been cited, and testifies that there was in Syria a tendency to increase the bodily austerities. Thus we learn from *Conf.* XXI. 11, 12, that the monks of Syria fasted during Paschal time, whereas those of Egypt did not; and from *Inst.* II. 2, III. 1, 4, 8, that in Syria the night office was much longer than in Egypt, and several new offices were instituted at different hours

¹ Nöldeke, *op. cit.* 218.

² *Philotheus*, 10, 15, 23, &c.

³ *Ibid.* 28.

⁴ *Hist. Laus.* A 108; cf. 104.

⁵ *Vita Pauli*, c. 5.

⁶ *Poemata: πρὸς Ἕλλησιον* (*P. G.* xxxvii. 1455).

⁷ At a later date (c. 600), if we can rely on John Climacus, such austerities were practised in Egypt also, at any rate in the monastic penitentiary which he describes (*Ladder, Degrees* 4 and 5).

⁸ Cf. especially *Conf.* xvii. and *Pref. to Inst.* (*ad fin.*)

of the day, whereas the Egyptian monks adhered to the two offices of evensong and nocturns, each consisting of only twelve psalms. And there is, I think, discernible on the side of Egypt a certain irritation and jealousy at practices which appeared to the superficial observer more austere and perfect. Thus abbot Piamun speaks bitterly of certain monks who had come from Syria to visit the Egyptian solitaries, and had gone back and changed "neither their method of fasting, nor their scheme of psalms, nor even the fashion of their garments" (*Conf.* XVIII. 2). Thus Cassian too enables us to see that in Syria there was an increase of the fast days, and a multiplication and prolongation of the canonical offices—in other words, a development of the physical side of the life; and in *Conf.* XVII., where the comparative merits of Egyptian and Syrian monachism are discussed and summed up in favour of the former, it seems that the advantage is made to lie on the spiritual side, and to consist in "the inimitable purity of life," "the concentration of mind and aim," the perfection in virtue, and the continual prayer of the Egyptian monks.

I do not know of any detailed account that gives a picture of life in an Oriental monastery during the fourth or fifth century. But Thomas of Marga's *Book of the Governors* supplies us with adequate materials for the sixth and two following centuries. What he describes is the life of the Nestorian monastery at Beth Abbe in Mesopotamia; but doubtless this is typical of them all. During the first three years of their monastic life, the noviciate, the inmates lived in separate huts in the vicinity of the church, and came together daily for all the canonical offices and for meals, and were under the direction and control of elder monks. At the end of the three years the monk, if he had shown himself fit, went to dwell alone in a cell at some distance from the church; otherwise he was dismissed. Once the monk had retired to his solitary cell he lived as a hermit for the rest of his days, coming to the services in the church only on Sundays and festivals. Thomas of Marga relates various astonishing austerities practised by these solitaries of Beth Abbe: one of them kept his legs bent by leather straps, and another "like a crane" while he prayed, and another "painted from shame" and

when he recovered consciousness he would begin again, standing on the other leg.

It is important to observe that this account describes the monastic life in Mesopotamia under the influence of a great reform effected in the middle of the sixth century by Mar Abraham of Kashkar¹. It appears that in the second half of the fifth century considerable laxity had crept into the Nestorian monasteries of Mesopotamia, the monks being even allowed to marry². However, Mar Abraham and his colleagues restored the institute to its earlier type, and the account of Beth Abhe may safely be taken as a sample of the normal spirit and working of purely Oriental monachism.

From all that has been said, we may conclude that when monachism was transplanted from Egypt to Oriental lands it lost nothing of its original character as exhibited mainly in the Antonian model;—indeed the most characteristic features, the craving for austerities, the individualism, the love of the eremitical life, became more strongly emphasised.

Early Greek Monachism.—St Basil.

The monastic institute underwent some changes under the influence of St Basil, and to him the Greek and Russian Churches look back as the founder of their monachism. It was about the year 360 that St Basil withdrew to his solitude on the Iris near Neocaesarea in Pontus, and began to gather disciples around him and to form his first monastery. The early letters that passed between him and St Gregory Nazianzen give a graphic picture of St Basil's monastic life. Gregory paid a visit to his friend in the early days of his retirement, and describes the dwelling, without roof and without floor, the hearth without fire and without smoke, the sad and hungry banquet. "I have remembrance," he says, "of the bread and the broth (so they were named); how my teeth got stuck in your hunches, and lifted and heaved themselves as out of paste." He tells of the

¹ The Monastic Rule of Mar Abraham in eleven Canons is printed in English, from Mai's *Syriac*, by Budge (*op. cit.* I. cxxxiv ff.).

² Cf. Budge, *op. cit.* I., Introduction, cxxxi—cxlvi.

“rivalry in virtue,” and of the bodily labours of the day, the wood-drawing and the stone-hewing, the plantings and irrigations; and, again, of the psalmodies and vigils, and departures to God through prayer¹. And Basil on his side explains to Gregory his idea of the life:—unkempt hair, a single coarse garment, one meal a day of bread, vegetables and water; broken sleep; a daily round of public prayer in the church, of study of holy Scripture, and of labour in the fields accompanied by constant prayer (Ep. ii). So far there is little to justify the statement that St Basil introduced modifications into the monastic life as practised in Egypt and the East; but there were notable differences in his conception of it². In the first place, St Basil set his face against the eremitical life; and Sozomen tells us that in fact in Galatia, Cappadocia and the neighbouring provinces, the monks lived in communities and there were no hermits (VI. 34). It was a true community life, in a fuller sense than that of St Pachomius’ monasteries:—it was not possible to choose one’s dinner time at any hour of the afternoon; meals were in common, work was in common, prayer was in common seven times a day. In their ascetical exercises the monks were under the control of the superior, and they were not allowed to undertake austerities without his sanction. In this matter St Basil introduced quite new principles: he lays it down in various places that to fast or practise austerities to such an extent as to wear out the body and make it unable for work is a misconception and unscriptural: work is more important than fasting: it is the duty of the superior to see that each individual combines fasting and labour to such an extent as his bodily forces will allow.

Such was the form which the monastic institute assumed in the hands of St Basil; the modifications are the result of the contact of the primitive ideas of monachism, as they existed in Egypt and the East, with European culture and modes of thought. But although St Basil’s Rules and teaching have

¹ f. Newman, *Church of the Fathers*: “Basil and Gregory.” St Gregory’s
 rules v. and vi.

² I assume the genuineness of the *Rule Constitutions* and other ascetical works
 attributed to St Basil; but if they are really the work of another, as
 some scholars believe, this does not affect the conclusions here drawn.

become the norm for monastic life in the Greek Churches, there long survived a tendency to revert to the primitive type, and to make provision for the eremitical life and the accompanying practice of personal asceticism¹.

Early Monachism in Western Europe.

Although monachism was first introduced from Egypt into Europe at Rome, and took root in Italy first of the European countries, still it will be convenient to begin with a rapid survey of the character of early monastic life in Gaul, since the records of Gallic monachism are much fuller than those of Italy.

(1) The first monastery in Gaul seems to have been that founded at Ligugé near Poitiers by St Martin, c. 360. When he became bishop of Tours he formed a monastery outside that city and made it his ordinary residence. Sulpitius Severus gives an account of the manner of life. The monastery was situated two miles from the city, in a spot so secret and retired that Martin enjoyed in it the solitude of a hermit; his cell was a wooden hut; he had eighty disciples, most of whom dwelt in caves hollowed out of the rocks in the overhanging mountain; they were clothed in coarse garments; they rarely left their cells except to assemble for prayer, or for the daily meal when the hour of fasting was over; no art was practised except that of transcribing, and this by the younger monks only, the elders giving themselves up wholly to prayer². It is evident that this was a simple reproduction of the Antonian monachism of Egypt.

The most famous organiser of the monastic life in Gaul was Cassian. His monastic policy is definitely set forth in the *Prefaces* to the *Institutes* and to the three Parts of the *Conferences*. It was to adhere as closely as possible to the rules and practices of Egypt; yet in the *Preface* to the *Institutes* he says, "Where I find anything in the rule of the Egyptians which, either because of the severity of the climate, or owing to some difficulty or diversity of habits, is impossible in these countries, or hard and difficult, I

¹ The Abbé Marin has recently published a work entitled *Les Moines de Constantinople, A.D. 330-898* (Paris, 1897), which gives a very full account of the character and working of Greek monachism.

² *Vita Martini*, c. 10.

shall to some extent balance it by the customs of the monasteries which are found throughout Pontus and Mesopotamia." Thus certain mitigations are admitted, though under protest, in the *Institutes*; but Cassian nowhere conceals his conviction that the full Egyptian system and the eremitical life is the true type of the monastic life, and the whole tendency of the *Conferences* is to extol and to propagate the primitive Egyptian ideals. We learn from the *Prefaces* that throughout the south-eastern corner of Gaul the monastic life was inaugurated by various bishops under Cassian's inspiration, and he rejoices that a rule has been established "with the strictness of ancient virtue," and that many are embracing the eremitical life.

The fame of Lerins has eclipsed that of the other early monasteries of Gaul. I have not made a study of the monastic literature of Lerins, as found in the writings of Hilary, Eucherius, Faustus and Caesarius; but the purposes of the present survey will be fully served by a passage from the standard work on St Caesarius by the Abbé Malnory, one of the best living authorities on the early monachism of France. After remarking that the details have to be gathered from many sources and pieced together so as to form a picture of the life at Lerins, he continues:

En voici les grandes lignes. On voit tout d'abord un mélange de la vie cénobitique avec la vie érémitique....Les cellules séparées sont réservées aux Anciens....Libres de s'enfoncer dans les solitudes de l'île, mais circonscrits par le cercle que la mer forme autour d'eux, ils restent ainsi sous l'œil de l'abbé et des préposés, et on les retrouve mêlés de nouveau à la communauté pour célébrer l'office ou entendre les instructions de l'abbé. Pour ces solitaires sont les veilles et les jeûnes prolongés, les macérations exceptionnelles, les extases de la dévotion, ou les études approfondies¹. [And in another place:] Chaque frère qui le désirait, et qui était jugé assez avancé dans la perfection pour ce nouveau genre de vie, pouvait se former un petit ermitage séparé du groupe des religieux, auxquels il ne se trouvait plus mêlé que pour la récitation commune de l'office, et passait ainsi, sans sortir de l'île, du régime de la Trappe à celui de la Chartreuse².

This reference to La Trappe shows that the general impression in Malnory's mind is of an austere life at Lerins; and it is evident

¹ M. Malnory, *Le Monachisme en France*, Paris, 1890, p. 100.

² Ibid., p. 101.

that the eremitical life was regarded as the ideal to be aimed at. The Second Part of Cassian's *Conferences* is dedicated to Honoratus, the founder of Lerins, and Eucherius, a prominent monk there; and from what he says it may be seen that they, like Cassian himself, looked to Egypt for the model of the monastic life.

Could we rely on the Lives of SS. Romanus and Lupicinus we should be able to point to the monastery of Condat in the Jura as another illustration of the Egyptian character of primitive French monachism: but Malnory has shown reason for questioning the genuineness of this whole set of Lives, and Krusch, who had formerly accepted them, now says that they must be given up¹.

The *Liber Vitae Patrum* of Gregory of Tours, however, supplies authentic information concerning the monks of Auvergne and central France in the sixth century. From his pages we learn that there also the eremitical life was common, and the practice of severe personal austerities much in vogue²: he mentions one hermit who kept a huge stone on his back whilst he was at prayer; and another who wore iron chains on his hands and feet and neck³.

The evidence rehearsed amply justifies the statement that Gallic monachism during the fifth and sixth centuries was thoroughly Egyptian in both theory and practice.

(2) The most recent work dealing with Irish and Celtic monachism is Mr Willis Bund's *Celtic Church in Wales* (1897). In the long chapter on *Monasteries* he discusses the origin and character of the monastic system in Ireland and Wales: he considers it to have been a purely indigenous Celtic growth, and rejects the idea of any connection with Gallic or Egyptian monachism. He maintains that the first "monasteries" were merely settlements where the Christians—priests and laity, men, women and children—lived together. After a time monasteries for men and for women were formed, and then the eremitical life came into vogue as a later development. It seems to be probable that

¹ *Monumenta Germ. Hist. Scriptorum Rerum Merov.* iii. 126 (1896).

² Cf. cc. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20 (ed. Krusch, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptorum Rerum Merov.* i. ii. (1885)).

³ Pp. 715, 721, ed. Krusch.

these later stages of Irish monachism may have been influenced and modified by the monastic ideas and literature of Egypt: at any rate the external manifestation was identical in the two countries. The tendency to embrace the eremitical life always continued a marked feature of Irish monachism, and also the craving for an extreme form of corporal austerities. On the latter point Mr Bund says: "The Celt never did anything by halves, and his devotions and austerities, both in the monasteries and the hermitages, would have astonished even the monks of the Eastern Church¹." It has generally been supposed that the Rule of St Columbanus gives a picture of Irish monachism: Mr Bund seems to question this; but even if the Rule does not embody the manner of life at any particular monastery, it certainly is an expression of the tendencies that prevailed. Mr Bund justly observes that St Columbanus' Rule "would, if carried out in its entirety, have made the Celtic monks almost, if not quite, the most austere of men²." The Lives of St Columbanus and his companions by Jonas bring out, too, their ingrained love of the solitary life. Dom Bäumer has occasion, while discussing the celebration of the divine office in the Irish monasteries, to refer to the character of Irish asceticism and monasticism; he calls attention to the love of the eremitical life and of extraordinary mortifications, and says that on the ascetical and mystical side the Irish nature was closely akin to the Egyptian³.

(3) The leading facts concerning the introduction and spread of monachism in Italy, and its history up to St Benedict's time,

¹ *Op. cit.* 159. Under the word *Austeritas* in the *Index Moralis* to Colgan's *Acta SS. Hibern.* a number of examples are given which amply bear out Mr Bund's statement.

² *Op. cit.* 166. On St Columbanus and his Rule of Malnory, *Quid Luxovienses Monachi etc.* (Paris, 1894), and Seebass, *Ueber Columba v. Luxeuils Klosterregel* (1883), and a series of articles in Brieger's *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte* (1893 onwards).

³ *Geschichte des Breviers*, 163. A short time before his death I had a conversation on the subject with that eminent Celtic scholar and antiquarian the late Fr. Denis Murphy, S. J.; and when I had laid before him the characteristic features of Egyptian monachism—the leaning towards the solitary life, the hankering after austerities, the strongly personal and individualistic spirituality,—he at once related to me the same tendencies which exist among the Irish monks.

have been brought together in an excellent Study by Dom Spreitzenhofer of Vienna¹. He dwells upon the thoroughly Egyptian character of primitive Italian monachism. Not only were the first monks who came to Rome Egyptians, but the *Vita Antonii* was at an early date (c. 380) translated into Latin, and it became the recognised embodiment of the monastic ideal. There was a tendency, too, among Italians who wished to give themselves up to an ascetical life, to repair to Egypt and Palestine, as the places where the monastic life could be most perfectly carried out,—witness St Jerome and Rufinus, Paula and Eustochium, and the Melanias. And in Italy itself, as appears from several texts collected by Spreitzenhofer, the monastic institute throughout the fourth century maintained its primitive character, especially in the matter of fasting (*op. cit.* 84 ff.): perhaps the most striking single illustration is a passage in which St Augustine declares that in monasteries of both sexes in Rome it was not uncommon to pass three days and more altogether without food or drink².

Information concerning Italian monachism during the fifth century is meagre. Nevertheless certain indications are forthcoming. Rufinus translated into Latin an abridgment of St Basil's Rules, in the hope that the "Cappadocian observance" might make way in Italy; and St Jerome translated the Rule of Pachomius. There is evidence that both Rules made their influence felt here and there, and in varying degrees, among Italian monasteries: but I do not know of any evidence that would lead us to suppose that the life of any monastery in Italy (or Western Europe) was organised on the lines of either system. Italian monachism in the fifth century seems to have been eclectic in character, and to have freely borrowed ideas and regulations from these two Rules, and from other documents of Egyptian origin—from Cassian, the *Historia Monachorum*, the *Apophthegmata*, the *Regula Orientalis*, the *Regula Serapionis*, the *Regula Mucarii*, the

¹ *Die Entwicklung des alten Mönchtums in Italien* (Wien: 1894).

² Romae etiam plura (sc. diuersoria sanctorum) cognoui in quibus.....ieiunia prorsus incredibilia multos exercere didici non quotidie semel sub noctem reficiendo corpus, quod est usquequaque usitatissimum, sed continuum triduum uel amplius saepissime sine cibo ac potu ducere. neque hoc in uiris tantum sed etiam in feminis (*De Mor. Eccl.* i. 70, P. L. xxxii. 1840).

Regula SS. Patrum. St Benedict shows a familiarity with all these documents; and this goes to prove that they were all in current use in the monasteries of central Italy at the end of the fifth century. Thus, in spite of the fact that by this date monastic life in Italy had become indefinitely diversified, each monastery having practically its own rule, it is seen that the authoritative documents were of Egyptian origin, and that Italian monachism still drew its inspiration from Egypt. This inference is verified by the few glimpses of the actual working of the survivals of pre-Benedictine monachism which are afforded by St Gregory's *Dialogues* (c. 600). There are casual mentions of monks leading an eremitical life (Bk. III. 15, 16, 18; IV. 9, 36); the most circumstantial account is that of Marcius, the hermit of Monte Marsica in Campania, who for many years together never left his narrow cave, having chained himself to the rock. And in regard to St Benedict himself, St Gregory relates that on his resolving to become a monk he retired almost as a matter of course to the wilderness, and lived alone in a cave, practising great austerities.

What has been said will suffice to show that in Italy, as in Gaul and Ireland, the early monachism was thoroughly Egyptian in its ideals and in its working.

In one important particular, viz. the method of celebrating the divine office, the monasteries of Western Europe, even those of Ireland, appear to have departed from the Egyptian model, and to have followed that of Syria and Cappadocia; but in other matters the dominant feeling was that the more nearly the life could be made to approximate to that of the Egyptian monks the more perfectly was the monastic ideal being carried out; and the great object of European monks was to emulate those of Egypt.

In Ireland this system worked successfully for a long time. But in Gaul great difficulties were experienced. We have already seen that even Cassian thought it necessary to make mitigations in the Egyptian manner of life. And in the *Dialogues* of Sulpitius Severus one of the interlocutors is Gallus, a Gallic monk, one of St. Martin's disciples. He makes several half-comical protests that the Egyptian manner of life cannot be expected of Gallic monks, and that the Gallic monks are not of the Greek

whereas among the Gauls it is due to their nature" (*Dial.* I. 8). There can be no doubt that in Italy, too, the same difficulties came to be felt, and that in the course of the fifth century considerable and widespread laxity had made its way into the monastic system. It is evident that St Benedict's descriptions of the *Sarabaitae* and *Gyrovagi* (*Règ.* c. 1) are no mere antiquarian reproductions of what St Jerome and Cassian had said before, but depict a state of things that existed around him. We have moreover the instance of the relaxed monastery that St Benedict was called to govern before he had founded any monastery of his own¹.

This falling away may no doubt have been largely due to the fact that the monks of Italy and Gaul were trying to live up to an ideal which the climatic and other conditions of the country rendered impossible or, at any rate, extremely difficult; and to the discouragement and demoralisation consequent on an abiding sense of failure.

St Benedict.

Such was the danger that threatened monasticism in Western Europe at the opening of the sixth century, when St Benedict wrote his Rule². To meet the case he did not gather up what remained still in exercise of the primitive austerities, and attempt a restoration of the old ascetic life; but struck out a new line, such as seemed to him more fitting for the times and circumstances. He prescribed for his monks proper clothes, sufficient food, ample sleep; he reduced the time of prayer, and discouraged private venture in asceticism.

It is important to observe that all this was the result of mature experience. He began his monastic career by practising in its extremest form the prevailing type of monachism, which I have called the Egyptian, first for a period of three years, and then again for a period of time not specified by St Gregory (*Dial.*

¹ St Gregory, *Dialogues*, II. 3.

² St Benedict's life fell about the period 480—550. The current chronology is mere approximation and surmise: only one date can be accurately determined—Totila's visit to Monte Cassino in 543, described in St Gregory's *Dialogues*, Bk. II. cc. 14 and 15. (This Book is practically the *Vita S. Benedicti*: it will be referred to in the following pages as *Dial.* II.)

II. 1 and 3). He dwelt in a cave without conversing with men; his food was the bread let down by the monk Romanus from the high rock that overhung the cave; his drink was water; his garments were the skins of beasts; the shepherds took him for a wild beast; on one occasion at least he was famishing; on another he overcame carnal temptations by rolling himself naked in the thicket of briars and nettles (*ibid.* 1 and 2)¹.

And yet when in the maturity of his spiritual wisdom St Benedict came to write a Rule for his monasteries, we find that he deliberately turned his back on the austerities that had hitherto been regarded as the chief means for attaining the spiritual end of the monastic life. He calls his Rule "a very little rule for beginners"—*minima inchoationis regula*—(c. 73), and says that, though there may be in it some things "a little severe," still he hopes that he will establish "nothing harsh, nothing heavy²." In this he is not speaking the language of false humility, but the very truth, as will appear from a number of antitheses between his regulations and those of the previously fashionable Egyptian monachism³.

St Benedict says: "although we read that wine is not at all the drink of monks" [*i.e.* in the *Apophthegmata*, cf. *supra*, p. 211], yet "because in these times monks will not be persuaded of this," he allows a *hemina* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ pint) daily to each (c. 40).

He allows to each daily a pound of bread, and orders two dishes of cooked food, and a third of fruit or young vegetables [contrast Cassian's "sumptuous repast," *supra* p. 206], "so that he who cannot eat of one may

¹ Abbot Tosti and Dom Amelli accept the view put forward by Dom Schmidt of Metten (*Studien und Mittheilungen O. S. B.* 1888) that St Benedict was not a mere boy, but a young man, when he left Rome. And certainly we would gladly believe that the story of *Dial.* II. 2 was not told of one who was but a child when he fled from Rome. Dom Schmidt's theory is preferable from every point of view: the only difficulty is the mention of the *nutrix*; but in the case of two grown-up women (*ibid.* 23) a *nutrix* is similarly mentioned.

² *Constituenda est ergo a nobis dominici schola servitii. in qua institutione nihil asperum nihil graue nos constitutos speramus. sed et si quid paululum restrictius dictante aequitatis ratione propter emendationem uitiorum uel conseruationem charitatis processerit, non illico pauore perterritus refugias niam salutis, quae non est nisi angusto initio incipienda* (*Prol.*)

³ The contrasts are made with the Antonian monachism, and the Egyptian monachism related therewith. The latter is more austere, and the former is more liberal both in

make his meal of the other" (c. 39)—a concession altogether foreign to Egyptian notions. During the greater part of the year there were two such meals in the day. Though the flesh of four-footed animals was forbidden, except to the sick and delicate "for their recovery," it was the tradition at Monte Cassino in the eighth century that the flesh of birds was allowed by the Rule¹. In a word the advice and practice of the Egyptian monks was ever to reduce the quantity of food and drink almost to a minimum: St Benedict prescribes only frugality, and the avoidance of surfeiting and gluttony (cc. 39, 40).

Abba Pambo laid it down that a monk's clothes should be such that if they were left out on the road no one would think of taking them (*Apo-phthegmata*, P. G. LXV. 369). St Benedict directs the abbot to see that the monks' clothes fit them; they are to get new clothes while the old ones are still fit to be given to the poor; they are to have warmer clothes in winter, lighter in summer; they are to change their clothes for the night, and the clothes are to be washed (c. 55). St Benedict (*ibid.*) considers a monk's outfit to consist of two cowls, two tunics, shoes and stockings, girdle, knife, pen, needle, handkerchief and tablets—a great contrast with the poverty and nakedness practised in Egypt.

In Egypt the monks slept on the bare ground with stones for pillows, or, at best, on papyrus mats (Cassian *Conf.* I. *fn.*); St Pachomius made his monks sleep in a sitting or reclining posture (*Hist. Laus.* A 38); and whereas abba John in Cassian (*Conf.* XIX. 6) deplores the degeneracy of the times in that a blanket may be found in hermits' cells—"a thing which I cannot mention without shame,"—St Benedict allows not only a blanket, but coverlet, mattress, and pillow as well (c. 55).

In Egypt there was a constant straining to reduce the quantity of sleep to the narrowest possible limit and such battling with sleep was one of the favourite forms of asceticism. St Benedict, on the other hand, allows his monks during the greater part of the year eight hours, and even more, of unbroken sleep each night; and in the summer six hours by night and a siesta in the middle of the day².

Even in the matter of prayer St Benedict preserves the same moderation. The canonical office, indeed, was moulded after the Oriental type and was longer than in Egypt, where it consisted of only twenty-four psalms each day. But in Egypt the monks aimed, and with considerable success, at an almost continual prayer throughout the whole day (cf. Cassian, *Inst.* III. 2; and many other illustrations). It appears that in St Benedict's monasteries

¹ Calmet, *Comment. in Reg. S. Ben. (in loc.)*; Herrgott, *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, Preface.

² It is commonly but mistakenly supposed that midnight office is what St Benedict enjoined: the usual hour for the night office was 2 a.m.; in the height of the summer it began about 1.30, but never earlier.

at the end of the office the monks used to pray in silence for a time (*Dial.* II. 4); but in his Rule he says that the prayer made in common is to be cut quite short—*omnino brevietur*—and that when the sign is given all are to rise and leave the oratory; and of private prayer he says it should be short and pure—*brevis et pura*—“unless it be prolonged by the inspiration of Divine grace” (cc. 20, 52). The daily psalmody consisted of forty psalms with canticles and lections, and can hardly have taken more than from four to five hours: the gradual multiplication of psalms, offices, devotions, and conventual masses, which absorbed the greater part of the working day in the Benedictine houses during the later Middle Ages, began to set in only with St Benedict of Aniane in the ninth century, and reached its full development at Cluni¹.

Thus from whatever side we look at the matter, we see that St Benedict deliberately eliminated austerity as it had been understood and practised before his time. No doubt a life according to the letter of the Rule would be held to be a very austere one at the present day: but in the eyes of St Benedict's contemporaries it would not have appeared so. The regime stood between the life of good Christians in the world and the life in severe monasteries; and when compared with the common law of the Church (*e.g.* for Lent), or the usual monastic observances of those days, St Benedict's Rule cannot have appeared to be anything else than what he said it was, a *minima inchoationis regula*.

But, besides the elimination of austerity, there was in St Benedict's reconstruction of the monastic life a positive element; and this too took the form of a break with the past. I have shown that a strong individualism was the key-note of Egyptian monachism in all its phases, in Western Europe hardly less than in Egypt. St Benedict was a collectivist in the spiritual order. In place of rivalry in ascetical achievement, he established a common mode of life, made up of a round of objective duties,—public common prayer, work, and reading; and the sanctification of the monk was to be sought by living the life of the community. St Benedict made it a point of virtue “that a monk do nothing but what the common rule of the monastery and the example of

¹ Bishop, *Origin of the Prymer* (Early English Text Society, Original Series, 109).

seniors exhorts" (c. 7); and that "in all things all follow the rule as their master" (c. 3). In Lent indeed, as in St Pachomius' monasteries, each one is exhorted to add something voluntarily to his ordinary service of God; but, the monks are not left, as there (*Hist. Laus.* A 20), to pit themselves one against the other, but each one is obliged to obtain the abbot's blessing on what he undertakes, "else it will be deputed unto pride, not unto reward" (c. 49). There is no suggestion in the Rule of what are now called "penitential exercises": if exhortations and warning failed, corporal chastisement was resorted to in the case of refractory monks; but it was a punishment, not a mortification, and it was not self-inflicted. When a neighbouring hermit chained himself to a rock, St Benedict rebuked him, saying: "If thou be God's servant, let the chain of Christ, and not any chain of iron hold thee" (*Dial.* III. 16).

St Benedict says, indeed, that the observance of his Rule will only show that "we possess in some measure uprightness of manners and the beginning of a good life¹," adding that those who press forward to the perfection of holy living will find the height of perfection in the lives and teaching of the Egyptian Fathers; and he orders the frequent reading of Cassian, the *Vitae Patrum* and St Basil's Rules (c. 73). But though he thus holds out higher possibilities, they do not enter into the practical scope of his Rule. Similarly St Benedict speaks with admiration of the eremitical life, which then formed an integral part of European monachism, and was commonly regarded not only as the most perfect realisation of the monastic life, but as the goal to be aimed at in practice by those who had the necessary courage and strength in virtue; but he expressly excludes it from his Rule, and says that he legislates for cenobites alone (c. 1).

This twofold break with the past, in the elimination of austerity and in the sinking of the individual in the community, made St Benedict's Rule less a development than a revolution in

¹ Ut hanc obseruantes in monasteriis aliquatenus uel honestatem morum aut initium conuersationis nos demonstremus habere.

monachism. It may be almost called a new creation; and it was destined to prove, as the subsequent history shows, peculiarly adapted to the new races that were re-peopling Western Europe. The fundamental changes effected by St Benedict in the conception of the monastic life go far to explain why, on the one hand, the Benedictine form of monachism easily and generally made its way among populations Teutonic or partially Teutonised; while, on the other hand, it never found a congenial home among purely Celtic races.

APPENDIX I.

Historia Monachorum in Aegypto (supra, p. 15).

The subjects to be dealt with in this Appendix fall under the following heads:

- (i) The original language—Greek, not Latin.
- (ii) The Latin version.
- (iii) The Syriac and other Oriental versions.
- (iv) The History of the Text.
- (v) The Authorship.

(i) *The Original Language—Greek, not Latin.*

This is a point which does not at all affect the validity of any view put forward in these pages concerning the Lausiatic History. Still it has an important bearing on the general question of the sources of early monastic history; and as I have on p. 15 expressed my belief that the Greek is the original, while Dr Preuschen has arrived at the opposite conclusion (*Palladius u. Rufinus*, 196), it will be in place to show reason for adhering to my former judgment. For this purpose it will be best to institute a careful comparison of the two texts in some one of the longer Lives in which the Greek and Latin run closely together. I select the Life of Apollonius or Apollonius (*gr.* 8, *lat.* 7), which possesses this advantage for purposes of comparison, that the Greek text stands in Migne free from all foreign accretions (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1137 ff.).

In the following references P = Preuschen, M = Migne, R = Rosweyd.

Ἀπολλῶ, ἀπολῶ διὰ σου τὴν σοφίαν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σοφῶν.

P 33
M 1137
R 460

Apolloni, per te perdam sapientiam sapientium in Aegypto.

The play of words on Apollon's name, which obviously suggested the citation (1 Cor. i. 19), is lost in the Latin. (M and some mss. repeat the name; but P's reading is certainly correct.)

γεννήσεις μοι λαὸν περιούσιον ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων.

generabis mihi populum substantialem et perfectum, aemulatorem operum bonorum.

P 33
M 1137
R 460

Cf. Tit. ii. 14 καθαρίση ἐαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων. The regular Latin renderings of περιούσιον are O. L. *abundantem* and Vg. *acceptabilem*: nowhere except here is *substantialem* found in Tit. ii. 14; but it is worth noting that at this time St Jerome was translating ἐπιούσιον by *supersubstantialem*. *Substantialem et perfectum* is an attempt on the part of Rufinus to translate the difficult Greek λαὸν περιούσιον. A Latin writer simply quoting the text would not have thus gone out of his way to try to bring out the force of the Greek, but would have used a current version. The *perfectum* may have been suggested by Lk. i. 17 *parare Domino plebem perfectam*. In Deut. xiv. 2 λαὸν περιούσιον is rendered *populum peculiarem* in Vg.; O. L. vac.

P 34
M 1138
R 460

ἡ τροφή δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶς καθάπερ πρῶτον παρὰ θεοῦ ἐξ ἀμηχάνου ἐχορηγείτο. ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ δι' ἀγγέλου ἡ τροφή ἐκομίζετο.

Cibo autem magis coelesti quam humano utebatur.

The Latin appears to be a paraphrase; it is vague and common-place compared with the Greek.

P 34
M 1138
R 460

τὸ δὲ Ἴνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἦν ὁ λεβιτών, ὃν περ τινὲς κολόβιον προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ λέντιον μικρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

Indumentum ejus stuppeum colobium erat, quod apud illos lebetes appellatur, et linteus quod collum et caput obuolueret.

The Latin explains the material of the garment, but puts in the first place the name *colobium*, which was a latinised word, and then says it is called *lebetes* (i.e. *lebiton*) by the Egyptians. Similarly in St Jerome's Preface to the *Reg. Pach.* (*P. L. L.* 276), and in the Latin *Vita Pach.* (Rosw. 117), a clause is inserted explaining the word *lebiton*. Cassian employs *colobium*, not *lebiton*.

P 35
M 1138
R 460

ὁ δὲ οὐς μὲν πρὸς θεωρίαν προσεκαλείτο, οὐς δὲ τὴν πρακτικὴν συνεβίβαζε μετελθεῖν ἀρετῆν.

alios ad bene operandum, alios ad bene intelligendum prouocabat.

The recognised Greek antithetical terms θεωρία and πρακτική are paraphrased in the Latin.

P 35—6
M 1138
R 460

μηδὲ ἄχρι ἀκοῆς παρακληθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνασχόμενος.

om. Lat.—the meaning of the Greek was perhaps obscure.

P 36
M 1138
R 460

λαμπαδηφόρος ἄγγελος.

angelus ingenti luce resplendens.

P 36
M 1138
R 461

ἡ τὴν θεόθεν ἐλθοῦσαν τοῖς ἀλόγως κατεχομένοις ἐλευθερίαν παριδεῖν.

quam diuinæ uirtuti obsistere, quæ eorum cura gerebat.

The pithy here can hardly have arisen from the very common-place Latin.

P 37
M 1138
R 461

ὅταν τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ τὴν ἀνορεξίαν κτήσησθε.

si nulla uobis passio fuerit erga mundana desideria.

The pithy and technical Greek seems clearly the original.

- ἀποκαλύψεις εἴωρα τινάς.
reuelationes ei *plurimae* ostendebantur. P 37
M 1139
R 461
- Apollos' monks are compared to ἀγγελικὴν τινα στρατιὰν κεκοσμημένων
κόσμφ παντὶ λευκοφορούντων. In the Latin this is prosaically rendered: P 38
caelestem quemdam et angelicum cernebamus exercitum, in omnibus M 1139
uirtutibus adornatum. nullus sane in eis sordidis utebatur indumentis, R 461
sed splendore uestium pariter atque animorum nitebant.
- εὐφράνθητι ἔρημος διψῶσα.
ut laetaretur eremus sitiens. P 38
M 1139
R 461
- Is. xxxv. 1 (O. L.) *laetare desertum sitiens*; there is no authority for
eremus in this passage; an original Latin writer would have quoted a
current version. The Latin goes on: et multi filii ejus uiderentur in
deserto; this seems to be based on Is. liv. 1 (=Gal. iv. 27), which is
quoted in full in the Greek.
- ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμίου ὕδατος.
pro aquis pluvialibus. P 40
M 1140
R 462
- I do not regard this as evidence of the Latin being a translation, as
pluvialibus is in all probability a Latin corruption of *fluvialibus*: it is
impossible to suppose that Rufinus, who had been in Egypt, would speak
of prayers for rain there.
- ὥστε ἀπαλλαγέντας ἐκείθεν ἀποστήναι τῆς πλάνης.
pollicentes ut si eos resoluat his uinculis pariter quoque erroris in eis P 41
uincula dissolueret. The Latin is a paraphrase. M 1140
R 462
- τοὺς ἰδίους εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἀπέστρεψεν.
fecit omnes cum pace discedere. P 42
M 1145
R 462
- δυνατὸν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν λέγων τοῦτο αὐτῷ παρασχέιν.
omnia enim possibilia dicebat esse credenti. P 42
M 1145
R 462
- The Latin is a formal citation (Mk. ix. 22); the Greek is not a citation
at all. The citation is easily suggested by the Greek; on the other hand
it is unlikely that the Latin citation should have been dropped by a Greek
translator.
- κεχάρισται σοι ὁ ὀψιγόνος οὗτος πρόσφυξ.
donatur tibi salus istius pro quo supplicasti. P 42
M 1145
R 462
- The Latin is a paraphrase to avoid the difficult words.
- ὁ οὐκέτι ἀνδροφόνος.
latro ille iam sanctus. P 43
M 1145
R 462
- σὺν πέντε τισὶν ἀδελφοῖς.
cum paucis fratribus. P 44
M 1145
R 463
- σύνθετά τινα λάχανα.
olera ex his quae sale aspersa reponi apud eos solent. P 44
M 1146
R 463
- σύνθετα λάχανα is a regular phrase in the Greek text; it occurs in the

account of abbot Hor, where in the Latin it is given as *olera composita*, without any explanation (cf. P 25, M 1027, R 457).

P 45 *ἐξ ἀμηχάνων ἐτρέφοντο.*
M 1146 *sine cibo per gratiam Domini pascebantur.*
R 463

P 46 *ἑαυτὸν ἐξαπλώσας (M ἑναπλ.).*
M 1147 *om. Lat.; the Greek is unusual.*
R 464

P 47 The monks of Apollos' monastery did not partake of food till they had
M 1147 received the Eucharist at the ninth hour (*i.e.* about 3 p.m.) daily. The
R 464 Greek continues: *οὕτω διατηθέντες* (having taken food in this way [*i.e.* after the Eucharist]) they sat and were taught till τὸ πρωτοῦπνιον. Then they separated as described. The Latin takes *διατηθέντες* as if it were *διατεθέντες* and translates: *sic usque ad vesperam permanebant*, and so has to give them a meal after their lessons are learnt, *post haec iam cibo sumpto*.

P 47 *οἱ τὰ γήινα μὲν φρονούντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γήινοις εὐφραίνονται.*
M 1147 *hi qui terrena diligunt super fragilibus et caducis rebus laetantur.*
R 464 The forcible repetition disappears in the Latin.

P 48 In the Greek there is an incidental allusion to 1 Thess. v. 17 ff.; in
M 1147 the Latin it is an actual quotation.
R 464

P 48 *δι' ὑπερβολὴν θαύματος ἐσιωπήσαμεν, i.e.* "we lost all power of speech
M 1148 through wonder" every time we heard them. In Lat. "silere de his melius
R 464 censeo quam parum digne proloqui."

I set the two following passages side by side:—

P 48 *Πολλάκις καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς*
M 1148 *τῶν ἀδελφῶν*
R 464

ἔλεγεν, ὅτι· Δεῖ ἐρχομένους τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς προσκυνεῖν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦς, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν προσεκύνησας. εἶδες γάρ, φησί, τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, εἶδες κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.

καὶ τοῦτο, φησί, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ παρελήφραμεν.

καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ἐσθ' ὅτε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν παραβιάζεσθαι, παρὰ τοῦ Λὼτ μεμαθήκαμεν παραβιασαμένου τοὺς ἀγγέλους.

Multa de hospitalitatis studio disserebat, et praecipiebat attentius ut aduentantes fratres quasi Domini suscipiamus aduentum. nam et adorari fratres aduentantes propterea, inquit, traditio habetur, ut certum sit in aduentu eorum aduentum Domini Jesu haberi, qui dicit: 'Hospes fui et suscepistis me' (Mt. xxv. 35, O. L.). sic enim et Abraham suscepit eos qui homines quidem uidebantur, Dominus autem in eis intelligebatur. interdum autem etiam contra uoluntatem cogere fratres ad corporalem requiem sancti Lot exemplum proponebat, qui angelos ui compulsos ad hospitium domus suae perduxit.

It will be seen at a glance that the beauty of the Greek is wholly gone in the Latin, and I think that literary considerations by themselves make it clear that in this passage the Greek is the original. The Greek owes its superiority very much to the striking quotation εἶδες γάρ κ.τ.λ.; and Professor Robinson has pointed out to me that this is an Agraphon cited twice by Clement Alex. in the same words: εἶδες γάρ, φησί, τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, εἶδες τὸν θεόν σου (*Strom.* i. 19, 94 and ii. 15, 71), and also by Tertullian: *uidisti, inquit, fratrem, uidisti dominum tuum (De Orat. 26)*¹. Rufinus did not recognise the citation, and so paraphrased it, substituting a biblical text for the apocryphal saying; it will hardly be suggested that a Greek translator or copyist inserted the Agraphon,—indeed, although it has disappeared, its echo is still plainly discernible in the Latin.

ἐμέμφετο δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς τὰ σιδηρα φοροῦντας καὶ τοὺς κομῶντας.

P 49

The Greek of this whole passage is somewhat obscure. Not so the Latin, which makes Apollos attack in the most direct manner ostentatious asceticism: a citation from the Sermon on the Mount is introduced to bring out the point. It seems unlikely that a passage so perfectly plain as the Latin should have been obscured in the process of translation into Greek. In the Latin we read *ferrum in collo circumferens*; a Greek would hardly have rendered this by τὰ σιδηρα φοροῦντες, for σιδηροφορεῖν means "to bear arms."

M 1148
R 465

Finally, in seven passages of the Greek (P 39. 9, 20; 40. 8; 41. 13; 43. 10, 12; 47. 19) Ἕλληνες is used in the sense of "pagans": in the Latin it is always altered, usually into *gentiles*, but once into *Aegyptiis*, and once into *eos qui caerimoniis daemoniis agebantur*.

The thirty passages to which attention has been called supply arguments based on considerations of many different kinds, and of very varying force. Some are almost decisive in themselves; others are mere indications. But they all point the same way; and taken together they amount, I think, to a full demonstration that in the Life of Apollos the Greek is the original. And this Life, of course, carries with it the rest of the book. Still, in order to show that similar evidence is producible from other portions also, I shall call attention to three or four additional passages.

σχολάσατε καὶ γνῶτε, κ.τ.λ.

uacate et cognoscite.

P 11

M 1116

R 453

The Greek follows the LXX., Ps. xlv. (xlv.) 11. The ordinary Latin reading, both O. L. and Vg., was *uacate et uidete*. Cyp. *Testim.* indeed has *cognoscite*; but Mr Burkitt informs me that this text of the Psalms was quite African, and that it is most unlikely that Rufinus should have had it: he considers that the probabilities are entirely in favour of

¹ Resch, *Agrapha* 296 (*Texte u. Untersuch.* v. 4).

cognoscite in this place, being a direct translation of *γνώτε*. It was necessary so to translate it, for the context turns on *γνώσις* and *κογνίσις*.

P 14
M 1122
R 454

ἄφρων ἤδη καὶ θηλυμανὴς ἵππος γενόμενος.

sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus.

The Greek is an indirect citation of Jer. v. 8, ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν. In the Latin a more familiar and obvious, but far less appropriate text, is substituted, Ps. xxxii. (xxxi.) 9. Ἄφρων may have suggested *quibus non est intellectus*.

P 16
M 1123
R 454

ἡμβανῆ καταλιπόντες.

seminecem reliquerunt.

The allusion is to Lk. x. 30, ἀφέντες ἡμβανῆ. But the only Latin word used in this text, whether O. L. or Vg., is *semiuiuus*, and if the allusion were due to a Latin author, he would certainly have used it here: *seminecem* can only be a translation of ἡμβανῆ.

I may refer also to the case of Ἀχώρεως and *uicina*, already discussed (p. 14). Dr Preuschen admits that, on the face of it, the readings tell in favour of the Greek being the original (*op. cit.* 192); but he thinks it not decisive,—the name Akoris may have been inserted by a Greek from his own knowledge of the geography of Egypt; or it may have been omitted by a Latin copyist. Were there grave reasons for holding the priority of the Latin, and were Akoris only a "difficulty," it might be right to sweep it away in this fashion: but when no strong case has been made out in favour of the Latin, it is not allowable so to deal with this word Akoris.

And here I am bound to say that Dr Preuschen's treatment of the question of the original language seems very inadequate (*op. cit.* 191—6). Apart from certain *à priori* considerations, he advances but one argument based on internal evidence: in the account of Copres and Paternuthius (*gr.* 11, *lat.* 9) it is related that while Copres was speaking one of the party fell asleep, and while asleep had a vision; on awaking he told the vision to his companions "in the Latin tongue." From this Dr Preuschen argues that Latin is represented as being the natural language of the travellers, and he thinks that the statement would hardly have been made in a book written in Greek. He sees a confirmation of the latter surmise in the fact that in some Greek mss. *ῥωμαιστί* has been altered into *ῥῆμα*, thus showing that the statement seemed strange to a Greek. He points out, too, that the work was written in Rufinus' monastery near Jerusalem, which was largely if not predominantly a Latin community. He considers that the book was written in Latin, and that the statement that the book was written in Latin is a confirmation of this light: the

... lie von ... umfasst sein ... empfinden

course of the narrative makes it clear that at least some of the travellers could speak Greek, and this Dr Preuschen allows (p. 195, note); the party of travellers was very likely of mixed nationality, and the one who spoke in Latin may not have been familiar with Greek; or perhaps (as the context may fairly suggest) he did not wish Copres (or the interpreter) to understand what he was saying to his companions. In short, there are so many alternatives and possibilities, that I do not think any conclusion can be got out of the passage; certainly not any conclusion that will stand against the body of internal evidence that has just been adduced, backed as it is by the external evidence adduced in § 3 (p. 13) and § 16 (pp. 198—203).

I had prepared a list of the Greek mss. that have come under my inspection (some twenty in number); but in view of the much fuller descriptive list given by Dr Preuschen (*op. cit.* 137—152) there seems to be no need for me to give one that of necessity would be much less perfect.

It may, however, be of use to indicate the structure of the Greek book by giving the titles of the chapters: references are added, by means of which the work may be reconstructed out of two volumes of Migne's Greek Patrology. (Numbers in Roman figures refer to the chapters as incorporated in the Long Recension of the Lausiac History, *P. G.* xxxiv.: those in Arabic figures to the columns of *P. G.* lxx., where the fragments edited by Cotelier (*Écol. Græc. Mon.* III. 171 ff.) are reprinted. The numbers prefixed to the chapters are those of Dr Preuschen's edition.)

Prologue, 441; 1 John Lycop. (cf. *sup.* pp. 25—29); 2 Hor (cf. *sup.* p. 38); 3 Ammon, xlvi.ii.; 4 Be, xlix.; 5 Oxyrhynchus, 445; 6 Theonas, l.; 7 Elias, li.; 8 Apollos, lii.; 9 Ammoun, liii.; 10 Copres, liv.; 11 Patermuthius, 448; 12 Surus, Esias, Paul and Anuph, lv.—lviii.; 13 Helle, lix.; 14 Apelles, lx.; 15 John, lxi.; 16 Paphnutius, lxii.—lxv.; 17 Pityrion, lxxiv.; 18 Eulogius, lxxv.; 19 Isidore, lxxi.; 20 Sarapion, lxxvi.; 21 Apollonius, lxvi., lxvii.; 22 Dioscorus, lxxviii.; 23 Nitria, lxix.; 24 Ammonius the Tall, lxx.; 25 Didymus, 456; 26 Chronides and Three Brothers, 456; 27 Evagrius, 448; 28 Macarius Aeg. (§§ 2, 3, 5 on col. 1050, *P. G.* xxxiv.; and other matter); 29 Amoun of Nitria (a short introduction; §§ 1, 2 on col. 1026; and cf. *sup.* p. 37); 30 Macarius Alex. (an introduction; and § 4 on col. 1050); 31 Paul the Simple (cf. *sup.* pp. 31—35);

griechischer Leser lag es unzweifelhaft weit näher, sie sich griechisch redend zu denken. So korrigierte man mit leiser Änderung *ῥωμαῖοι* in *ῥῆμα* und der Anstoss war beseitigt. Aus dieser Stelle und der Geschichte, die der Text an dieser Stelle gehabt hat, scheint sich mir mit Sicherheit zu ergeben, dass die griechische Form sekundär ist und nur als eine Bearbeitung des lateinischen Originales zu gelten hat" (p. 196).

32 Piammon, lxxii.; 33 John of Diolcos, lxxiii.; 34 Epilogue, cl. (2nd §, of col. 1252 D).

(ii) *The Latin Version.*

It has been shown in § 3 (p. 11) that the Latin version was made by Rufinus. At the end of c. 29 of the Latin there is a reference to Rufinus' own *Ecol. Hist.*, which was not written before 400. Therefore the date of the version may be fixed between 400 and 410, the year of Rufinus' death; Dr Preuschen considers 402 or 403 to be a probable date (*op. cit.* 203—5). Thus the version was made within six or eight years of the writing of the book.

In regard to the Latin text, Rosweyd's edition (with which Vallarsi's, reprinted in *P. L.* xxi., is identical) is based on twenty mss., one of which was written in 819 (*Prolegomenon*, xxiv). The numerous authorities for the version which have come under my notice present the same text. Dr Preuschen, however, informs us that a Munich ms. of the ninth century (*cod. lat.* 6393) contains a better text (*op. cit.* 163).

When we compare the Latin with the Greek, it appears that in c. 1 (John Lycop.) there are two enlargements (cf. *sup.* p. 22, note 1); from c. 2 to c. 22 (*lat.* c. 20), the portion describing the monks of the Thebaid, the Latin and Greek agree on the whole very closely; but in the concluding portion of the book, that which deals with the monks of the Nitrian desert, great divergencies exist, the Latin being considerably longer than the Greek, and in certain Lives (*e.g.* the two Macarii and Paul the Simple) almost wholly different from it, while the Latin conclusion of Amoun of Nitria is much shorter¹. Professor Robinson in the *Introduction* to his edition of the *Philocalia* has occasion to examine Rufinus' character as a translator of Origen; he finds that his translations are usually paraphrastic, clauses being repeated or inserted to bring out the meaning, so that it is the general thought that is reproduced rather than the individual sentence; in one case "he has expanded his author into nearly twice the original compass, adding much explanatory matter of his own"; in others the original is abbreviated almost beyond recognition (pp. xxxi—xxxix). There would therefore be little difficulty in attributing to Rufinus most of the differences that exist between the Greek and Latin forms of the *Hist. Mon.* But some of the differences must, I think, be attributed to other causes.

In the first place, there is reason to believe that the Latin text has been interpolated here and there by later copyists. In the additional passage at the beginning of c. 1, we read: "*Soli Deo uacans, non diebus non* . . . *colloqui, de . . . uacatione uacabat*", etc. There is nothing

¹ The two Macarii and Paul the Simple are the only Lives in which the Latin is longer than the Greek. The Latin conclusion of Amoun of Nitria is much shorter than the Greek.

corresponding to these words in the Greek; but they occur more than once in the office of St Cecilia's day, being taken from the Old Latin Acts of that Saint. In regard to these Acts, the date at which they were written is the only point of interest here; and there seems to be a consensus of opinion among modern writers of all schools that they are not older than about the beginning of the fifth century. De Rossi holds that they are not even a re-edition of earlier Acts, but were newly composed towards the year 400 from traditions embodying a story true in its main outlines¹. Erbes discusses De Rossi's theory, and places the composition of the Acts after 486². Thus it seems that these Acts were not even written during Rufinus' lifetime; in any case it is in the highest degree unlikely that he ever read them; still less likely is it that he should have known the words in question through their liturgical use in St Cecilia's office. Whoever introduced them into the Latin *Historia Monachorum* can hardly have taken them directly from the Acts, but must have been familiar with them through their frequent occurrence in the liturgy on St Cecilia's day. This familiarity would not have been gained from the primitive liturgical use of such Acts, viz. to be read out publicly as a continuous narrative in the Church where the Martyr's feast was being celebrated; but from the later custom, which selected striking sentences from the Acts, and repeated them again and again in antiphons and responsories, as at the present day. But such a practice brings us to a date certainly later than Rufinus. Lastly, it will hardly be suggested that the words were introduced into the Acts from Rufinus' translation of the *Historia Monachorum*: the Acts are clearly their original place. It seems therefore certain that this sentence, and probably along with it the whole Latin enlargement in which it occurs, must be credited to a later copyist.

Again, in the account of Paul the Simple (c. 31) the following short homily is found in the Latin but not in our Greek text:

Ex cuius exemplo docebat beatus Antonius, quod si quis uelit ad perfectionem uelociter peruenire, non sibi ipse fieret magister, nec propriis uoluntatibus obediret, etiam si rectum uideatur esse quod uellet; sed secundum mandatum Saluatoris obseruandum esse, ut ante omnia unusquisque abneget semetipsum sibi, et renuntiet propriis uoluntatibus, quia et Saluator ipse dixit: Ego ueni non ut faciam uoluntatem meam, sed eius qui misit me. et utique uoluntas Christi non erat contraria uoluntati Patris; sed qui uenerat obedientiam docere, non inueniretur obediens, si propriam faceret uoluntatem. quanto ergo magis nos non iudicabimur inobedientes, si faciamus proprias uoluntates.

Now the following expressions occur in St Benedict's Rule:—

“Si ad exaltationem illam caelestem uolumus uelociter peruenire” (c. 7), cf. “ad perfectionem conuersationis qui festinat” (c. 73); uoluntatibus

¹ *Roma Sotterranea*, II. xl sq. Bishop Lightfoot gives a précis of De Rossi's theory (*Ignatius and Polycarp*, I. 516—522).

² *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* 1888, p. 1 ff.

obedientes (c. 5, ed. Wölfflin; Vulg. *uoluptatibus*); "*abrenuntians propriis uoluntatibus*" (Prol.). Moreover the two texts are cited in the Rule, and with the same peculiarities of reading:—*abnegare semetipsum sibi* (c. 4); and *non ueni facere uoluntatem meam sed eius qui misit me*, twice (cc. 5 and 7). The *sibi* does not occur in the Vg. in Luke ix. 23, nor in the parallel passages; but it may be seen from Sabatier that it was an O. L. reading, though not a common one. The second text, John vi. 38, stands thus in the Vulgate: *Descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam, sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me*; and this is the reading also of the Old Latin. So that the *Historia Monachorum* and St Benedict's Rule agree in having *ueni* in place of *descendi de caelo*, and in omitting *uoluntatem* in the second clause¹. The agreements between this passage of the *Historia Monachorum* and St Benedict's Rule, both in regard to these unusual readings of N. T. texts, and in regard to the other three forms of expression verbally identical in both, establish beyond question a relation of dependency between the two works. That St Benedict should quote this work of Rufinus need cause no surprise; he does so in several places. But it seems unlikely that he should have used this one passage in six different parts of his Rule, adopting words and thoughts not particularly striking, and especially taking from it unusual readings of the Scripture. On the other hand, some monk copying the work, and wishing to introduce a little homily on obedience, and having St Benedict's Rule imprinted on his memory by daily use, would quite easily and naturally string together the familiar words and phrases: *propria* is used with *uoluntas* four times in this passage and seven times in the Rule. The little dogmatic excursus on the Will of Christ is unlike anything else found in the book. Indeed the whole passage has the air of an interpolation.

I think the two passages just discussed are evidence that the Latin text has suffered interpolation at the hands of copyists. Nor will anyone familiar with the phenomena encountered in the handing down of texts find any difficulty in the idea that the extant Latin mss. are all descended from a single interpolated ancestor. But even if the theory of interpolation be admitted, it must not be hastily assumed that all the differences between the Greek and the Latin are to be attributed to Rufinus and his copyists; the question will be further investigated when we treat of the History of the Text.

... the Syriac and Oriental Versions.

There are at least three Syriac versions of the passage, and three versions of the *Historia Monachorum* and *Regula*.

... of the various ...

Manuscript	Reference	No. in Wright	Century	Remarks
Version I				
Add. 17176	ff. 2—57	DCCCXXIV.	A.D. 532	Complete, except Helles
Add. 12178	ff. 58—117	DCCCXXIII.	VI OR VII.	First half very incomplete
Add. 14648	ff. 48—58	DCCCXLIII.	VI.	Helles to end
Add. 14579	ff. 79, 148—165	DCCCVIII.	A.D. 913	Extracts
Add. 12175	ff. 200—210	DCCXXVII.	A.D. 534	Ends with Paphnutius
Add. 12174	ff. 190—200	DCCCCLX.	A.D. 1197	cc. 8, 9, 16, 10, 11, 21 of the Greek
Add. 17177	ff. 94—130	DCCCXXV.	VI.	cc. 10, 11, 12 of the Greek ¹
Version II				
Add. 14650	ff. 80—68	DCCCCLIX.	VI OR VII.	Complete
Version III				
Add. 14646	ff. 80—133	DCCCXXXVII.	VI.	Ends with Helles
Add. 14609	ff. 44—90	DCCCCLI.	VI.	Complete
Add. 14732	ff. 159—166	DCCCCLXIII.	XIII.	John of Lycopolis
Version IV				
Add. 14597	ff. 122—136	DCCXXX.	A.D. 569	Extracts
Add. 17177	ff. 86—94	DCCCXXV.	VI.	John of Lycopolis

In the first four copies of Version I. the *Hist. Mon.* is closely connected with a great set of *Apophthegmata* entitled "Histories of the Egyptian Monks." It is Version I. that Anan Isho used for Book III. of his *Paradise*: this is accordingly printed in Bedjan's edition: certain lives, however, are wanting in the *Paradise* (the two Macarii and Paul the Simple); and there are some displacements—the *Epilogue* has been transferred to the middle of the book (c. 19) and is called "The triumphs of the blessed Fathers who worked miracles." In all three Syriac versions the concluding (Nitrian) portion of the work agrees with the Greek, not with the Latin.

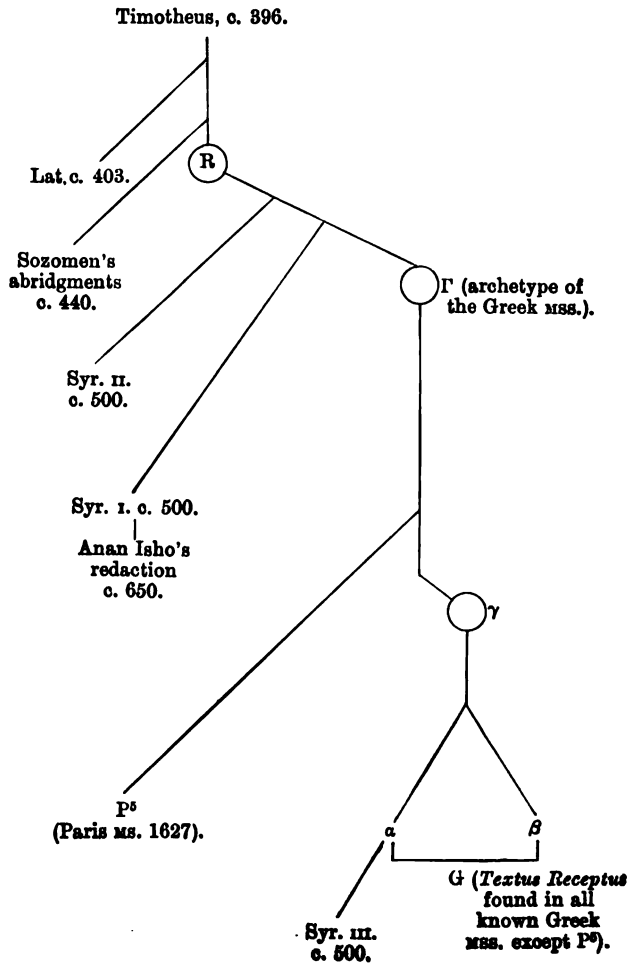
The Armenian *Vitae Patrum* (vol. I.; cf. *sup.* p. 97) contains a number of the Lives from the *Hist. Mon.*, some in two versions. Dr Preuschen records the important readings in his critical apparatus; he believes that the Armenian is derived from the Syriac (*op. cit.* 160).

In his volume of *Mémoires* (Fasc. ii., 1895, pp. 650—3) M. Amélineau has published two short Sahidic fragments of the account of John of Lycopolis in the *Hist. Mon.*, corresponding to *P. G.* xxxiv. 1107 D—1108 B, and 1113 B, 1115 B and c (omitting all the *Hist. Laus.* matter, cf. *sup.* pp. 26—9). These fragments have escaped Dr Preuschen's notice, but they are of little importance: they represent an ordinary Greek text (cf. Appendix III.).

¹ I am responsible for Dr Preuschen's statement that these Lives belong to Version IV.; but it is only the Life of John of Lycopolis, which immediately precedes them, that belongs to Version IV.

(iv) *The History of the Text.*

It is right to state that the following investigation was written out long before the appearance of Dr Preuschen's book; I avail myself, however, of his careful work on the subject (*op. cit.* 163—170 and 180—191). I shall first present by means of a diagram what I believe to be the general outline of the history of the text and of the mutual relations of the textual sources, as indicated by the authorities that I have been able to examine. I shall then make some comments in explanation of the diagram.



In commenting on this Table I shall begin from the bottom and work upwards. (1) I use the letter G to denote the *Textus Receptus*, which is found in all the Greek mss. known to me (and to Dr Preuschen), with the single exception of the Paris ms. 1627, which I designate by Dr Preuschen's sign, P⁶. A common feature of all these G mss. is that the name Piammon (c. 32) is corrupted into Ammonas: Piammon is attested by *lat.*, *Sos.*, *syr.* I. (Philemon), *syr.* II. (Pomnos), and it is found in P⁶. All the mss. containing the text G are therefore descended from a single archetype, γ , in which the corruption in Piammon's name had been made. Dr Preuschen shows that they fall into two groups α and β ; and in α had occurred the further corruption of $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ for $\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\iota$ (cf. *sup.* p. 262). In *syr.* III. this same corruption is found, and Piammon is called Amōn. Therefore *syr.* III. is derived from a ms. of the type G.

(2) If the reader will turn back to § 5 and compare col. A line 15, p. 26, and col. A line 25, p. 28, he will see that the words $\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\varphi\ \theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\varphi\ \delta\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ occur in both places. It is unlikely that this repetition can be genuine; and when the contexts are examined, I think it will be felt that the words are in place the second time they occur, but out of place the first. This impression is confirmed by the fact that in *lat.*, *syr.* I. (cf. Bedjan 334), and *syr.* II., the clause occurs only in the second place¹. I think it may be taken that the twofold occurrence of the clause is a doublet, and that at the beginning of the chapter it is an interpolation. In P⁶ the clause occurs in the first place; in the second, as pointed out in the critical apparatus (p. 29) a page had evidently been lost at this very point in one of the ancestors of the ms. We are therefore justified in concluding that this common corruption runs through all known Greek mss. of the *Hist. Mon.*, and that therefore they are all derived from a common ancestor, Γ .

Dr Preuschen has not noticed this point; but he has been led to the same conclusion by another common corruption, $\mu\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ instead of $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ (cf. *lat.* and *syr.* I.), towards the beginning of the account of Patermuthius (c. 11). (*Op. cit.* 169.)

(3) From what has been said it appears that we have two independent representatives of Γ , namely the single ms. P⁶, and γ , the archetype of the other Greek mss. Unfortunately P⁶ is a late ms. (cent. xiii.) and is in a very corrupt condition: probably Dr Preuschen is correct in his surmise that its text has undergone a literary revision. Dr Preuschen points out (p. 167) that there are a number of remarkable agreements between P⁶ and *syr.* I. I have indicated on p. 27 (col. C, lines 22—25) an agreement with *lat.*; and many other instances are to be found throughout the book.

¹ In *syr.* III. the passage occurs in the first place only; but this version has been shown to be derived from γ : probably the translator did not care to repeat the passage. In *syr.* IV. it occurs in the first place; the second *vac.* as the only copy is imperfect at the end of the Life. There are not sufficient materials for locating *syr.* IV. in the Table.

32 Piammon, lxxii. ; 33 John of Diolcos, lxxiii. ; 34 Epilogue, cl. (2nd §, cf. col. 1252 D).

(ii) *The Latin Version.*

It has been shown in § 3 (p. 11) that the Latin version was made by Rufinus. At the end of c. 29 of the Latin there is a reference to Rufinus' own *Ecol. Hist.*, which was not written before 400. Therefore the date of the version may be fixed between 400 and 410, the year of Rufinus' death; Dr Preuschen considers 402 or 403 to be a probable date (*op. cit.* 203—6). Thus the version was made within six or eight years of the writing of the book.

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In the first place, there is reason to believe that the Latin text has been interpolated here and there, especially in the additional matter at the beginning of c. 20, where the words, *Sanctus Iohannes non*

¹ The Greek text of the *Hist. Mon.* is printed in the *Philocalia*, ed. Robinson, pp. 100—101. The Latin text is printed in the *Philocalia*, ed. Vallarsi, pp. 100—101.

corresponding to these words in the Greek; but they occur more than once in the office of St Cecilia's day, being taken from the Old Latin Acts of that Saint. In regard to these Acts, the date at which they were written is the only point of interest here; and there seems to be a consensus of opinion among modern writers of all schools that they are not older than about the beginning of the fifth century. De Rossi holds that they are not even a re-edition of earlier Acts, but were newly composed towards the year 400 from traditions embodying a story true in its main outlines¹. Erbes discusses De Rossi's theory, and places the composition of the Acts after 486². Thus it seems that these Acts were not even written during Rufinus' lifetime; in any case it is in the highest degree unlikely that he ever read them; still less likely is it that he should have known the words in question through their liturgical use in St Cecilia's office. Whoever introduced them into the Latin *Historia Monachorum* can hardly have taken them directly from the Acts, but must have been familiar with them through their frequent occurrence in the liturgy on St Cecilia's day. This familiarity would not have been gained from the primitive liturgical use of such Acts, viz. to be read out publicly as a continuous narrative in the Church where the Martyr's feast was being celebrated; but from the later custom, which selected striking sentences from the Acts, and repeated them again and again in antiphons and responsories, as at the present day. But such a practice brings us to a date certainly later than Rufinus. Lastly, it will hardly be suggested that the words were introduced into the Acts from Rufinus' translation of the *Historia Monachorum*: the Acts are clearly their original place. It seems therefore certain that this sentence, and probably along with it the whole Latin enlargement in which it occurs, must be credited to a later copyist.

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cf. "ad perfectionem conuersationis qui festinat" (c. 73); uoluntatibus

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² *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* 1888, p. 1 ff.

RUFINUS, CC. 21 AND 22.

huic ergo cum appropinquarem loco, ubi peregrinos fratres aduenire senserunt, continuo uelut examen apum, singuli quique ex suis cellulis prouunt, atque in obuiam nobis laeto cursu et festina alacritate contendunt, portantes secum quamplurimi ipsorum urceos aquae et panes, secundum quod propheta corripuens quosdam dicit: Quia non existis filiis Israel in obuiam cum pane et aqua. tunc deinde susceptos nos adducunt primo cum psalmis ad ecclesiam, lauant pedes, ac singuli quique linteis quibus utebantur abstergunt, quasi uiae laborem leuantes, re autem uera uitae humanae aerumnas mysticis traditionibus abluentes. quid ergo nunc de humanitate eorum, quid de officiis, quid de caritate loquar, cum omnes gestirent nos ad suam quisque introducere cellulam, et non ea solum quae hospitalitati debentur explere, sed insuper aut de humilitate, qua ipsi pollebant, docere, aut de mansuetudine atque aliis huiusmodi bonis, quae apud illos, uelut ad hoc ipsum de saeculo sequestratos, diuersa quidem gratia, una tamen eademque doctrina discuntur. nusquam sic uidimus florere caritatem, nusquam sic uidimus opus feruere misericordiae, et studium hospitalitatis impleri. scripturarum uero diuinarum meditationes et intellectus, atque scientiae diuinae nusquam tanta uidimus exercitia, ut singulos paene eorum oratores credas in diuina esse sapientia.

Post hunc uero alius est locus in deserto interiori, decem fere ab hoc milibus distans, quem locum pro multitudine dispersarum in eremo cellularum, Cella nominauerunt. ad hunc locum hi, qui ibi prius fuerunt imbuti, et secretiorem iam depositis indumentis ducere uolunt uitam, secedunt: eremus enim est uasta, et cellulae tanto inter se spatio diremptae, ut neque in conspectu sibi inuicem, neque in uocis auditu sint positae.

singuli per cellulas commanent, silentium ingens et quies magna inter eos est: die tantum sabbati et dominica in unum ad ecclesiam coeunt, et ibi semetipsos inuicem tamquam caelo redditos uident. si quis forte in conuentu illo defuerit, intelligunt statim eum corporis aliqua inaequalitate contentum, et ad uisitandum eum non omnes quidem simul, diuersis tamen temporibus omnes abeunt, portantes unusquisque secum, si quid apud se esse aegro possit gratum uideri. aliam uero ob causam nullus uicem proximi sui obturbare silentium, nisi forte quis possit in uerbo inuenire, et uelut athleteae in agone positae germanis consolatione reuigilare.

SOZOMEN, VI. 31.

GREEK, c. 23 (Preuschen).

τὴν πρακτικὴν ἡσχολοῦντο. ἰδόντες γὰρ ἡμᾶς τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν πόρρωθεν ἐρχομένους διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, οἱ μὲν μετὰ ὕδατος ἡμῖν προυπήνησαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν ἐνιπτον, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια ἔπλυνον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τροφήν παρεκάλουν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετῶν μάθησιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσιν. καὶ ὅπερ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἠδύνατο, τοῦτο ἔσπευδεν ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν.

καὶ τί ἂν τις εἴποι πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς ἀρετὰς, μηδὲν ἐπαξίως λέγειν δυνάμενος;

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔνδον ἔρημον ἠκόωντων ἑτερός ἐστὶ τόπος, σχεδὸν ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίοις διεστῶς, ὄνομα Κελλία· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ σποράδην ἐστὶ μοναχικὰ οἰκήματα πολλὰ, καθὸ καὶ τοιαύτης ἔλαχε προσηγορίας. κευῶρισται δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων, ὡς τοὺς αὐτοῖσι κατοικοῦντας σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μὴ καθορᾶν ἢ ἐπαίειν.

συνίασι δὲ πάντες εἰς ταῦτόν ἄμα καὶ ἐκκλησιάζουσι τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος. ἦν δὲ τις μὴ παραγένηται, δῆλος ἐστὶν ἄκων ἀπολειφθεῖς, ἢ πάθει τινὶ ἢ νόσῳ πεπεδημένος, καὶ ἐπὶ θεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ θεραπείαν οὐκ εὐθύς πάντες ἀπίασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν διαφόροις καιροῖς ἕκαστος, ἐπιφερόμενος ὅπερ ἔχει πρὸς νόσον ἀρμόδιον. ἐκτὸς δὲ τοιαύτης αἰτίας οὐχ ὀμιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ μὴ λόγων ἕνεκεν εἰς γνώσιν θεοῦ τεινόντων ἢ ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς ἔλθοι τις μαθησόμενος παρὰ τὸν φράσαι δυνάμενον. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κελλίοις, ὅσοι τῆς

Ἐρημον οὖν οἰκοῦσι [τὸν] τόπον, καὶ τὰ κελλία ἐκ διαστήματος ἔχουσιν, ὡς μηδένα γνωρίζεσθαι πόρρωθεν ὑφ' ἐτέρου, μηδὲ ὀρᾶσθαι ταχέως, μηδὲ φωνῆς ἐπακούειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῇ διάγουσιν ἕκαστος καθ' ἑαυτὸν καθευργμένος.

μόνον δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις συναγόνται, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπολαμβάνουσιν.

πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πολλάκις καὶ τεταρταῖοι τεθνεώτες ἐν τοῖς κελλίοις αὐτῶν εὐρίσκονται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὀρᾶν ἀλλήλους πλὴν ἐν ταῖς συναξέσιν.

καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τριῶν σημείων καὶ τεσσαρῶν εἰς τὴν σύναξιν

RUFINUS, CC. 21 AND 22.

caritas in eis tanta est, et tanto inter semetipsos et erga omnes fratres constringuntur affectu, ut in admiratione et exemplo sint omnibus. unde et si quis forte uoluerit habitare cum eis, ubi intellexerint, unusquisque cellulam offert suam.

(8) This passage makes it evident that Sozomen's Greek ms. in this place contained the longer form of the text found in the Latin. It has already been indicated that there are in the Latin towards the end of the book a number of passages not found at all in the Greek—*e.g.* half the Latin account of Ammonius the Tall (*lat.* 23, *gr.* 24) and half that of Evagrius (*lat.* 27, *gr.* 27) are wanting in the Greek and Syriac (both I. and II.); and the short account of Origen (*lat.* 26) is wholly omitted. But in Soz. (vi. 30) this Origen is mentioned along with Didymus and Chronion (*lat.* Chronius, *gr.* Kronides), with whom he is connected in the Latin. This additional fact makes it probable that in all this Nitrian portion of the book Sozomen's copy agreed closely with that used by Rufinus. On the other hand, there are places where Sozomen agrees with the Greek against the Latin: the most remarkable instance is the account of John of Diolcos:

GREEK, 33.

Εἶδομεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον Ἰωάννην ἐν Διόλκῳ, πατέρα μοναστηρίων καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὴν χάριν ἔχοντα τὸ τε Ἀβραμαῖον σχῆμα καὶ τὸν πῶγωνα Ἀαρῶν, δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἰσχύας ἐπιτελέσαντα καὶ πολλοὺς παραλυτικούς καὶ κληρονομίᾳ θρασυφροσύνης.

SOZOMEN, VI. 29.

Ἰωάννη δὲ τοσαύτην ἔδωρῆσατο δύναμιν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων, ὥς πολλοὺς ἰάσασθαι ποδαλγούς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διηλελυμένους.

RUFINUS, 33.

Erat in ipsis locis uir sanctus ac totius gratiae dono repletus, Ioannes nomine, in quo tanta erat consolationis gratia, ut quacumque moestitia, quocumque taedio oppressa fuisset anima, paucis ejus sermonibus alacritate et laetitia repleretur. sed et sanitatum gratia plurima ei a Domino donata est.

... οὗ μ. 283 d.,
... be accounted
... o. 268) is as
... Rufinus and

SOZOMEN, VI. 31.

φιλοσοφίας εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλύθασι, καὶ σφᾶς ἄγειν δύνανται καὶ μόνοι διατριβεῖν δι' ἡσυχίαν χωρισθέντες τῶν ἄλλων.

GREEK, c. 23 (Preuschen).

ἔρχονται· τοσοῦτον μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεσθήκασιν. ἀγάπην δὲ τοσαύτην ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ περὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἀδελφότητα, ὡς πολλοὶς βουληθεῖσι σὺν αὐτοῖς σωθῆναι ἕκαστον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κελλίον σπεύδειν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀνάπανσιν δοῦναι.

the point marked R in the diagram a Revision of the Greek text was made, and the latter portion of the work was abridged: from this Revision have come the Syriac versions, and all known Greek mss. which are all descended from a single archetype Γ. Thus the points wherein the Greek text differs from the combined authority of Ruf. and Soz. are to be attributed to the Revision; those wherein the Latin stands against Soz. and the Greek mss. together are to be attributed to Rufinus' translation or to the Latin copyists¹.

(10) Two indications lend support to the Revision-theory here enunciated:

(α) Sozomen says of Helles *ὡς καὶ πῦρ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κομίζειν καὶ μὴ καίειν τὴν ἐσθῆτα* (VI. 28).

Rufinus has: *ardentes prunas uestimento ferebat illaeso* (c. 11).

Greek text: *πῦρ ἐν κόλπῳ ἐβάσταζεν* (c. 13, cf. A 59).

Here the Greek and Latin together make up Sozomen's text, and it is clear that all three texts are derived from a primitive text more faithfully preserved in this passage by Sozomen than by the other two².

(β) *Syr.* II. agrees with Soz. and Ruf. in placing Elias in a later position (c. 12) than that in which he stands in *syr.* I. and the Greek (c. 7). This shows that originally the shorter form of the Greek agreed

¹ Dr Preuschen, holding that the Latin is the original, has to devise a different theory. He believes that Sozomen had two Greek translations of the book, which he used simultaneously, (1) a copy of our abridged Greek text, and (2) the work of Timotheus, which was not the *Hist. Mon.* but a (lost) historical work containing copious extracts from it translated directly from the Latin (but cf. Sozomen's words, *supra*, p. 57). He offers some conjectures, which he himself acknowledges to be of a very shadowy nature, towards the identification of this Timotheus (p. 190).

² Except in the single point indicated, Soz. and the Greek text agree, while Ruf. presents a paraphrase. The Paris ms. 1627 (P⁵) reads *καὶ μὴ κατακαίεσθαι*. As however the clause is omitted in *syr.* I. and *syr.* II. it can hardly have stood in Γ. It would be so natural a gloss that it may safely be set down as one, especially as the word *ἐσθῆτα* is not found in it. In some extracts in the Brit. Mus. *Burney* ms. 50 a similar gloss is added at this point: *καὶ ἀκατάφλεκτον διαμένειν*.

with the longer form in a matter wherein they now differ, and points to a lost Greek link between the two extant forms of the work.

(11) Many may regard such a Revision-theory as a mere *deus ex machina*. But that a revision should have been made, and that it should have so completely supplanted the original form of the work that this latter survives only in a version and in a few stray citations, are phenomena by no means unique in the history of texts. Indeed, the brief investigation here made seems to offer illustrations of textual problems that are found in far more important cases¹.

It is worth pointing out that the Syriac versions, especially No. III., show that the history of the text had fully worked itself out, and that all the great families of mss. had been formed, and leading variants and corruptions introduced, within a century of the writing of the book: since about the year 500 there has been no further development.

(v) *The Authorship.*

In conclusion I offer a conjecture as to a possible author of the *Historia Monachorum*. All that we learn about the author from the book itself is that he was a monk in Jerusalem, and belonged to the Monastery on Mount Olivet founded by Rufinus; that in 394 he went to Egypt along with six companions to visit the solitaries; that at that date he may have been a deacon, but was not a priest; and that he returned to his monastery on Mount Olivet and wrote his book at the request of the brotherhood there². From the evident sympathy and admiration manifested throughout his narrative for Ammonius the Tall, Evagrius, and many others, it is clear that he belonged to that party in ecclesiastical politics which was opposed to Theophilus of Alexandria and St Jerome, and which found a leader in St John Chrysostom. When we

¹ Were the Nitrian passage the only one to be considered, it might be a natural hypothesis that Rufinus, who had been to Nitria, enlarged the Greek from his own recollections, and that Sozomen had both the short Greek text and also Rufinus' Latin translation: there is reason for supposing that Sozomen used Rufinus' *Hist. Eccl.* (cf. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 98); and a case might perhaps be made out in support of the view that Sozomen's first account of Apollonius or Apollos (III. 14; cf. *supra*, p. 57, note) was based upon the Latin of the *Hist. Mon.* But as a solution of the general textual problem this theory fails, (1) because it cannot account for the additional matter in the Latin Lives of Evagrius and Ammonius the Tall; (2) because many of the points of agreement between Sozomen and Ruf. are found in sections where Sozomen certainly derived his material from the book he attributes to Rufinus; (3) because the account of the visit to Nitria and (10) in the text

pass to the external evidence, there is but a single item forthcoming. It is established in § 8 beyond all reasonable doubt that Sozomen had before him this Greek work, that he abridged its contents, referring his readers to the original for fuller information, and stated that it was written by Timotheus bishop of Alexandria¹. In this he is certainly wrong; for Timotheus died in 385, and a number of the facts recorded in the *Historia Monachorum* show it was written at a later date². Lucius surmises with much plausibility that the author may have been some other Timotheus, wrongly identified by Sozomen with the bishop of Alexandria³. I venture to advance a suggestion which seems to cover the facts and likelihoods of the case. We learn from Socrates that the archdeacon of Alexandria at the end of the episcopate of Theophilus was named Timotheus, and that on the death of Theophilus in 412 he was put forward as a candidate for the see against St Cyril, Theophilus' nephew⁴. Now St Cyril had been a strong adherent of his uncle's ecclesiastical policy; it is therefore evident that the archdeacon Timotheus was the representative of the opposite party, and consequently a sympathiser with the Tall Brothers and the other solitaries persecuted by Theophilus; and this, as has just been seen, agrees with what is known of the author of the *Historia Monachorum*. The dates also would tally perfectly. And if the author was Timotheus archdeacon of Alexandria we have the best possible explanation of Sozomen's error in attributing it to Timotheus bishop of Alexandria. Nothing whatever is known of this Timotheus, except that he was archdeacon in 412; there is no reason why he may not have been a monk at Jerusalem between 390 and 400, before becoming one of the clergy of Alexandria. All things considered, I do not think there is any rashness in the view that this Timotheus may have been the author of the *Historia Monachorum*. But I offer the suggestion only for what it may be worth, and as the merest conjecture, to which I attach no importance.

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 29. I disregard altogether as worthless the various attributions made by the manuscripts. The larger number, Greek, Latin, Syriac, name St Jerome as the author; but the terms in which he speaks of the work, quoted in § 8, prove this attribution to be false. Cassian is named in one manuscript; but this is absurd.

² *E.g.* Theodosius' victory over Eugenius, the deaths of the two Macarii, the episcopate of Dioscurus the Tall, all which happened after 385.

³ *Die Quellen*, etc., p. 188.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 7.

APPENDIX II.

Detailed examination of Lucius' theory on the sources of early Egyptian Monastic History (supra, p. 52).

As explained in § 8, the main purpose of Dr Lucius' article *Die Quellen der älteren Geschichte des ägyptischen Mönchtums*¹ was to establish the thesis that Sozomen did not derive his account of the Egyptian Monks (*Hist. Eccl.* I. 13, 14, III. 14, VI. 28—31) from the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca*; but that all three works were derived independently from a common source no longer extant; and that consequently the two Histories just mentioned are not, as they claim to be, the personal memoirs of their writers. The theory is discussed in its general bearings in the section referred to; but it is necessary here to examine the alleged minute discrepancies and the other points of detail on which Lucius relied to make good his position². It must be remembered that he knew the *Historia Monachorum* only in the Latin translation of Rufinus, and the Greek text of the *Historia Lausiaca* only in the Long (interpolated) Recension. Dr Lucius' arguments will now be dealt with one by one³.

(1) Palladius places Or in Nitria, Rufinus and Sozomen place him in the Thebaid.

Answer. There were two men called Or (*supra*, p. 40). Sozomen speaks only of the one mentioned in C, who did live in the Thebaid.

(2) Sozomen says that Apelles lived at Akoris; this he cannot have derived from A or C.

Ans. Akoris is the true reading of the Greek of C (*supra*, p. 14).

(3) In Sozomen's account of Benjamin is not found a remark "which by its absurdity betrays itself as an invention of Palladius" (cf. *supra*, p. 189).

Ans. Sozomen abbreviates throughout; it is surely more reasonable to suppose that the serious ecclesiastical historian thought it proper to omit from his work a grotesque and hardly credible statement which he found in Palladius, rather than to assume that Palladius introduced it on his own account into the matter he is supposed to have been plagiarising.

(4) In the account of the monks of Scete, Pior is the last of those mentioned in Sozomen, but he is one of the first in Palladius.

¹ Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, VII. 1885, pp. 163—198.

² *Loc. cit.* pp. 175—184.

³ The signs A, B, C will be used as explained on p. 15.

Ans. There are two accounts of Pior in Palladius: the first is a mere appendage to that of Pambo, and in several manuscripts does not form a separate chapter; the substantive account of Pior, the one reproduced by Sozomen, comes later, in close connection with Moses the Libyan, exactly as in Sozomen (cf. *supra*, p. 53).

(5) A comparison of the order and grouping of the lives in Rufinus, Palladius, and Sozomen, shows that the latter cannot have relied on the two former.

Ans. It shows clearly that he cannot have relied upon A; but when B is taken as the *Lausiac History* the difficulty disappears. It is shown in § 8 that the order and grouping afford strong evidence that Sozomen relied on B and C.

(6) In that case it would have to be supposed that he used first one source and then the other, and even at times interwove his two sources; and also that he had other sources in addition to B and C, for the monastic portions of his History.

Ans. A historian in making use of two or more sources would naturally interweave according to the needs of his narrative, and the point of view in which he places himself. As to the use by Sozomen of other authorities besides B and C, it is difficult to see the point of the objection. The following Table will show that Sozomen in the monastic portions of his History used various sources, first one and then another, interweaving them according to his discretion¹.

SOZOMEN.	SOURCE.
Bk. I. 12 (end) on Philo's Therapeutae	Eusebius, <i>Hist. Eccl.</i> II. 17.
13 St Anthony	<i>Vita Antonii</i> ² .
Paul the Simple	<i>Hist. Laus.</i> (cf. A 28; <i>P. G.</i> xxxiv.— omitting interpolations).
14 Amoun of Nitria	
a. down to retreat to Nitria	<i>Hist. Laus.</i> (A 8, to <i>σύμβιον αὐτοῦ</i>).
b. remarks by Sozomen	
c. miraculous passage of the Lycus	<i>Vita Antonii</i> § 60.
d. cure of boy bitten by dog	<i>Hist. Mon.</i> c. 29 (Preuschen, p. 90).
e. Anthony's vision of Amoun's soul	<i>Vita Antonii</i> § 60.
Eutychnian of Bithynia	Socrates, <i>Hist. Eccl.</i> I. 13.

¹ The Table was prepared before the appearance of Dr Preuschen's book: he also seems to find some difficulty in supposing that Sozomen should have used two sources alternately (p. 230).

² Montfaucon *In Antonii Vitam Monitum*, III. 13 (apud *Opera S. Athanasii*): "non modo res sed etiam integræ sententiæ depromuntur" by Sozomen; Montfaucon says he has in places supplemented the *Vita* from sources unknown to us.

SOZOMEN.	SOURCE.
Bk. III. 14 The two Macarii	<i>Hist. Laus.</i> (A 19 and 20).
Pachomius	<i>Hist. Laus.</i> (A 38) ¹ .
Apollonius	<i>Hist. Mon.</i> c. 8.
Anuph	<i>Hist. Mon.</i> c. 12.
Hilarion (cf. v. 10)	<i>Vita</i> by St Jerome ² .
Julian of Edessa	<i>Hist. Laus.</i> (A 102).
Monks in Asia and Europe	(?)
15 Didymus the Blind	Socrates, <i>Hist. Eccl.</i> iv. 25.
(vi 2 an anecdote about Didymus)	<i>Hist. Laus.</i> (A 4.)
16 St Ephrem Syrus (body of the life)	
(end)	<i>Hist. Laus.</i> (A 101).
Bk. VI. 28—31 Egyptian monks	<i>Hist. Mon.</i> and <i>Hist. Laus.</i> (cf. <i>supra</i> , p. 53 ff.).
32—34 Asiatic monks	No clue to sources.

(7) But if Sozomen had before him the *Historia Lausiaca* why did he not use it for Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria etc.?

Ans. No doubt because for this part of his History he had access to fuller and better information; the portion of the *Lausiaca History* which deals with these regions is very meagre as compared with the Egyptian part, and Sozomen mentions many monks who are not to be found in Palladius.

(8) Sozomen names Timotheus of Alexandria, not Rufinus or Palladius, as author of the work he is using.

Ans. The work he had just been using, when he introduces his mention of Timotheus, was the *Historia Monachorum* (cf. *supra*, p. 57), and neither Rufinus nor Palladius was the author of that book.

(9) In the account of Macarius Junior (the Homicide) Sozomen introduces a saying as addressed to some monks whose names are not given; Palladius (A 17) records the same saying, and states that it was addressed to himself.

Ans. It is true that Palladius quotes the saying as having been addressed

¹ Sozomen first makes some general remarks of his own about the Tabennesiote monks, and then gives a mystical interpretation of their various garments, either his own or derived from some other source. Then he follows Palladius, changing the order, and adding a few comments of his own: the only piece of additional information is that the tablet Pachomius received from the angel was still preserved at Tabennisi: *ἡ δὲ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς ἐπιπέδαυτος*. Dr Preacher entirely agrees with me that in this part Sozomen is dependent on Palladius (*loc. cit.* 182 and 228). It is true that Palladius does not mention the tablet, but he does mention the tablet in the *Historia Lausiaca* (p. 102).

² *Vita* by St Jerome, *op. cit.* p. 102. The *Vita* by St Jerome is a translation of the *Vita* by St Jerome, *op. cit.* p. 102.

to himself; Sozomen says: "Those who heard him relate that he used to say," etc. And therefore Sozomen is not using Palladius!

(10) Sozomen has a notice of Pachon which is in complete contradiction to the narrative of Palladius.

Ans. Lucius does not explain wherein the contradiction consists. What Sozomen says of Pachon is this: "Pachon also at that time was famous in Scete; and albeit he lived as a monk from youth to old age, neither vigour of body nor passion of mind nor demon ever caught him failing in regard of those things over which an ascetic should have mastery." There is nothing in this which contradicts Palladius' account of Pachon (A 29); on the contrary, it is evident that what Sozomen says of Pachon's life and conversation is suggested by the discourse on temptations which he delivered to Palladius, wherein he lays down that temptations come from three causes,—too great health of body, vain thoughts, and the demon. Here again it is merely a case of Sozomen's modifying in an impersonal sense the personal narrative of Palladius.

(11) Palladius quotes as addressed to himself an aphorism of Dorotheus (A 2); Sozomen quotes it as having been addressed to the demon or to Sleep personified. And in a note on this passage Valois, Sozomen's editor, says "it may hence be gathered that Sozomen had not before him the *Lausiaca History* but derived his information from some other work."

Ans. Here, as in the two preceding cases, we are in the presence of a literary device on the part of Sozomen in order to eliminate the personal element of Palladius' narrative. The accounts of Dorotheus in Palladius and Sozomen tally perfectly except in this one detail. Valois' usual balance of judgment seems here to have failed him¹.

(12) The story of St Athanasius' concealment from the Arians in the house of a young virgin of Alexandria as given by Palladius is so different from that of Sozomen, that the latter cannot be supposed to have been derived from the former.

Ans. I can only ask the reader to compare for himself the two Greek texts (A 136, *P. G.* xxxiv. 1235; and Sozomen, v. 6). Naturally Sozomen did not transcribe the passage from Palladius word for word, and he adds some remarks of his own; but the two accounts are substantially the same.

(13) Lucius appeals to the threefold readings in the account of Anuph, already cited in Appendix I. iv. 7 (*supra*, p. 271) as proof that the texts are collateral derivatives from a common original.

Ans. From the discussions carried out in Appendix I. it is seen that this point is no more than a question of the textual criticism of the *Hist. Mon.*

This exhausts the reasons given by Dr Lucius in support of his theory that Sozomen used not the *Hist. Mon.* and *Hist. Laus.*, but a lost work from

¹ Similarly in the account of Eutychian (Soz. i. 12, Soc. i. 13) Sozomen eliminates all the personal details given by Socrates on his sources of information—*ε.γ. νεώτερόν μοι σφόδρα τυγχάνοντι τὰ περὶ Εὐ. διηγήματα.*

which the writers of the other two books also borrowed. Tillemont, however, points out a discrepancy not noticed by Lucius, viz. that Sozomen couples together Be and Theonas and says that they were leaders of numbers of monks; whereas the *Hist. Mon.* makes this statement of Be only, and says that Theonas lived a solitary life, never speaking (*Mémoires*, x. 59). Here we have a real discrepancy: but such a lapse in the process of abridgment, whereby Sozomen reduces his source to less than a twentieth of its bulk, cannot be regarded as of any significance.

This examination of Dr Lucius' position amply justifies, I conceive, the statement made on p. 52, that, in the light of our present knowledge on the nature of the documents, his arguments do not raise even a presumption in favour of his theory.

Dr Preuschen holds with me that Sozomen's matter is derived from the *Hist. Mon.* and *Hist. Laus.* (*op. cit.* 180 ff. and 226 ff.). He raises however a question as to whether Sozomen used these two works directly, or in the form of extracts contained in some historical work now lost. He strongly inclines to this latter view, and thinks that the work of Timotheus referred to by Sozomen was not the *Hist. Mon.*, but such a collection as he postulates (*op. cit.* 189 and 230). In support of this view he points out that in Sozomen the monks are grouped on chronological and geographical principles (p. 230): but surely it is not too much to credit Sozomen with the first rudiments of the historical sense. Dr Preuschen's theory is due, I think, to the exigencies of his general position, that the Latin *Hist. Mon.* is the original, a question dealt with in Appendix I. For my part, I can see no reason whatever for hesitating to believe that Sozomen had before him not any set of extracts, but the books themselves.

APPENDIX III.

Amélineau's Theory of Coptic Originals (supra, p. 108).

The question whether portions of the Lausiatic History were written in Coptic and translated into Greek by Palladius is discussed at considerable length in §§ 12 and 13 of this Study, and reasons that seem quite convincing are there pointed out in favour of the view that in each case hitherto brought forward the Greek is the original. M. Amélineau in many parts of his writings puts forward the theory that most of the Greek and Latin works dealing with Egyptian monachism are in a great measure translations from the Coptic: it seems proper, therefore, briefly to examine two or three of the more prominent cases, both on account of the important bearing the question has on the nature of our sources for Egyptian monastic history, and also because the acceptance or rejection of the general theory must exercise a strong influence on the particular case of the Lausiatic History.

Apophthegmata Patrum.

The origin, nature and redactions of the *Apophthegmata* have been sufficiently explained in § 16 (p. 208 ff.). There exist in Coptic some of the lesser collections and one of the great collections there described.

(a) M. Amélineau has printed three of the lesser groups, one relating to St Anthony and two relating to Macarius of Egypt¹. The majority of these apophthegmata exist in Greek also, and the translation, on whichever side it lies, is usually very literal. In his *Introduction* M. Amélineau brings forward two reasons in support of his view, both derived from that set of apophthegmata of Macarius of Egypt which substantially corresponds to the Greek set printed by Cotelier in his great alphabetical collection (cf. *P. G.* lxxv. 257 ff. and xxxiv. 236 ff.)². These reasons are:

(1) The Greek apophthegma 2. In the Coptic is found, instead of a mere "yes," the expression "by the grace of God and your prayers,"—a regular Coptic idiom.

¹ *Monastères de la Basse-Égypte* (*Musée Guimet* xxv) 15 ff., 118 ff., 203 ff.

² The Greek collection contains 41 apophthegmata, the Coptic 28: 22 are common to both collections.

(2) The Greek apophthegma 39. More accurate geographical details are found in the Coptic: thus where the Greek has vaguely "the mountain of Nitria," the Coptic has "the mountain of Pernouj"; and where the Greek mentions "a priest of the Greeks," the Coptic reads "a Greek, a priest of Padalas," naming the village to which he belonged¹.

Of these reasons only the latter, the presence of the name Padalas, deserves consideration. That a Coptic idiom should be found in a Coptic translation from the Greek can have no significance. As to the more accurate geographical details and the insertion of Padalas, it has been seen that not only Coptic scribes but also Syrian used to make improvements of this kind in the texts they were copying (cf. *supra*, pp. 126—7, 151).

On the other hand, the Greek origin of these sets of Coptic apophthegmata is demonstrated by the fact that some of them are attributed to Evagrius, who cannot be supposed to have written in Coptic²: and one is beyond controversy translated from the Greek, for it is a literal rendering of a passage in Evagrius' work entitled *Μοναχός*, and occurs in the long extract from that work preserved by Socrates³.

(β) With regard to the great Coptic collection printed by Zoega⁴, it may I think be demonstrated that it too was originally a Greek work. It is the redaction that is numbered ii on p. 209 *supra*, and is the same as the Latin one contained in Books V. and VI. of Rosweyd. An entire Greek copy is not known to exist, but Photius had one; and in the portion of § 16 which deals with the *Apophthegmata* it is shown that the three great Greek collections are for the most part made up of the same apophthegmata, being but different redactions of the same materials. Among the apophthegmata is one concerning abba Or which is taken verbally from the Lausiaca History:

Apophthegmata.

"Ἐλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ὁρ, ὅτι οὔτε ἐψεύσατό ποτε, οὔτε ᾤμοσεν, οὔτε κατηράσατο ἄνθρωπον, οὔτε ἐκτὸς ἀνάγκης ἐλάλησεν.

Historia Lausiaca (P. G. xxxiv. 1028).

Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἀνδραγαθήματα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὅτι οὔτε ἐψεύσατό ποτε, οὔτε ᾤμοσεν, οὔτε κατηράσατο τινα, οὔτε ἐκτὸς χρείας ἐλάλησεν τί ποτε.

The Greek apophthegma is from the alphabetical collection printed by Jodelier (*P. G.* lxxv. 437); but that it stood in Collection ii, described by Photius, is proved by the fact that it is found in the Coptic and the Latin copies of that collection⁵. Now in his abstract of the contents of the latter Zoega reads δὲ ὑπὸ ἀββᾶ Ὁρ: ἡ ἀληθεύων ἡ ἀπὸ ἀνάγκης, nec nisi necessitate

¹ *supra*, p. 126.

² *supra*, p. 151.

³ *supra*, p. 151.

⁴ *supra*, p. 209.

⁵ *supra*, p. 209.

⁶ *supra*, p. 209.

⁷ *supra*, p. 209.

⁸ *supra*, p. 209.

⁹ *supra*, p. 209.

¹⁰ *supra*, p. 209.

¹¹ *supra*, p. 209.

¹² *supra*, p. 209.

¹³ *supra*, p. 209.

¹⁴ *supra*, p. 209.

¹⁵ *supra*, p. 209.

¹⁶ *supra*, p. 209.

¹⁷ *supra*, p. 209.

¹⁸ *supra*, p. 209.

urgente locutus¹." Supposing the Coptic to be the original, and Palladius to have translated the above passage and to have put it into his Lausiatic History, what is to be said when we find the same translation in the Greek apophthegmata also? The similarity is such as excludes the possibility of their being independent translations; nor, if the Greek apophthegmata were translated from the Coptic, can the above passage be a later addition from the Lausiatic History, for it occurs in the Coptic, as in the other versions, as part of the collection. We should be driven to the hypothesis that the Greek translator of the apophthegmata kept before him a copy of the Lausiatic History, that he looked out and identified the various passages already occurring in it, and availed himself of Palladius' translation—an hypothesis so cumbrous and unlikely that it cannot be seriously put forward. M. Amélineau says that there are a number of passages in the Coptic apophthegmata and the Lausiatic History which correspond²; if they are found also in the Greek apophthegmata verbally the same as in the Lausiatic History, the case against M. Amélineau's theory will be overwhelming; even as it is, the single instance of abba Or will be enough, I believe, to satisfy us that the Lausiatic History was the original source of such passages; thence they found their way into the Greek apophthegmata, and were in turn translated into Coptic.

The fact that a large number of the apophthegmata were verbally the same in the two great Greek redactions, and that both these redactions are known, from their surviving fragments, to have existed in Coptic, is an absolute demonstration that, although from the nature of the case the remote materials were probably for the most part derived from Coptic sources, still the actual *Apophthegmatu* as known to us are an essentially Greek work.

Vita Pauli Eremitae.

In the same volume M. Amélineau prints a Coptic *Vita Pauli* which is shorter and simpler in style than the Latin. He maintains that it is the original and that St Jerome translated it³. An initial difficulty to this theory presents itself in the fact that St Jerome did not know Coptic: moreover at the end of the Life St Jerome's reference to himself as the writer stands in the Coptic just as in the Latin. To meet this latter difficulty Amélineau can only suggest that some Coptic copyist had before him the Latin also, and inserted from it the piece containing St Jerome's claim to the authorship. This again seems a cumbrous and unlikely hypothesis; and it is negatived by two facts of which Amélineau was unaware:

(1) there is a Syriac version which exhibits the same peculiarities as the Coptic, and has at the end the same mention of St Jerome as author⁴:

¹ *Op. cit.* 358.

² *De Hist. Laus.* 28.

³ *Op. cit.* Introduction iv—xvii.

⁴ Bedjan, *Acta v.*

(2) this redaction of the *Vita* exists in Greek also, and has been printed by the Bollandists, incomplete in Greek (*Analecta Boll.* II. 561), complete in a Latin version (*Acta SS.* die 10 Jan. I. 603). In the passage at the end St Jerome's name does not occur: but as it occurs both in the Coptic and Syriac versions of the redaction, it is inconceivable that it should have been added independently in the two cases.

Thus the shorter redaction is shown to be derived from St Jerome's Latin, probably by a process of abridgment, and the theory of the Coptic being the original of the Life of Paul is quite excluded¹.

Historia Monachorum in Aegypto.

M. Amélineau brings forward a Coptic idiom from the chapter on Amoun of Nitria in the Long Recension of the Lausiac History (A 8) as a proof that that work was in part derived from Coptic documents: but as the passage in question is one of the interpolations from the *Historia Monachorum*, this is the proper place to deal with it. After citing the passage: "Nolo occidere camelum neque ei dolium imponere ut moriatur," Amélineau comments thus: "Nunquam eo modo locutus esset graecus auctor; coptici vero semper scriptores quum actus actui succedit posteriorem in priore loco enuntiant nec dicunt: Iter feci ut viderem; sed: Vidi et iter feci; nec: Cubitum ivi; sed: Cubui et ivi²." The alleged Copticism lies in the "*ut moriatur*"; but *ne* is the word required by the Greek, *ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνῃ*: and so it is in Hervet's translation, which M. Amélineau uses till he comes to this word³. Thus the passage means: "I won't kill my camel, nor will I put the jar on her lest she should die," and the Copticism vanishes.

Amélineau first put forward the theory that the *Hist. Mon.* was a translation of a Coptic document, in order to account for the presence of the same material in the Long Recension of the Lausiac History, but he had no positive argument to allege (cf. *supra*, p. 20). The problem has now been definitively solved on quite different lines, and there is no more any room for M. Amélineau's hypothesis.

Lately, however, he has printed two or three short fragments of the *Hist. Mon.* in Coptic, and he considers that they are from the original

The Bollandists both in the *Acta* and in the *Analecta* express the belief that the Greek of the short redaction is the original, and that St Jerome only translated the work: but this was before the Coptic and Syriac versions were published. No Latin original of this redaction is known: but it may be worth while to record my opinion that St Jerome must have written more than one redaction, so that he might have seen the Greek he had seen (cf. Boswey's *Journal* p. 100). The Coptic version of the *Vita* is found in St Jerome's *Acta* p. 100.

of the work¹. It is, however, possible to demonstrate that the Coptic is a translation from the Greek. In Appendix I. (*supra*, p. 269) it has been shown that the words in the account of John of Lycopolis: *ὅτι οικείῳ βασιλεῦ ὁ χριστιανικώτατος βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος τελευτήσει* occur twice in the Greek MSS., and that in the first place of their occurrence, early in the chapter, they are an interpolation which originated among the Greek MSS. But in one of the Coptic fragments this same corruption is found: "Thou wilt take them, and wilt be lord over them, and they shall obey thee, and thou shalt have honour with the kings. Now all things which he spake came to pass and were fulfilled. Afterwards he prophesied that the king Theodosius would not die with a different death, but that the Lord would visit him on his bed²." The passage is paraphrased and indeed quite altered in meaning; but its presence in this context shows that the Coptic is derived from a Greek text already vitiated by a corruption of Greek origin.

Thus the theory that the Greek and Latin works on Egyptian monachism were to a great extent translations of Coptic documents, has broken down in every case that has come under review: in every case it has been shown that it is the Coptic that is the translation.

¹ *L'Égypte chrétienne*, Tom. i. Fasc. ii. 498 (*Mémoires de la Mission*, etc.).

² *Op. cit.* 650; cf. *supra*, pp. 26 col. A and 27 col. C.

APPENDIX IV.

Redactions of the 'Vita Pachomii' (supra, p. 159).

As those who have written on St Pachomius have not furnished comparative Tables of the various redactions of the *Vita*, I think it may be of service to print those which I drew up as a preliminary study for § 13.

I do not consider it necessary to include in the Table the two Latin redactions: M. Ladeuze (*Muston*, Avril 1897) has amply demonstrated that they are closely related to one another, and that they are derived from the Greek *Vita (gr)* and *Asceticon* by a process of combining and abridging the two works. It should, however, be observed that a few passages common to *lat*¹ and *lat*² are not found in *gr* (of course I do not refer to the Palladian passages in *lat*²). These additional passages are easily recognisable in the Latin translation of *gr* supplied by the Bollandists in the body of their third May volume (May 14th), where they are inserted in italics. These passages may be genuine, and may be an indication that our *gr* and the Greek original of *lat*¹ were both derived from an earlier Greek archetype. The question can be solved only by an examination of the Greek of *lat*¹, which is stated to exist at Paris¹.

All the references in the bohairic, sahidic and arabic columns are to the pages of M. Amélineau's volume of the Coptic Lives of Pachomius (*Musée Guimet* xvii), except those sahidic fragments marked with an asterisk, which are contained in Fasc. ii. of his volume of *Mémoires de la Mission archéol. du Caire* (cf. *supra*, p. 107). In the *gr* column the numbers refer to the chapters of the *Vita*.

<i>gr</i>	<i>boh</i>	<i>sah</i>	<i>ar</i>
	1 (<i>init vac</i>)		337
2	2	314	340
3	7 ²		344

Catal. Cod. hagiogr. graec. Paris. (compiled by the Bollandists and Omont), no. 47 no. 881. At the period of my last visit to Paris I had not yet entered upon the Pachomian question: I hope however to have an opportunity of examining this list.

The text runs as follows: "The following are the passages in the Greek text which are not found in the Latin version of the Vita of St Pachomius. The numbers in the margin refer to the chapters of the Vita." The list is as follows: 1 (*init vac*), 2, 7². The number 344 of *ar.* corresponds to the number 72 of *boh.* (see *supra*, p. 107).

<i>gr</i>	<i>boh</i>	<i>sah</i>	<i>ar</i>
4	10	*537 (<i>boh</i> 13, 14 <i>ar</i> 350)	346
5	18		353
6	22—3		356—7
7	25		358—60
8	23—5		357—8
9	} <i>lacuna in MS.</i>		360
10			361
11			362
	26		363
12	27		364
13	29	*538	364
14			
15	30		366
			366—9 (Pall. cf. <i>supra</i> , p. 164)
16			
17	30	*543	369
18	32		371
19	34—6		372
			374
			376—8 (Pall.)
			378—80
20	39—40	295	384—5
21			599—600
22	36—9		380
			382—4 (Pall.)
	41—2		386
23	46—8		387
24	42		388
	43		390
25	44—6		391—3
	52—3		394
			395—402
	49		402
	50—2		404
	53		
26	53—6		405
	48—9		406—7
27 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹	56	*521—537	553—5
28	58	} (<i>sah</i> agrees closely with <i>boh</i>)	557—8
29	61		555—7
30	64—5		558
31			
32			
	66		560
33 $\frac{1}{2}$	67		565—6
34	69		552—3
35	70—2 and 79 <i>lacuna in MS.</i>		566
			567—8 and 575
36			568—9

¹ 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ signifies that only the later portion of *gr* 27 has a parallel in the Coptic Lives: (similarly the sign $\frac{1}{2}$).

<i>gr</i>	<i>boh</i>	<i>sah</i>	<i>ar</i>
70	165		582
	167		589—90
71			640—1
72			591
			595—9
73	168		590—1, 642
	169		484—5
	171—2		480—4
	173—4		485—6
			595
			605—39]
			640
74			643
75			643
		*561, *605	650
76		*571—7	652
77		297; *562—71	656
78		*577—84	659
79		313—4	661
80		309	663
81			666
82		*586	667
83		*588	669
84			671
85			673
86			676
87			676
	<i>Vita Theodori</i>		
	214—23		
88	223	*604	679
89	235, 229		682
90	230		687
91	232		688
92	267		693
93	259, 276		697
94	278	*559 (= <i>boh</i> 283—5)	700
95	285		702
96	293	310	704

Towards the end (*gr* 74 to the end) *ar* adheres closely to *gr*; *boh* and *sah*, while agreeing together, depart widely from *gr*. In *boh* and *sah* the end of the *Vita* was enlarged into a separate *Vita Theodori*, the order being changed, and a great deal of new matter being inserted: in the Table only the parts are indicated which correspond roughly to the matter of *gr* and *ar*. There are parallels in *sah* to some of these additional passages on Theodore found in *boh*:

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>sah</i>	302	306—7	308	*584
	= <i>boh</i>	256	241—4	277	239

I have not found in *boh* parallels to some of the fragments of *sah*:

e.g. 299, 303, 328; *539, *560, *580, *590, *592.

I have not examined the *sah* fragments printed by Mingarelli.

As I am not dealing *ex professo* with the life of St Pachomius I have not felt called upon to undertake the laborious task of verifying these Tables, so as to be able to guarantee their accuracy and completeness. But yet it appeared to me that students would be glad to have them in the form in which I made them for my own purposes.

APPENDIX V.

Preuschen's Chronology of Palladius' Life (supra, p. 182).

In the chronological scheme of Palladius' life worked out in § 15 the year 388 is given as the date of his first arrival at Alexandria, and 400 as the date of his departure from Egypt. Dr Preuschen places his first sojourn in Egypt some five or six years earlier, c. 384—394 (*op. cit.* 233—246).

The substantive reason for the alteration is the following passage from the Epistle of St Epiphanius to John bishop of Jerusalem: "Palladium uero Galatam, qui quondam nobis carus fuit et nunc misericordia Dei indiget, caue, quia Origenis haeresim praedicat et docet, ne forte aliquos de populo tibi credito ad peruersitatem sui inducat erroris¹." This letter was written at the latest in 394²; it seems clear that the person referred to was in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem at the time; and I agree with Dr Preuschen that the Palladius here spoken of, Galatian and so-called Origenist, can hardly have been anyone else than Palladius, the author of the Lausiac History.

I feel that this is a serious difficulty in the way of the accepted chronology of Palladius' life; and yet I have said in the note on p. 182 that I think Dr Preuschen's "system is encompassed by difficulties of a higher order." For:

(1) His system involves the rejection of the Life of Evagrius, not only as a part of the Lausiac History, but as in any way a work of Palladius. For the writer of the Life lived with Evagrius in Cellia at a date later than 394, and evidently was with him at his death there on the Epiphany, 400. This holds whether the short or the long form of the Life be taken as the original (cf. § 12, p. 131 ff.). Dr Preuschen is disposed to believe that the longer Life really was written by Palladius (*op. cit.* 258). I have shown (*supra*, 139—141) that "the evidence of the manuscripts tells as strongly as such evidence can tell in favour of the Life of Evagrius having stood, in its present form and

¹ Ep. LI. inter Epp. S. Hieronymi (*Vall.* 1. 254; *P. L.* xxii. 527).

² Cf. Rauschen, *Jahrbuch der Christl. Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen* (Freiburg, 1897), p. 553: he maintains that the Letter of Epiphanius was written in 393; if so, Dr Preuschen would have to throw his chronology still earlier.

position, in the original Lausiatic History." Dr Preuschen's chronology has, therefore, against it this whole body of manuscript evidence¹.

(2) It is necessary, in order to make room for Dr Preuschen's theory, to get rid of the statement found at the beginning of the Lausiatic History (A 1), that Palladius first came to Alexandria in the second consulship of Theodosius the Great, *i.e.* in 388. Dr Preuschen holds this clause to be an interpolation, as it is not found in the Paris Greek ms. 1628 nor in the Latin Version II. It stands, however, in all the other Greek mss. and in *lat* I, *syri* I and *syri* II. This raises the difficult question, which cannot be discussed here, of the nature and authority of the Paris ms. 1628. I only observe :

(a) That though I regard this ms. as an important authority for the text, I cannot attach to it the same importance that Dr Preuschen does, at least in his critical discussions ;—when he comes to the actual construction of the text of two portions of the Lausiatic History (John of Lycopolis and Pambo, *op. cit.* 98 and 119) he by no means follows the ms. so closely as his language would lead us to expect. Especially in regard to clauses omitted in 1628 does he often refuse to follow its authority ; and on p. 238 he pronounces one such clause to be certainly genuine². In thus holding himself free to depart from 1628, Dr Preuschen is, in my judgment, well-advised. I have pointed out (*supra*, p. 139) that a section of the *Coislin* ms. 282 contains the same text as 1628 ; and the reader may see from the critical apparatus attached to cols. B on pp. 24—28, that some of the bits omitted by 1628 are found in *Coislin*. 282. Moreover there are wanting in 1628 some whole sections which certainly belong to the work,—*e.g.* the two passages hostile to St Jerome (*cf. supra*, p. 176), also A 109, 112, and in particular 102 (on Julian) which is witnessed to by Sozomen (*supra*, p. 280). In short, this copy shows signs of abridgment ; and I therefore hold that its unattested omissions are not to be accepted.

(β) In this position I think Dr Preuschen practically agrees with me ; but he maintains that the omission under discussion is attested by *lat* II.

¹ I do not understand how Dr Zöckler, in a review of Preuschen's work, can accept his chronology, and at the same time maintain the Palladian authorship of the Life of Evagrius as found in the Lausiatic History (*Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1898, No. 10).

² In this Dr Preuschen acts on a definite principle, *viz.* that in the one case (A 13) no explanation is forthcoming to account for the insertion, while in the other (A 1) he thinks that such an explanation may be found, as follows : Palladius says that when he came to Alexandria he met there Isidore the Xenodochus. Now from Socr. vi. 2, or Soz. viii. 2, it may be gathered that this Isidore returned to Alexandria, after an absence of a few months, about the time of Theodosius' victory over Maximus, *i.e.* in 388, the year of Theodosius' second consulate. Preuschen supposes that some reader of the Lausiatic History, familiar with Socrates' History, connected [quite inconsequently] this return of Isidore to Alexandria with Palladius' meeting him there, and added the marginal gloss : "in the second consulate of Theodosius" *&c.* which crept as a way into the text (*op. cit.* 286). I confess this explanation is not very satisfactory, but it is more ingenious

The question arises, Is this a case of mere coincidence in error, or is it real attestation? To establish the latter alternative, it would be necessary to show that there is a definite relationship between ms. 1628 and *lat* II. Dr Preuschen states that a close relationship does exist; but certainly what he brings forward (*op. cit.* 222) in support of his statement by no means proves it¹. For my part, I believe that ms. 1628 and *lat* II, as well as *lat* I, *syr* I and *syr* II, represent earlier strata of the text than that found in the great body of Greek mss.: but I see no evidence of any special connection between 1628 and *lat* II; and on the point noted *supra*, p. 113, in regard to the sets of proper names in the Life of Pambo, they take opposite sides². In such omissions, more than in any other corruptions, are coincidences in error easy; and *lat* II itself is so corrupt that, though it may have considerable weight in attesting the readings of other authorities for the text, it can claim but little for its own.

(γ) The text which really is akin to 1628 is not *lat* II but *syr* I. I might give a number of facts in proof of this; but I confine myself to one that seems decisive. As observed *supra*, p. 86, these two differ from all other known copies of the Lausiac History in that the short Introduction on the holy women ushers in the story of the Alexandrian virgin who harboured St Athanasius (A 136). Dr Preuschen holds that this is the primitive arrangement (*op. cit.* 253); but I am unable to accept his theory on the original structure of the work, and for this reason: Dr Preuschen accepts as genuine the section A 125—134 on Paula, Eustochium and others, omitted in ms. 1628, *syr* I and some other copies, and he (rightly, I think) attributes the omission to the desire to eliminate the attack on St Jerome with which it opens (*op. cit.* 218, 252, 253). But if this section be genuine, and I do not think there can be any doubt of it, then the very grammar shows (as demonstrated *supra*, p. 41) that the opening words of A 125, ἐν αἷς καὶ Παύλῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ, must have formed one context with συντετύχηκα παρθένοις τε καὶ χήραις. The rearrangement of the text found in 1628 and *syr* I is of a kind that can hardly be attributed to chance coincidence, and it therefore establishes a real relationship between the two texts. Accordingly any passage of the received text,

¹ Besides the omission of the passage under debate, he only instances a tendency to eliminate references to unorthodox persons; but the process is carried out in quite different ways in the two texts. The fact that Evagrius' name (A 29) is turned into Eulogius in 1628 and simply omitted in *lat.* II; and that "Origenes, Didymus, Pierius and Stephanus" (A 12) are in 1628 turned into "Athanasius and Basiliius," and in *lat* II into "sancti antiqui patres orthodoxi sacerdotes Domini" (cf. *supra*, p. 67), is surely a proof of anything else rather than of textual relationship.

² I have pointed out (*supra*, p. 87) that the Brit. Mus. copy of *syr* II also omits the clause under debate, while the Vat. copy retains it. The Brit. Mus. text has further corruptions, and it is evident that the omission is a mere accident: it lends no support to Dr Preuschen's position.

omitted in 1628 but found in *syr* I, must be retained as genuine. The passage under debate stands in *syr* I (cf. Bedjan 19)¹.

I think I have justified my statement that the difficulties in the way of Dr Preuschen's dates for Palladius' first sojourn in Egypt are of a higher order than the difficulty which his chronology is intended to obviate. Of course this difficulty remains, and we have to face St Epiphanius' statement that Palladius was in Palestine in the year 393 (or 394). That he should have paid a visit to Palestine during the nine years he tells us he spent in Cellia,

¹ Dr Preuschen puts forward as a support of his theory the consideration that it renders possible the identification, made by Gamurrini, of the Pilgrim to the Holy Places with Silvia the sister of Rufinus the Prefect. Palladius tells us (A 142) that he travelled from Jerusalem to Egypt with this Silvia, and Gamurrini understands this of Palladius' first journey in 388. But Rauschen (*Jahrb. der Christl. Kirche*, 544) shows that there is a grave difficulty in the way of supposing that the Pilgrim's journey to Egypt should have taken place after 386. Dr Preuschen's scheme of chronology removes this difficulty. As the point is of some literary interest I will enter upon it. This Pilgrimage has come to be called on all hands the *Peregrinatio Silviae*, and it is not sufficiently kept in mind that the identification of the Pilgrim (whose name nowhere occurs in her work) with the Silvia referred to by Palladius is nothing more than a plausible conjecture of Gamurrini's: any one who reads his Preface will perceive this. I believe that the identification is quite wrong, and for the following reason: there can be no doubt that the section of the Lausiac History containing the passage about Silvia should come immediately after the reference to the Sack of Rome by Alario (A 118):—this is its place in Meursius' text and the allied mss. (group β, *supra*, p. 139), in 1628 and *syr* I, and in *lat* I (*syr* II and *lat* II *vac*). Moreover the section opens with the words *κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιρῷ* in all the Greek mss. except 1628; they are attested by *syr* I (כּכּ, Bedjan 137), and, *pace* Preuschen, by *lat* I (*postea*, which stands in the Cassinese mss. as well as in the *Paradisus Heraclidis*). Thus the connection of Palladius' journey with the Sack of Rome in 410 is established on the best textual evidence, and the identification of the Pilgrim with Silvia is shown to be erroneous. The journey referred to by Palladius was probably on the occasion of his banishment to Syene. In his edition of the *Peregrinatio* ("Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society," 1891) Dr Bernard of Trinity College, Dublin, challenged, on grounds entirely different from mine, the currently received identification of the Pilgrim with Silvia.

Dr Preuschen's proposed chronology may appear to receive some support from yet another identification that he suggests—that of the Alypius, whom Palladius met when he was with John of Lycopolis, and whom he calls ὁ ἀρχων τῆς χώρας (P. G. xxxiv. 113), with Faltonius Probus Alypius, who in 378 was vicarius Africae, and in 391 prefect of Rome (Rauschen, *op. cit.* 27 and 337). But the identification of the ἀρχων with the vicarius is impossible. Alypius had ceased to be vicarius of Africa in July 380 (Rauschen, *op. cit.* 67), and Palladius' visit to Lycopolis is attested as early as 380; for he was at the time of his visit already bishop of Antioch. The identification of the ἀρχων with the prefect of Rome is also impossible. The ἀρχων was not a prefect of Rome, but a provincial governor. The identification of the ἀρχων with the prefect of Rome is also impossible. The ἀρχων was not a prefect of Rome, but a provincial governor. The identification of the ἀρχων with the prefect of Rome is also impossible. The ἀρχων was not a prefect of Rome, but a provincial governor.

though nowhere suggested by his language, and in apparent contradiction to its obvious meaning, cannot be said to be absolutely excluded. His statement that he lived nine years in Cellia is a mere passing allusion, and would remain substantially and sufficiently true, even though he had been absent for some months. Such a supposition does not do any real violence to the text : when a man says in passing that he lived so many years at a place, this is never taken so literally as to preclude even prolonged absences. Palladius says similarly of Evagrius that he dwelt for sixteen years in Cellia ; and yet there is some evidence that he left it for a time (cf. *supra*, p. 147). If this suggestion be not considered admissible, the matter must be left in the category of outstanding difficulties. But the years 388 and 400 must be maintained as the limits of Palladius' first stay in Egypt.

I am sorry that my book should thus close with a point of disagreement from Dr Preuschen. It is in the nature of things that I should have had throughout to emphasise points of disagreement rather than points of agreement. But no one, probably, is able to appreciate more fully than I do the amount of patient labour and of good work that his book contains, and its sterling worth as a contribution to the study of monastic origins.

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PREFACE.

DR EHRHARD, in the theological section which he contributed to the second edition of Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, declared in 1897 that in the domain of Greek Hagiography "the most pressing need is a critical edition of the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius." After pointing out that the task would be a laborious one, he continued: "The labour, however, bestowed upon it would be amply repaid not only by the results for Byzantine Monasteriology, but also from the point of view of the history of civilisation, as we have here to do with a popular book of far reaching influence" (*op. cit.* p. 188). This estimate by so eminent a patrologist and hellenist is at once a justification for the appearance of this edition of the Lausiaca History, and an explanation of the fact that so much longer a time than I had anticipated has elapsed since the publication of the volume of Prolegomena which formed the First Part of this Study (*Texts and Studies*, VI 1, 1898). The value of the work as one of the chief authorities for the beginnings of the Christian Monastic movement, itself one of the most important episodes in Christian history, is now recognised by all critics, as may be seen in § 1 of the ensuing Introduction. The partially unforeseen difficulties of the undertaking are the result of the popularity which the book at once obtained. So popular was it that no respect whatever was felt for its text: it was re-written, re-arranged, enlarged, shortened, paraphrased, combined with kindred works, without

any scruple. Thus every known process of corruption—revision, interpolation, redaction, intermixture of texts—has had free play among the MSS. both of the Greek text and of the versions. It will be seen as we proceed that all printed copies of the Greek present a metaphrastic re-writing of the text, while those in current use are in addition interpolated with great masses of foreign matter; similarly all printed copies of the versions present them in advanced stages of deterioration. I do not think it is an illusion to suppose that the editor's task has been of quite extraordinary difficulty. In such circumstances all pretence to finality is excluded: what I do believe, however, is that now, for the first time, the Lausiac History is printed in a form that may justly claim to represent substantially what Palladius wrote. Thus for historical purposes the present text may be used with security, and for these purposes I do not think it will ever require substantial revision. For mere textual criticism there may yet be room; but that would depend on the discovery of new types of MSS. in the East, for I believe I have practically exhausted the material available in Western Libraries. The claims and limitations of the edition are set forth in §10 of the Introduction. It may be well to state that no one will be in a position to pass judgment on the text here offered, who has not mastered the Introduction as a whole.

I venture to direct attention to the body of Notes. One of the objects kept in view in writing them has been to control Palladius' statements wherever they come in contact with external history, that so it may be possible to form a judgment of his character as a historian. I believe that he emerges from the trial with an enhanced reputation.

My best thanks are again due to the editor of this Series; his insight and experience in textual work have helped me materially in arriving at the practical conclusions, formulated on pp. lxxxiv and xcii, as to the proper mode of procedure in the selection of

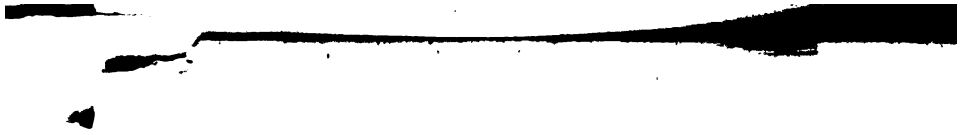
readings: also to Mr Edmund Bishop, for many criticisms and suggestions in Introduction, Notes, and Appendices: and to Dom Rylance for verifying a large number of my collations of Italian MSS., and for drawing the map of Monastic Egypt. Other obligations are acknowledged as they occur. But it would not be right to pass by without mention and thanks my debt to the Managers of the Hort Fund, who by their two grants made it possible for me to visit the Italian libraries: how much this edition of the Lausiac History owes to their assistance may be estimated by considering what it would have been without the Turin and Venice Greek MSS., the Roman and Cassinese Latin MSS., and the Vatican Syriac MS.

A note from the Librarian at Turin leaves little hope that the Palladius MS. is among those saved from the recent fire. There is therefore a double cause of satisfaction that its readings in the Lausiac History have been preserved:—both for their own intrinsic value, and because without them the determination of the relations between the textual sources would have been well nigh impossible.

CUTHBERT BUTLER.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

30 April, 1904.



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INTRODUCTION ON THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT.

Throughout this volume *Introd.* signifies the present Introduction,
Prolog. the previous volume of Prolegomena (*Texts and Studies* vi. 1).

§ 1. PRESENT OPINION OF CRITICS AS TO EARLY EGYPTIAN MONACHISM.

Within half a year of each other three works appeared dealing with the origins of Christian monachism in Egypt and the literary and historical criticism of the chief sources for that history:—*Palladius und Rufinus* by Dr Preuschen (Giessen, 1897), *Le Cénobitisme Pakhomien* by Abbé Ladeuze (Louvain, 1898), and the present writer's *Lausiaca History of Palladius* (Cambridge, 1898). Though dealing with different aspects of the subject matter, the three writers had to a great extent to investigate the same problems, and on a large number of the more important points they independently arrived at substantially identical results. The three books were reviewed by scholars of competence and even of eminence, so that it is possible from the reviews to gauge the present attitude of expert opinion in regard to many questions raised by the early history of Egyptian monachism, a subject of much debate during the past thirty years. It will be in place here to put on record the verdict of the critics on the more fundamental of these questions.

(1) The first point that stands out with almost startling clearness is the absolute abandonment on all hands of the sceptic:

attitude in regard to the traditional account and to the documents, which gained currency through Weingarten's articles a quarter of a century ago¹. Nothing can bring out the change so strikingly as a comparison of Weingarten's article *Mönchtum* in the second edition of Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, x (1882), with Grützmacher's article on the same subject in the third edition, XIII (1903); there is hardly anything in common between them. Preuschen in a Programme published after his *Palladius u. Rufinus* does not hesitate to say: "All the assertions which Weingarten put forward and defended, in a presentation full of suggestiveness and life, have been attacked and abandoned as exaggerated or unfounded²." Similarly Lejay: "Of the scepticism of Weingarten and his disciples nothing remains³"; and Grützmacher: "Weingarten's criticism went essentially wrong" over the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Historia Monachorum*⁴; and again: "The time is past when anyone regards, like Weingarten, the sources of early monastic history as fantastic romances devoid of historical value⁵." And this, so far as my knowledge goes, is universally the tone of the critics.

(2) Of all Weingarten's speculations those concerning S⁷⁷ Anthony are the best known, and they were popularised in accentuated form in England. But in his review of my book Preuschen implied that the section wherein I argued the question was superfluous, for in Germany "there is no longer any doubt concerning the historical character of Anthony's personality⁶." In regard to the *Vita Antonii*, while avowing my own deficiency in the special knowledge requisite for a pronouncement as to the vexed question of authorship, I stated that "the tendency seems to be in the direction of connecting the *Vita* with St Athanasius" (*Prol.* 226). Since these words were written the following scholars have unreservedly declared for the Athanasian author-

¹ His views were sufficiently indicated in *Prol.* (i.e. Texts and Studies, vi. 1), pp. 3, 194—6, 215, 216.

² *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult*, 4 (Darmstadt, 1899; reprinted, Giessen, 1903).

³ *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* (1899), i. 150.

⁴ *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1898), 107. (The *Historia Monachorum* is a book of the same character as the *Historia Lausiaca* described in *Prol.* § 3.)

⁵ *Theologische Rundschau* (1899), 99.

⁶ *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1899), 128.

ship: Preuschen¹, Stülcken², Bardenhewer³, Holl⁴, Völter⁵, Leipoldt⁶, and Grützmaker, who in his article in the *Realencyklopädie* says that "the *Vita* without any doubt goes back to Athanasius"; and adds: "As to the historical value of the source there can be no doubt, as Athanasius stood in close relationship with Anthony" (XIII., p. 218).

It will be instructive to summarise the opinions of Holl and Völter. The former says that he is inclined to give more credence to the *Vita Antonii* than it usually receives; "there is on all hands a reaction from Weingarten's doubt as to the genuineness of the work, but the error in which he applied his criticism still remains. And yet it would be impossible more completely to mistake the spirit and character of the *Vita*, than by seeing in it, as Weingarten did, a kind of Christian romance": the writer, in common with his contemporaries, believed in the conflicts with demons which he relates: certainly it is not to be supposed that Athanasius reproduced the speeches from short-hand reports: no doubt his intention was to set forth an ideal; this ideal, however, he did not invent, but derived it from the reality (*loc. cit.*). Völter, a member of the Dutch critical school, pronounces the *Vita* to be partly history, partly legend, and partly idealisation; but even the legendary and idealised portions contain a kernel of good history, and "the general picture which the *Vita* gives of its hero makes the impression of being essentially true to nature and true to history" (*loc. cit.*).

(3) The *Hist. Laus.*, the *Hist. Mon.*, the *Vita Pachomii* and the other sources of the history were all alike discredited by Weingarten and his followers as mere romance and fairy-tale. A protest was made by a few scholars, and notably by Zöckler, who, all through the period in which extreme scepticism was dominant, steadily maintained that substantial historicity of the chief documents which the critics now unanimously recognise.

¹ *Mönchtum u. Sarapiskult*, 4.

² *Athanasiana*, Texte u. Untersuchungen N.F., iv. 4 (1899), 79. (The purpose of the first half is to determine the genuine works of Athanasius.)

³ *Patrologie*, ed. 2 (1901), 225. ⁴ *Enthusiasmus u. Bussgewalt* (1898), 139, 140.

⁵ *Ursprung des Mönchtums* (1900), 6—9.

⁶ *Schenute von Atripe*, Texte u. Untersuchungen N.F., x. 1 (1903), 86.

It is needless to multiply quotations; only one sentence shall be cited from Dr Carl Schmidt's review of Preuschen's book and mine, by far the most important of all the critiques, and itself a notable contribution to the study of Egyptian monastic literature. He says: "The high historical value of both sources (*Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.*) is proved beyond all doubt¹." What was said in §§ 15 and 16 of *Prolog.* (especially pp. 188—196) on the sense in which this cycle of literature may be taken as historical, and on the presence in it of so conspicuous a miraculous element, often grotesque and "merely magical," sufficed to make my position clear to my foreign critics of whatever school of thought, though I was not equally successful with some critics in England. So I will here only say further that Völter's estimate of the author of the *Vita Antonii* is, in my judgment, equally applicable to Palladius and his compeers: "He intended nothing else than to record the truth. But he accepted whatever he heard or came across, and related it without doubting and without examination, and the more wonderful it was the better was he pleased" (*loc. cit.*). Mr Burkitt's estimate of the Lausiaca History neatly characterises all this literature: "In Palladius we are reading neither romance nor scientific history.... We seem to have before us the narrative of a contemporary who saw much and heard more, and whose testimony, if not always credible, is at least honest and useful²." Finally Zöckler closes his review of Preuschen's book by saying that "notwithstanding the superabundance of miraculous stories," the *Hist. Laus.* "is of the highest interest as a rich repertory of authentic sketches³."

Naturally all the documents relating to early Egyptian monachism do not stand on the same level of historical value: on the relatively highest level I would place the Lausiaca History, the Greek *Vita Pachomii*, Cassian, and Schenoudi's writings; on a somewhat lower level, the *Vita Antonii*, the *Historia Monachorum*, the other Pachomian documents, the *Apophthegmata*, Schenoudi's Life, and the "subsidiary sources" (8—12) enumerated in *Prolog.* 197; and on a much lower level—indeed in a different category—

¹ *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1899), No. 1., 27.

² *Cambridge Review* (1898—9), 148.

³ *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (1898), 107.

the other *Vitas*, including those by St Jerome: several of this last group are not historical in any sense at all.

In view of the disrepute in which this whole cycle of literature stood ten years ago and even later, it has seemed desirable thus to bring together a body of testimony as to the change that has come over critical opinion. We may now pass to more technical points of mere textual criticism.

(4) Preuschen, Ladeuze and myself all combated the theory that the Greek documents describing Egyptian monachism are translations from Coptic. This theory is now, to the best of my knowledge, universally and absolutely rejected, the critics one and all regarding the Greek (or in one or two cases perhaps the Latin) as the original. (The Schenoudi literature is Coptic.)

(5) With almost equal unanimity is the theory abandoned that Rufinus, Palladius and Sozomen derived their materials independently from a lost Greek common source: Grützmacher seems to have some hesitation as to whether such a document may not have stood behind the Greek and Latin forms of the *Hist. Mon.*; but in regard to the *Hist. Laus.* he shares the common opinion that Palladius used no Greek source in compiling his history¹.

(6) As a consequence it is accepted that Sozomen's abridgments are based on the *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.* (see *Prolog.* § 8 and App. II),—a point of first importance for the textual critic. Preuschen indeed holds that Sozomen used not the works themselves, but a collection of excerpts: this, however, is a corollary of the view that the Latin, not the Greek, is the original of the *Hist. Mon.*,—a view shared by Zöckler², but opposed by the present writer with arguments accepted as convincing by the Bollandist reviewer, Burkitt, Chabot, Grützmacher, Lejay, Richardson, and by Carl Schmidt, who discusses the point with great care³.

(7) Finally, Dr Preuschen and I, by means of an extended examination of the MSS. and versions, arrived independently at

¹ See Appendix VI.

² *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (1899), 306.

³ *Analecta Bollandiana* (1898), 458; Chabot, *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* (1899), i. 491; Richardson, *American Journal of Theology* (1900), Jan.; for the others see *loc. cit.*

the conclusion that the currently received Lausiaca History, the Long Recension (Migne and Hervet, Bk. VIII of Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*) is an interpolated redaction, in which some later editor has fused together the *Hist. Mon.* and the true *Hist. Laus.*, and that the genuine work is represented substantially by the Short Recension (Meursius and the Latin *Paradisus Heraclidis*). This conclusion has been accepted on all hands. Zöckler, indeed, expresses some doubt whether Palladius himself may not have made the fusion of the two books; but I have confidence that the last scruples will be removed when the curiously composite and mixed character of the Greek text of the *Hist. Laus.* as it stands in the Long Recension, has been exposed.

I may add that no doubt has been expressed as to Palladius of Helenopolis being the author of the Lausiaca History.

The way has thus been made clear for a critical edition of the Greek text, and to this task I now address myself.

§ 2. THE GREEK MSS. OF THE LAUSIACA HISTORY.

The following is a list of the Greek MSS. of the Lausiaca History with which I am acquainted.

The order is determined by textual, not by chronological, considerations. The dates assigned (in Roman figures) are commonly those of the Catalogues, but in the case of many of the Vatican MSS. I consulted Dr Mercati. Detailed descriptions of several are supplied by Dr Preuschen (*Palladius u. Rufinus*, 137—151).

1. **Vatican**, *Palatine* 41, x (ff. 8—222) [Preuschen μ].
(The ms. printed by Meursius, Leyden, 1616.)
2. **Venice**, *Bessarion* 338, x (ff. 217—270).
3. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 464, xvi (ff. 95—176) [Pr. P⁴].
4. **Oxford**, Christ Church, *Wake* 70, A.D. 1107 (ff. 1—111).
5. **Paris**, *Coislin* 83, x (ff. 148—266) [Pr. C¹].
- 5^b. **British Museum**, *Arundel* 546, xv (ff. 120—214).
(5^b is closely akin to 5, and is probably a transcript of it.)
6. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 853, xi (ff. 56—149) [Pr. P¹].
7. **Munich**, *graec.* 498, x (ff. 189—210) [Pr. M].
(Extracts from *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.*: of *Hist. Laus.* it contains cc. 35 (imperf.), 26, 32—34, 4, 47, 46, 54, 61, 63 (imperf.)¹. This ms.

¹ The numbers of the chapters here, and always, are those of the present edition.

- was formerly at Augsburg, and under the title *Cod. Augustanus Rosweyd* (*Vitae Patrum*), in the notes to the various Latin forms of the *Hist. Laus.*, cites a number of its readings from a copy apparently made for him and now at Brussels (cod. graec. 34). In this transcript c. 63 is complete and is followed by c. 65, which shows that some leaves of the Munich ms. have since been lost.)
8. **Venice**, *Nanianus* 92, XI | XII (ff. 1—71).
 9. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1596, XI (ff. 63—162) [Pr. P^o].
(cc. 1—22 (med.) are lost.)
 10. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1597, XIII (ff. 1—95) [Pr. P^r].
 11. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 594, XIII (ff. 357—476) [Pr. P^o].
(Breaks off at c. 35, med.)
 12. **Leyden**, *Vossianus in fol.* 46, x (ff. 1—78) [Pr. L].
 13. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1600, XI (ff. 19—141) [Pr. P^s].
 14. **Vienna**, *hist. graec.* 84, XI (entire codex) [Pr. V¹].
 15. **Vienna**, *hist. graec.* 9, XIV (ff. 163—230) [Pr. V²].
 16. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1532, XII (ff. 173—411) [Pr. P^o].
 17. **British Museum**, *Arundel* 519, A.D. 1568 (entire codex).
 18. **Oxford**, Bodleian, *Cromwell* 18, XII | XIII (ff. 325—410).
(Broken up into sections, see Bernard's *Catalogus Codicum Angliae* i. i. 39, 40.)
 19. **Vatican**, *graec.* 2091, XII | XIII (entire codex).
 20. **Venice**, *Nanianus* 42, x (ff. 102—192).
 21. **Venice**, *Bessarion* 345, xv (ff. 89—159).
 22. **Vatican**, *graec.* 863, A.D. 1301 (ff. 1—209).
- Nos. 23—28 are only excerpts and fragments :
23. **Oxford**, Bodleian, *Baroc.* 240, XII (ff. 153, 154).
(c. 32, in a vol. of *Vitae* for May.)
 24. **Vatican**, *Palatine* 258 (passim).
(Several extracts in a large collection of spiritual precepts.)
 25. **Vatican**, *graec.* 375 (f. 169).
(The Dedicatory Epistle *Μακαρίων*, in a collection of Letters.)
 26. **British Museum**, *Burney* 50, XIV (passim).
(Several extracts in a large collection of *Apophthegmata*.)
 27. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 635, XIV (ff. 232—237).
(Extract from c. 17, and cc. 25, 26, 27, 70.)
 28. **St Petersburg**, St Catharine
(c. 32; printed by Pitra, *Anal. Sacra*, v. 112.)
-
29. **Oxford**, Christ Church, *Wake* 67, x (ff. 150, 193—251). W
(To be described fully in § 9.)
 - 29^b. Same ms. (ff. 61—70). W^o
(cc. 22, 20, 21.)
 30. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1628, XIV (ff. 1—144) [Pr. P²]. P
 31. **Turin**, Università, *graec.* C. IV. 8 (*al.* 141), XVI (ff. 53—126). T
 - 31^b. **Codex Venetus**, used by Rosweyd, now lost (see § 9)

32. **Oxford**, Bodleian, *Laud. graec.* 84, XI | XII (ff. 223—227). **O**
(cc. 32, half 33, 22.)
33. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 919, XIV (ff. 29—46).
(cc. 17, 18, 32, 33, 34, 37, and some chapters of *Hist. Mon.*)
34. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 881, X (ff. 222—224).
(c. 32, in collection of *Vitae* and *Acta.*)
35. **British Museum**, *Addit.* 14066, XII (ff. 164, 165).
(Fragment out of c. 17.)
36. Fragment. inter Opera S. Nili (Migne, *P. G.* LXXIX. 1312).
(c. 23.)
- 36^b. **Vatican**, *Ottoboni* 436, XV (f. 186).
(c. 23.)
-
37. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1626, XII (entire codex) [Pr. P¹⁰].
38. **Paris**, *Coislin* 295, XIV (ff. 1—218) [Pr. C⁴]. **A**
39. **Vatican**, *graec.* 864, XV (ff. 1—191).
40. **Vatican**, *graec.* 2092, X | XI (ff. 21—111).
41. **Grotta Ferrata**, B. β. 1, X (entire codex).
(Written by St Nilus, founder of the monastery; see Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses*, pp. 100 and 137.)
42. **Vatican**, *Ottoboni* 377, XV, XVI (entire codex).
43. **Oxford**, Christ Church, *Wake* 78, XVII (ff. 572—688).
(Considerable lacunae.)
44. **Vatican**, *graec.* 2081, XI (ff. 96—134).
(cc. 1—31.)
- 44^b. **Paris**, *Coislin* 370, X (ff. 199—245).
(Proem., Ep., cc. 1, 2, 4, 7—12, 14, 16, 17, 37.)
- 44^c. **British Museum**, *Addit.* 10073, XV (ff. 253—258).
(c. 22.)
45. **Venice**, *Bessarion* 346, XI (ff. 127—173). **V**
46. **Paris**, *Coislin* 282, XI (ff. 100—137) [Pr. C²]. **O**
47. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1627, XIII (entire codex) [Pr. P⁵].
[The ms. referred to on p. 8 as 50 is 36^b in the List.]

The following MSS. are known to me only from the entries in the Catalogues:

- Madrid**, Escorial φ—III—4 (Miller).
Berlin, Royal Lib. 300, 322 (De Boor).
Palermo, Nat. Lib. I. D. 4 }
Parma, fondo de-Rossi 4 } (Martin)
Rome, Vallicellana 68 }
Moscow, H. Synod 340, 341 (Wladimir)
Athens, Nat. Lib. 228, 281 (Sakkelion)
Andros, Hagia 59 (Lambros)
~~Patmos~~ 76 (Sakkelion)

Athos, 333, 574, 578, 1088, 1163, 1321, 1571, 2031, 2060, 2095, 2096, 2280, 2560, 2589, 3172, 3714, 3768, 4294, 4328, 4808, 5627, 5995: and numerous extracts (Lambros).

Jerusalem, H. Sepulchre 112; S. Sabas 368, 369; H. Cross 77 (Papadopulos-Kerameus).

Sinai, 431, 432, 433, 435 (Gardthausen).

Bernard in the *Catal. Codicum Anglias* (II. p. 390) mentions among the Moore mss. one "De Vita sanctorum Patrum et Paradisus de Eremitis &c. Ad Lausum Praepositum Palatii"; this is one of the mss. that did not come to Cambridge, and I have been unable to trace it: it is impossible to say whether this was a Greek or a Latin ms., but more probably it was Latin.

The Bollandists in their Catalogues of Greek hagiographical mss. have not included copies of the *Hist. Laus.*, though in the corresponding Latin Catalogues they did include copies of the Latin versions and of *Hist. Mon.* No doubt other extracts and fragments exist in the libraries in which I have worked; in the Vatican I had not time to examine all the mss. in the list I made from the unprinted Catalogue. In no other library at Rome, nor at Naples, Florence or Milan, did I find any Greek mss. of the *Hist. Laus.*

Out of the fifty-three mss. and fragments in the numbered List, I have personally inspected and collated in test passages all except five. Of these five, the fragments 28 and 36 are in print: 31^b I have been unable to trace, but the readings given from it by Rosweyd show it to have been closely akin to 31: concerning 14 and 15 abundant information is available for their identification as members of the same sub-group as 16, 17, 18 (see Note 11). Information kindly supplied to me by the Librarian at the Escorial shows that the Escorial ms. (saec. XIV) is a member of the great class hereafter called B. The Berlin mss. and the three Italian mss. mentioned by Martini contain mere fragments: doubtless as the cataloguing of the Italian libraries progresses other mss. will be revealed. But at the present time I may claim to have seen every Greek ms. of the Lausiatic History in Western Europe, the existence of which is known to me after a diligent search in the printed catalogues, except only three (14, 15, and Escorial); and I possess adequate information as to the character of these three. I regret that I have been unable to extend my researches to the East¹.

I proceed to the classification and characterisation of the mss. They fall into three main groups:

¹ See note on p. xvi.

I. Nos. 1—28 are representatives of what may be called the *Textus Receptus*, the text found in all Greek editions hitherto printed. These MSS. contain the form of the *Hist. Laus.* designated B throughout the first volume of this study (*Prol.*); it is therefore natural to call this the B group, and these MSS. the B MSS., and the type of text which they contain the B text.

II. Nos. 29—36^b contain a text of a type quite distinct from B: it may be characterised as simpler, less rhetorical, and shorter than B. There are also differences of redaction, in that the structure of the later portion of the book differs from B. This group was called γ in *Prol.* 139; and therefore the letter G will be affixed to it, so that we shall speak of the G MSS. and the G text. In 33, 34, 36^b the G text has been freely subjected to literary revisions, independent of each other.

III. Nos. 37—47 contain composite texts, *i.e.* texts made up in various ways of portions of B and portions of G.

It is desirable to adhere, as far as possible, to the nomenclature employed in the former volume of this study (*Prol.*). There the main problem investigated was the question of *redaction*, and the symbol B was used to represent the uninterpolated form of the book, the type of text now designated as G being treated as a variety of B. Here it is assumed, in view of the common consent of the critics, that the question of redaction has been settled by Dr Preuschen and myself; so that the only problem to be investigated is the question of *text*. Thus it is now necessary to distinguish the two types of text in which the genuine uninterpolated *Hist. Laus.* has been transmitted. I do not think that any inconvenience will arise from continuing to use B to designate the numerically predominant type of text, which was practically always taken throughout *Prol.* as representing the uninterpolated work. In the discussions that follow, the text of the *Hist. Laus.* alone is considered, no account being taken of the fact that in certain groups of B MSS. (8-9-10-11 and 14-15-16-17-18) fusions of the *Hist. Mon.* with the *Hist. Laus.* have been effected distinct from that in the Long Recension (A), discussed in *Prol.* Thus B no longer primarily signifies a redaction; it signifies primarily a type of text.

The first problem that faces an editor of the Lausiatic History is the relationship between the B and G texts; it is therefore important that a just idea of the magnitude and character of the differences between them should be formed at the outset. As might be expected, the degree of difference varies very much in different parts of the work. But it is necessary to establish at

once the fact that in some places the divergence is so great that it cannot be due to ordinary errors in transmission, but is the result of a deliberate re-writing of the text on one side or the other. To exemplify this I take a passage out of the story of Eulogius and the Cripple (c. 21): the portions common to B and G are printed in Clarendon type, those peculiar to B in ordinary type: words found in G but not in B are enclosed in parenthesis. A few unimportant variants are not here noticed.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ δεκαπέντε ἔτη δαίμων ἐνόσκησεν εἰς αὐτὸν θέλων τάχα καὶ τὸν Εὐλόγιον τῆς ἐντολῆς καὶ τῆς προθέσεως στερῆσαι, καὶ τὸν λελωθῆμενον τῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας κυρίου· καὶ ἀποστασιαθεῖ οὗτος πρὸς τὸν Εὐλόγιον· καὶ ἤρξατο λέγειν κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰ δύσφημα (τοσαύταις δυσφημίαις) ὡς καὶ λοιδορίας λοιπὸν πλύνει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπιλέγων αὐτῷ· Σχάστα, γλοῦττων, φυγοκῦρι, ἀλλότρια χρήματα ἔκλεψας, καὶ τάχα δούλος ὑπάρχων τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην ἐσύλησας· καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ προφάσει βούλει λαθεῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ προφάσει δῆθεν εὐποιίας εἰς τὸ ξενιδίον σου λαβὼν με, καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ θέλεις σωθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Εὐλόγιος παρεκάλει αὐτὸν θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν, λέγων· Μὴ, κύριε, μὴ λέγε τοιαῦτα· ἀλλ' εἰπέ τί σε ἐλύπησα, καὶ διορθοῦμαι. ὁ δὲ ὅλος λελωθῆμενος ἔλεγεν ἐμβριθῶς· Οὐ θέλω σου ταύτας τὰς κολακείας· ἀπένεγκε, ρίψόν με εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρὰ τὴν σῆν μοι ἀνάπανσω. ὁ δὲ Εὐλόγιος· Παρακαλῶ σε, θεραπεύθητι, εἴ τι λυπῇ, κύριε ὁ μέγας. ὁ δὲ λελωθῆμενος ἀγριαίνων θυμῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν· Οὐκέτι ἀνέχομαι τῆς ὑπόουλου σου καὶ εἰρωνικῆς κολακείας. οὐκ ἀρέσκομαι τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ τῇ τεταρτεχυμένη καὶ φειδωλῇ. ἐγὼ κρέα θέλω ἐσθίειν. ὁ δὲ μακρόθυμος Εὐλόγιος ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ κρέα. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν (+ οὖν) ἀνέκραξεν ὁ δυσπαθής· Οὐ πληροφοροῦμαι εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ μόνου· ὄχλους θέλω. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐλόγιος· Ἐγὼ σοι φέρω ἄρτι πλήθος ἀδελφῶν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδυσπετῶν λέγει· Οὐαὶ μοι τῷ ταιλαιπῶρω, τὴν σῆν ὄψιν οὐ θέλω ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἄγεις μοι τοὺς ὁμοίους σου ἀργοφάγους; καὶ σπαράξας ἑαυτὸν, ἀτάκτῳ φωνῇ ἀνέκραξε λέγων· Οὐ θέλω, οὐ θέλω· εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν θέλω¹. ὦ βλα· ρίψόν με ὅπου με εὔρες. λέγω ὅτι (ὡς) εἰ εἶχε χεῖρας τάχα (+ ἄν) οὐ παρηγεῖτο καὶ ἀγχόνῃ χρήσασθαι (ἀπήγγεστο) ἢ ξίφει ἑαυτὸν χειρίσασθαι, τοῦ δαίμονος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐξαγριώσαντος.

This passage has been selected as a fair sample of the differences found between B and G: sometimes, as in the chapters

¹ The Turin ms. (No. 31) here agrees with the B text; it reads as follows: ὄχλους θέλω· εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν θέλω. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐλόγιος· Ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ. ... Οὐ θέλω, οὐ θέλω· εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν θέλω. κ.τ.λ. (The words τῷ ταιλαιπῶρω... ἄγεις μοι are omitted, evidently by homoeoteleuton.) Elsewhere throughout this passage the Turin ms. agrees with the other G mss. 29^b and 30; the fact that the clause εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν θέλω occurs both at the beginning and at the end of the passage in 31, shows clearly that the passage did not originally stand in the text represented by 31, but has been interpolated from a B ms.

on Olympias (c. 56) and the Calumniated Lector (c. 70), they are even more considerable; sometimes, as in the story of Pachon (c. 23; see § 5, where B and G are printed in full), they are comparatively trifling.

We must now speak of the third group of MSS. (37—47), those which contain composite texts.

By a *composite* text is meant one in which some sections are taken from a B ms. and others from a G ms.; the term *mixed* text is reserved for cases in which a B text or a G text has been contaminated by the introduction of readings from the rival type of text. Both phenomena are common in MSS. of the Lausiaca History.

Of group III, Nos. 37—44^c are the MSS. which represent the Long Recension (that of Hervet, Du Duc, and Migne), called A in *Prolog.* It may be remembered that the characteristic feature of A *as a redaction* was shown to consist in this: that it is an *interpolated* edition, containing a particular kind of fusion of the *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.*, essentially different from the other fusions of the two works. The characteristic feature of A *as a text* consists in this: that the text of the *Hist. Laus.* which it contains is a *composite* text, being partly a B text and partly a G text, distributed as follows:

(The order is the order of A, but the numbers of the chapters are those of the present edition: the corresponding numbers in A may be seen in the List of Chapters preceding the Text: the question of order is dealt with in § 7. On the printed Greek text of A see § 3.)

B	Prologue, 1—24,	29,	32—34,
G	18 (<i>med.</i>), 25—28,	30, 31,	35—37,
B	38, 39,	42,	48—52, 45, 66,
G	39 (<i>med.</i>), 47, 58, 40,	44, 43, 53,	
B	68, [+] ¹ 41 (<i>init.</i>),	54 (<i>init.</i>), 61, 62, 41, 67, 63,	
G		46, 54,	59, 60,
B	69, 70,	56, 57, 64, 65, [+] ¹ ,	Epilogue.
G	55,	71,	

¹ At the two points marked [+] occur respectively the chapters numbered 116 and 150 (the first half) in A, containing matter not found in any other redaction of the *Hist. Laus.*, nor as yet discovered elsewhere. No account is taken in the above Table of the interpolations from *Hist. Mon.*

It will be convenient to continue to apply the symbol A to the text contained in these MSS. (37—44^c), distinguishing, however, as A^B the portions that contain a B text: so that hereafter A will signify a special sub-group of the G text, and A^B a variety of the B text which is not found elsewhere. The characteristics of both portions will be examined later.

The Vatican ms. 863 (no. 22) has the outward semblance of an A ms.; for the *Hist. Mon.* has been interpolated almost in the manner characteristic of the Long Recension. But the entire text of the *Hist. Laus.* is a B text of the type found also in mss. 19-20-21, and quite distinct from A^B; the order, too, of the later portion of the book is that of B. It seems as if a scribe incorporated a ms. of the *Hist. Mon.* with a B ms. of the *Hist. Laus.*, making the product resemble an A ms. lying before him,—why he should not, rather, have copied the latter, it is impossible to surmise. In places, too, he introduced A readings into his B text: (see instances below in c. 18, p. 51, 1, and in c. 35, p. 101, 8—10, and p. 102, 9—11, where clauses omitted in all other known B mss. stand in no. 22).

On Ottoboni 377 (no. 42) see § 3.

Nos. 45 and 46 are of great importance. They are so closely allied both in structure and in text as to be evidently collateral descendants of a single proximate ancestor; they are, indeed, twin manuscripts. Their text falls into three sections:—

- (1) Proem ('Εν ταύτη) and cc. 1—20; from an A^B text.
- (2) cc. 23—28, 31, 35—39; from a G text.
- (3) cc. 21, 22, 32—34, 71; from a B text, and a singularly interesting representative of the type.

The rest of the *Hist. Laus.* is wanting; there follow three chapters of the *Hist. Mon.* (1, 8, 16, ed. Preuschen).

No. 47 is the most anomalous ms. of all; (for description and contents see Preuschen, P^s, *op. cit.* 142—144). I have examined its textual affinities only here and there, but sufficiently to see that, though of considerable textual interest for the *Hist. Mon.* (see *Prolog.* 269), it possesses little or no value for the *Hist. Laus.*

The following summary of its contents will suffice:

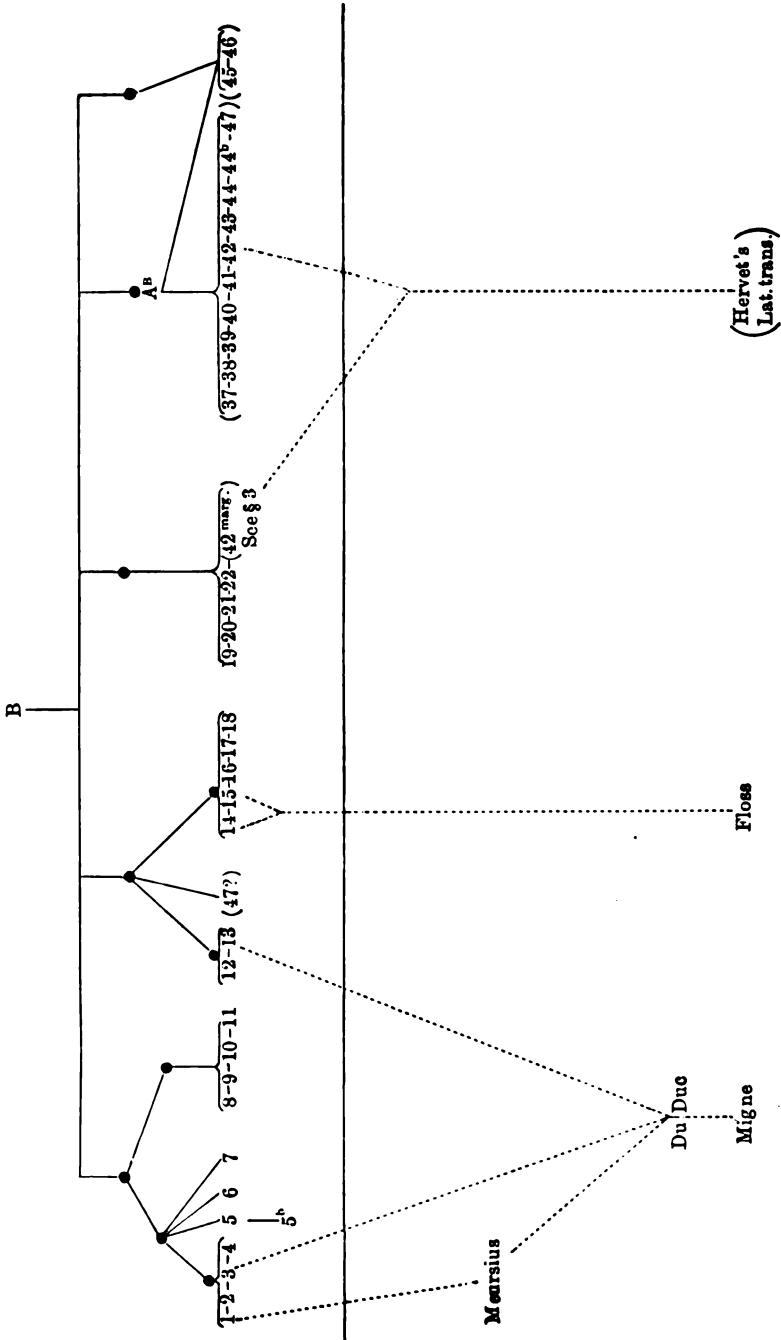
- (1) Proem, Ep. Μακαρίζω (with title found elsewhere only in no. 19), Prologue (without fresh title).
- (2) *Hist. Laus.* cc. 1—21: (cc. 8—10 are B text; c. 17 is the unique re-writing of G found in ms. 33; c. 18 is again B: cc. 17 and 18 both have a number of Apophthegmata interpolated).

- (3) *Hist. Laus.* cc. 32—34: (the form of G found in ms. 33).
- (4) John of Lycopolis from *Hist. Mon.* (c. 1) and *Hist. Laus.* (c. 35, incomplete).
- (5) *Hist. Mon.* cc. 8, 9.
- (6) *Hist. Laus.* cc. 22—31: (c. 22 is A^B; c. 27 is B).
- (7) The bulk of *Hist. Mon.*: (as in (4) and (5), the text is that signalised as unique in *Prol.* 269; but the lives follow the certainly wrong sequence found elsewhere only as incorporated in the Long Recension—cc. 16, 21—24, (25, 26), 19, 32, 33, 17, 18, 20 (*Hervet* cc. 62—76).
- (8) *Hist. Laus.* cc. 36, 37 (c. 38 is wanting): (B text).
- (9) *Hist. Laus.* c. 39 onwards, in the sequence of the Long Recension, including the chapter on Bessarion, found only in that recension; but omitting a few chapters. I am unable to say whether in this portion the text exhibits the alternations of A and A^B found in the normal mss. of the Long Recension.

How such a medley of texts ever came together into a single codex is inexplicable. The scribe must have had before him a copy of the Long Recension, and also a number of other mss. and fragments of *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.*, and, as appears evident from (7), must have tried to build up out of these heterogeneous elements a text on the general model of the Long Recension.

This will be the most convenient place to indicate the grouping and relationships of the great body of mss. containing the B text. The annexed Table is based upon a full collation of c. 32 (Pachomius) made in all the mss., supplemented by collations of other selected passages, and in many cases by external phenomena of structure, order, omissions, fusion with *Hist. Mon.*, and general contents of the codices: Note 32 affords a detailed sample of the phenomena which underlie the classification of the B mss.

Mere fragments are not included in the Table. mss. containing composite texts are enclosed in brackets; account is taken only of the portions of the B text which they contain. mss. which are the offspring of a single proximate ancestor are linked by hyphens. Of all these B mss. the sub-group 14-15-16-17-18 alone shows signs of a deliberate literary revision; their text differs notably from the normal B type (see Note 11). In all the rest the texts are, considering the circumstances, wonderfully in accord. In the sub-groups 8—11, 14—18, 37—44^c, and in 7, 22 and 47, the *Hist. Mon.* has been fused with the *Hist. Laus.* in various ways; and in the majority of the other mss. it goes either immediately before or after the *Hist. Laus.*



(The lower half of the Table belongs to § 3.)

§ 3. THE PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE GREEK TEXT.

The foregoing Table prepares the way for a right understanding of the genesis and character of the previous editions of the Greek text. These are :

(I) Meursius, Leyden 1616.

This was based on the single ms. *Palatine* 41 (no. 1). Besides a page lost at the beginning (supplied from another ms., see Meursius' note p. 170) and one torn out in c. 17 (p. 40), the following lacunæ occur in the text as compared with the normal B mss.: the Letter *Μακαρίζω*; Didymus (c. 4); Evagrius (c. 38); and a passage at the end of the book (*ἀλλὰ τοῦτον κατήσχυον*, to the end). The omission of cc. 4 and 38, shared by the whole subgroup 1—6, is unquestionably due to orthodox "Tendenz."

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A comparison of Meursius' text with the ms. in c. 32 (Pachomius) revealed no fewer than twelve differences: a few are attempted emendations, but most are mere errors.

Meursius added at the end a number of historical and critical notes, which have not yet lost their value.

gr

(II) Du Duc, Paris 1624 (in tom. II. of the *Auctarium* to La Bigne's *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*).

In the notes at the end of the volume (p. 4) Du Duc explains the nature and method of his work. He took Meursius' text as his basis, and used in addition two mss., which he describes with sufficient detail for their identification with the present Paris mss. 464 and 1600 (nos. 3 and 13), in both of which the *Hist. Mon.* follows the *Hist. Laus.* By means of these mss. he was able to emend the text of the *Hist. Laus.*, and also to supply the portions of the *Hist. Mon.* found in Latin in Hervet's translation of the Long Recension. Du Duc tells us that he took Hervet and built up the Greek text, patching it together so as to agree in structure with Hervet's Latin. Certain lacunæ remain, and various traces of the patchwork (see Migne, *P. G.* xxxiv. 1114 D and 1115 B).

Du Duc also added notes on the text, which were largely utilised by Rosweyd for the *Notatio* in the second edition of the *Vitæ Patrum* (1628, reprinted in *P. L.* LXXIII.).

(III) and (IV) Reprints of Du Duc, Paris 1644 and 1654 (in tom. XIII. of the *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*).

[In 1686 Cotelier (*Ecol. Graec. Mon.* III. 158--170) printed from the Paris mss. 1626 and 1627 (nos. 37 and 47) the passages omitted in Du Duc's edition as compared with Hervet. But all such passages belong to the *Hist.*

Mon., with the exception of one piece in c. 18, and even this I have not admitted into the text (see p. 57, 12).]

(V) Lami, Florence 1746 (in tom. VIII. of his edition of the *Opera Omnia* of Meursius).

This is a reprint not of Meursius' edition, but of Du Duc's; but the fragments printed by Cotelier are placed at the end of the chapters in which they should occur. Meursius' notes are printed at the foot of the pages, and Lami has added at the end extracts from Cave, Oudin, Baronius and Fabricius; also a very few footnotes, of no value.

(VI) Migne, Paris 1860 (in tom. XXXIV. of the *Patrologia Graeca*).

This again is a reprint of Du Duc, but Cotelier's fragments are inserted in their places in the text, so that the lacunae no longer appear. The notes are the excellent critical and historical *Notatio* of Rosweyd's second edition of *Vitae Patrum*, and contain a number of valuable Greek readings from the lost ms. 31^b.

From what has been said it follows that, in spite of appearances, the Greek text of the Long Recension (A) has never been printed, Du Duc's text being based exclusively on B MSS.

In view of the importance which Hervet's Latin thus acquires, as the only printed representative of A, it will be in place here to utter a word of warning in regard to it.

Frequently it presents readings, and even considerable passages, proper to B, in places where the Greek MSS. of A adhere to G (*e.g.* c. 27, see Note 45). I was unable to account for this phenomenon until I saw the Vatican ms. *Ottobon.* 377 (no. 42 in the List). This ms. contains a text of the normal A type; but in the margins have been entered by the original hand a number of readings from a B ms. of the type of the sub-group 19-20-21-22, at times amounting to several lines (as in c. 27, referred to above). I examined these marginal entries in a large number of the places where Hervet departs from the A text, and in every case (with two exceptions, trifling and easily accounted for,—see Note 9) it appeared that this ms. supplied the explanation of the disagreement; so that it may be concluded that Hervet made his translation from the *Ottobon.* ms., or from a copy of it. Moreover Du Duc made many alterations in Hervet's Latin in order to bring it into conformity with the B MSS. from which he edited the text; and this adulterated form of the Latin is the one found in all later editions, including Rosweyd's ed. 2, 1628, and Migne, *P. L.* LXXIII. and *P. G.* XXXIV. Thus it comes to pass that Hervet's Latin, even in its primitive form, cannot for textual purposes be relied on as representing the A text.

Besides the complete editions a few chapters have been separately edited. In the Appendix to his edition of the *Epistolae etc. Macarii Aegyptii* (Cologne, 1851) Floss printed cc. 17, 18, 20, 21 (a few lines), 25, 26; (reprinted in Migne, *P. G.* xxxiv. 177—205): he relied wholly on the two Vienna MSS. (nos. 14-15), which, however, present an eccentric and almost worthless form of the B text (see Note 11). Pitra printed c. 32 from a B fragment at St Petersburg (no. 28). Finally Preuschen has quite recently edited critically four chapters, using a number of B and G MSS.: viz. c. 65 (the "Story from Hippolytus") in Achelis' edition of the *Kleinere Exegetische u. Homiletische Schriften* of Hippolytus (Berlin Series of Ante-Nicene Greek Writers, i. ii. 275—7); and cc. 35, 38, 10 in his own *Palladius u. Rufinus* (pp. 98—123). The Maurists had undertaken an edition of Palladius, and a volume of their collations of various Royal and Colbert MSS. (now at Paris) exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Supplément Gr.* 277).

The genesis of the editions is indicated in the Table of B MSS. (p. xxiii). The exception to be made in the case of Preuschen (and Floss) is so inconsiderable, that it is still true to say broadly that since Du Duc there has been no recourse to MSS.; also that all editions of the Lausiaca History have been based wholly upon B MSS.; so that this type of text is the only one that has hitherto been known.

The first step in preparing a new edition must be an endeavour, by tracing the history of the text, to discover which type, B or G, preserves the primitive form.

§ 4. HISTORY OF THE TEXT: CITATIONS BY LATER WRITERS.

The passage, cited *Prolog.* 138, from the end of Socrates' chapter on the Monks (IV. 23), shows that he knew of the existence of the Lausiaca History and was acquainted with its general character; still it is very doubtful whether he made any use of it as a source. Preuschen thinks that Socrates' account of Amoun the Nitriot may be derived from Palladius (c. 8) but nothing more (*op. cit.* 224—6); this opinion the reader will find

on pp. 26, 27 of the Text the materials for forming his own judgment. In any case, there is no textual agreement such as would indicate the type of text which Socrates may have used¹.

SOZOMEN.

There is practical agreement among the critics that Sozomen made frequent and copious use of the *Hist. Laus.* (see § 1; and, for the discussion of the point, *Prol.* § 8 and App. II). He however nowhere names or actually quotes it; when he uses it he ordinarily abridges and alters the text freely, though sometimes reproducing a clause or expression. Thus it is only occasionally possible to determine from Sozomen the readings of his copy. Furthermore, in many of these latter cases there is no difference between the B and G texts; or, again, at times the reading of one or other text is not certain: so that the passages are useless for the present purpose. The following is a full schedule of the passages that may be taken with security as throwing light, however faint, on the type of text (B or G) that Sozomen had before him: in § 10 are further cases wherein Sozomen's evidence is invoked on minor questions of variant readings. For the Sozomen text I have taken Hussey's edition and apparatus; for the Palladius readings of both types of text I have in every case examined a number of independent witnesses, and where any practical doubt exists as to either text, I do not adduce the passage at all.

In the following schedule the references are to page and line of the Palladius Text in this volume; the corresponding places in Migne (B) may easily be found by the references in the headlines; all the portions of Sozomen derived from the *Hist. Laus.* are printed in full beneath the Text.

p. 17,	7 B	ἦσθιε μὲν γὰρ οὐγκίας ἐξ ἄρτου καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ λεπτολαχάνων δέμα		
	Soz.	τροφὴ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἄρτου οὐγγίαι ἐξ		καὶ λεπτῶν λαχάνων δέμα
	(I	ἦσθιε μὲν γὰρ οὐγκίας ἐξ ἄρτου		καὶ λεπτολαχάνων δέμα
	9 B	οὐ καθευδήσαντα ἐξεπιτηδες ἢ ἐπὶ ψιαθίου ἢ ἐπὶ κλίνης		
	Soz.	(οὐδέ ποτε)	ἐπὶ βίβδος ἢ	κλίνης καθευδήσας
	G	οὐ καθευδήσαντα	ἐπὶ ψιαθίου οὐκ ἐπὶ κλίνης	
	14 B	ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας	Soz. ἐκ νέου	G ἀπὸ νεότητος

¹ Geppert's somewhat wild suggestion that Socrates may have had a different redaction of the *Hist. Laus.* from those that have come down to us deserves no consideration (*Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates*, 80).

- p. 18, 1 B ἐὰν πείσῃ τοὺς ἀγγέλους κοιμηθῆναι ποτε, πείσεις ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον
 Soz. εἰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους πείσεις καθέθειν, πείσεις καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον
 G ἐὰν πείσῃ τοὺς ἀγγέλους κοιμηθῆναι, πείσεις καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον
- p. 20, 16 B καθεζομένου Soz. καθεζόμενος G καθήμενον
 17 B ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκστάσει Soz. ἐν ἐκστάσει... ὁρᾶν G ἰδεῖν ἐκστασι
- p. 28, 11 B ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας αὐτῇ καὶ δεδωκώς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ λέγει αὐτῇ
 Soz. ὁ δὲ χάριν ὁμολογήσας τῷ θεῷ... ἔφη
 G ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ (al. κυρίῳ) λέγει αὐτῇ
 13 B ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ποιήσω μοι ἕτερον οἶκον
 Soz. ἐγὼ δὲ ἕτερον ἐμαυτῷ ποιήσω
 G ἐγὼ δὲ ποιήσω (al. ποιῶ) ἐμαυτῷ ἕτερον οἶκον
- p. 33, 9 B ἀδύνατόν με γενέσθαι λοιπὸν ὅπερ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκάζετε τοῦ νόμου κ.τ.λ.
 Soz. λοιπὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκόντα με ὁ ἱερατικὸς νόμος συγχωρεῖ χειροτονεῖσθαι
 G ἀδύνατόν μοι (al. με) γενέσθαι τοῦ νόμου κ.τ.λ.
 14 B μόνον ἄξιον ὄντα τοῖς τρόποις
 Soz. ἦν μόνον ἄρτιος ἢ τοῖς τρόποις
 G ἄξιον ὄντα τοῖς τρόποις
- p. 35, 4 B πάσης ἀπηλλάττετο ἀρρωστίας ὁ ἐνοχλούμενος
 Soz. πάσης ἀπαλλάσσειν νόσου τοὺς κάμοντας
 G πάσης ἀπαλλάττεσθαι (al. -τετο) ἀρρωστίας
- p. 36, 3 B παρέβλαψε Soz. ἐβλαψε G ἐβλαψε
 10 B κέλλης Soz. οἰκήματος G ἄκου
- p. 37, 7 B ὅστις τελευτᾶν μέλλων
 Soz. μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν
 G ὅς τελευτῶν
- p. 43, 5 B Soz. G
 τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὰ κατὰ τοὺς
 ἀθανάτους πατέρας Μακάριον καὶ Μακαρίων τῶν δύο δύο Μακαρίους
 τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα τοὺς γενεαίους ἀνδρας, καὶ ἀκατανοήτους ἀθλητὰς τοῦ ἐναρέτου βίου ἄθλα πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα κ.τ.λ. καὶ μεγάλα κ.τ.λ.
 ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἀθλητὴς τοῦ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν τούτων τῶν Μακαρίων ὁ μὲν
 Χριστοῦ Μακάριος ὀνόματι Αἰγύπτιος τῷ γένει ὑπῆρχεν Αἰγύπτιος εἰς ἣν Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος,
 ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἠλικία, πρῶτος ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὡς ἀστὸς ὁ δὲ ἄλλος
 δὲ τοῖς προτερήμασι τῶν ὀνομάζετο
 μοναχῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς Μακάριος καλούμενος τῷ ὀνόματι, ἦν γὰρ τῷ γένει Ἀλεξανδρέως. Αλεξανδρέως.
 15 B νεώτερος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ Soz. ἔτι νέος ὢν G νέος
- p. 48, 2
 B εἰ τι ἀκήκοε πῶπ... πάντως τοῦτο κατώρθωσεν
 Soz. ἂν δὲ παρ' ἄλλων... ἢ πάντῳ τρόπῳ κατορθῶν
 ... κατώρθωσεν

- p. 62, 20 B παρεκτός οὐ ἐμελλεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (αἰ. ὠρᾶ) ἐσθλιεν
 Soz. πλὴν ὄσον ἥσθλιεν
 G παρεκτός οὐ ἥσθλιεν
- p. 88, 4 B ἄγγελος κυρίου Soz. θεῖος ἄγγελος G ἄγγελος
- p. 89, 10 B (μηλωτήν)... ἥς ἄνευ μηδὲ ἐσθιέτωσαν μηδὲ καθευδέτωσαν
 Soz. σὺν... ταῖς διφθέραϊς (=μηλωταῖς) καθευδέειν
 G ἥς ἄνευ μὴ ἐσθιέτωσαν
- 11 B εἰσιόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 Soz. ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων... προσιόντας
 G ἀπιόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν
- p. 90, 3 B Soz. G
 ἐκέλευσε δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα τάγματα εἶναι τῶν ἀδελφῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων γραμμάτων· καὶ προσέταξεν ἐκάστῳ τάγματι τὸ ὄνομα τεθῆναι στοιχείῳ ἑλληνικόν
 Soz. πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν συνοικίαν εἰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρα τάγματα διελεῖν
 G ἐκέλευσε δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα τάγματα εἶναι καὶ ἐκάστῳ τάγματι ἐπέθηκε στοιχείῳ ἑλληνικόν
- p. 91, 9 B τὸν μέντοι εἰσελθόντα εἰσάπαξ συμμεῖναι αὐτοῖς
 Soz. τὸν δὲ συνοικεῖν αὐτοῖς βουλομένον
 G τὸν μέντοι εἰσελθόντα συμμεῖναι αὐτοῖς
- p. 92, 6 B ἐκάστῳ τάγματι καθ' ἐκάστην εὐχὴν
 Soz. ἐκάστης εὐχῆς
 G (ἐν) ἐκάστῃ εὐχῇ
- p. 126, 15 B Soz. G
 λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἐνάρετος οὗτος· Τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ πῶς ἔχετε; τί ὑμῖν δοκῶ ἐγώ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἄνθρωπὸν σε οἶδαμεν τοῦ θεοῦ. φίλη δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια· μεγάλην ὑπόληψιν εἶχε παρὰ πᾶσιν οὐ ψευδῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος· Ἐἴ οὕτως οἴσθε τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ἐμοὶ ἐμπιστεύσατε τὴν τῶν λιμωττόντων ἐπιμέλειαν. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ σοβαροὶ· Εἶθε καταξίλοις. ἀποκρίνεται αὐτοῖς Ἐφραῖμ ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ· Ἴδου ἀπὸ σήμερον δι' ὑμᾶς χειροτονῶ ἐμαυτὸν ξενοδόχον τῶν δεομένων.
 Soz. ὑπολαβῶν δέ, Οἷος ὑμῖν δοκῶ; ἤρετο· τῶν δὲ ἀξιόχρεων τε καὶ μάλα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοιοῦτον οἶον ἢ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα ἐκράτει συνομολογούντων,
 G λέγει αὐτοῖς· Τί ὑμῖν δοκῶ ἐγώ; εἶχε δὲ μεγάλην ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πᾶσιν, οὐ ψευδῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἄνθρωπὸν σε οἶδαμεν θεοῦ.
 Οὐκοῦν Οὐκοῦν ἐμοί, φησὶν, ἐμπιστεύσατε· ἰδοὺ δι' ὑμᾶς χειροτονῶ ἐμαυτὸν ξενοδόχον.
- p. 127, 3 B καὶ λαβῶν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀργύρια
 Soz. καὶ λαβῶν ἀργύριον παρ' αὐτῶν
 G καὶ λαβῶν ἀργύρια
 11 B κοιμάται Soz. ἐτελεύτησε G ἐτελεύτησε

p. 158, 3 B	φευκτὴ ἦν τοῖς ἐναρέτοις	διὰ τὸ κάλλος
	Soz. φευκτέαν τοῖς ἐπικείκταν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐπαγγελλομένοις	
	G φευκτὴ ἦν	διὰ τὸ κάλλος ¹

As to the general outcome of the comparison of Sozomen with B and G there cannot, I think, be a doubt. The positive agreements with G in actual readings, and still more the negative agreements in the omission of words and clauses found in B, are striking and cannot, as a whole, be due to chance coincidence. In these circumstances it is necessary to examine with special care the agreements of Sozomen with B.

The following may at once be set aside as negligible, the resemblances being too faint or too uncertain to afford any basis for an argument:—

	Soz. and B	G
p. 17, 9	ἡ	οὐκ
14	ἐκ	ἀπὸ
p. 20, 16	καθεζόμενος	καθήμενος
p. 88, 4	κυρίου B; θεῖος Soz. (with ἄγγελος)	om
p. 89, 11	τῶν μυστηρίων (after κοινωνία)	om
p. 90, 4	Sozomen's ἐπονομάσαι is so obviously suggested by the whole context that it cannot be taken as evidence of τὸ ὄνομα in his copy of the <i>Hist. Laus.</i>	

These having been eliminated there remain for consideration the following:—

- p. 20, 17 ἐν ἐκστάσει B Soz.; ἔκστασιν G.
- p. 33, 9 the single word λοιπὸν in B and Soz.; (but the latter has wholly changed the context).
- 14 μόνον B Soz.; om G.
- p. 35, 4 Sozomen's τοὺς κάμνοντας may represent B's ὁ ἐνοχλούμενος; (it is to be noted, however, that Sozomen, by turning the principal verb into the active, was compelled to supply an accusative, and as a fact uses a different word from that found in B).
- τελευτῶν μέλλων B Soz.; τελευτῶν G.

¹ Sozomen's φευκτέαν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐπαγγελλομένοις is not in *Hist. Laus.* p. 158.

- p. 43, 11 τῷ γένει B Soz. ; τὸ γένος G.
 p. 89, 10 B and Soz. stand alone in saying that the Taben-
 nesiot monks slept in the *μηλωτή* (or *διφθέρα*).
 p. 127, 3 παρ' αὐτῶν B Soz. ; om G.
 p. 158, 3 Sozomen's τοῖς ἐπιείκειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐπαγγελ-
 λομένοις may be a paraphrase of B's τοῖς ἐναρέ-
 τοις ; om G.

When these cases are considered it appears that the effective resemblances between Sozomen and B are reduced to some half dozen not very convincing agreements, which cannot weigh in the balance against the numerous and telling agreements between Sozomen and G,—agreements which stand out particularly clearly in the three longer pieces.

It may be taken as certain that Sozomen's copy of the *Hist. Laus.* contained substantially a G text and not a B text. Now Sozomen wrote his History about the years 439—450 ; therefore his copy of the *Hist. Laus.* must have been made within twenty or twenty-five years of the time when Palladius wrote the book.

THE APOPTHHEGMATA PATRUM.

From St Benedict's citation (see *Prolog.* 209—11) it appears that the Latin version of the "Topical" redaction (no. ii.) of the *Apophthegmata*, found in Bks. v. and vi. of Rosweyd, existed in the early years of the sixth century, and the Greek collection itself must have been formed in the fifth. Now any apophthegma found in this Latin version of redaction ii., and also in the Greek Alphabetical redaction (no. i.), printed by Cotelier, must have belonged to the Greek original of ii., and therefore dates from the fifth century. Two apophthegmata, thus common to collections i. and ii., are taken from Palladius ; and therefore in them we have fragments of a fifth century Greek text of the *Lausiac History*. The more considerable of these is no. 8 under Pambo's name (*P. G.* LXV. 369) ; for the Latin, see Rosweyd, Bk. v. i. 16 ; and for a second Latin version, *ibid.* Bk. III. 160.

I print the three Greek texts, using for the apophthegma the Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 22508 (saec. XII.), which contains a better text than Cotelier's of the Alphabetical collection.

B (P. G. xxxiv. 1033)

Οὗτος ὁ Παμβῶ τελευτᾷ
 μέλλων κατ' (αὐτὴν) τὴν
 ὥραν τοῦ ἐκλιμπάνειν αὐτὸν
 παρεστῶσω [Ω. καὶ Α.]
 ἀνδράσι περιβοήτοις (σὺν)
 καὶ λοιποῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῦτο
 λέγεται εἰρηκέναι, ὅτι 'Αφ'
 οὐ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον
 τοῦτον τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ψκο-
 δόμησά μου τὴν κέλλαν καὶ
 ψκησα ἐνθάδε, οὐκ ἐκτὸς
 ἔργου τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν
 πεποίηκα ἡμέραν μιαν· οὐδὲ
 μέμνημαι δωρεὰν ἄρτον φα-
 γῶν ἀπὸ τινος· οὐδὲ μετα-
 μεμέλημαι ἕως τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας
 ἐπὶ (τῷ) λόγῳ ᾧ ἐλάλησα.
 καὶ οὕτως ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς
 τὸν θεὸν ὡς μηδὲ ἀρξάμενος
 τοῦ θεοσεβεῖν.

(See LP⁵ μδ (V¹V²) in
 Preuschen's apparatus,
Pall. u. Ruf. 122.)

Apophth.

Διηγήσαντο περὶ τοῦ
 ἄββᾶ Π. ὅτι τελευτῶν κατ'
 αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἐκλιμ-
 πάνειν εἶπεν τοῖς
 παρεστῶσι αὐτῷ ἁγίοις
 ἀνδράσω,
 ὅτι 'Αφ'
 οὐ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον
 τοῦτον τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ψκο-
 δόμησά μου τὴν κέλλαν καὶ
 ψκησα ἐν αὐτῇ¹, ἐκτὸς²
 τῶν χειρῶν μου
 οὐ
 μέμνημαι ἄρτον φα-
 γῶν· οὐδὲ μετα-
 μεμέλημαι ἐπὶ λόγῳ ᾧ
 ἐλάλησα ἕως τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας.
 καὶ οὕτως ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς
 τὸν θεὸν ὡς μηδὲ ἀρξάμενος
 θεοσεβεῖν.

¹ ἐν αὐτῇ Lat. doubtful
² Lat. add laborem, or
 opera

G (p. 31, 10)

Οὗτος ὁ Παμβῶ
 τελευτῶν κατ'
 αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἐκλιμ-
 πάνειν παρεστῶσι [Μ. καὶ
 Α.] ἀνδράσι περιβοήτοις
 καὶ λοιποῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῦτο
 λέγεται εἰρηκέναι, ὅτι 'Αφ'
 οὐ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον
 τοῦτον τῆς¹ ἐρήμου¹ καὶ ψκο-
 δόμησά μου τὴν κέλλαν καὶ
 ψκησα² ἐκτὸς
 τῶν χειρῶν μου
 οὐ
 μέμνημαι δωρεὰν ἄρτον φα-
 γῶν·³ οὐ μετα-
 μεμέλημαι ἐπὶ λόγῳ ᾧ
 ἐλάλησα ἕως τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας.
 καὶ οὕτως ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς
 τὸν θεὸν ὡς μηδὲ ἀρξάμενος
 (τοῦ)⁴ θεοσεβεῖν.

¹ om P; stet WTverss.
² + ἐν αὐτῇ verss.
³ ὅτι...ἐφαγον WP
⁴ τοῦ P; om WT
 See List of Symbols, p. 2

Words in brackets are omitted by some of the authorities.

The second piece is the concluding sentence of the chapter on Or (p. 29, 12—14). The apophthegma has already been printed (*Prol.* 284) and need not be repeated here. The only difference between B and G is that B has *τί ποτε* at the end, omitted by G; in this the apophthegma agrees with G.

Two other of Pambo's apophthegmata in Cotclier's Alphabetical collection are from the *Hist. Laus.*; but as they are not attested by the Latin of redaction ii., we cannot be sure that they date from the fifth century. It needs no comment to show that the two of which we can be sure side decisively with G against B, and support Sozomen's witness to the existence of the G text in the course of the fifth century.

VII. THE LIFE OF PAMBO.

THE LIFE OF PAMBO. (P. G. xxxiv. 1033.) *Her Life,*

written by one of her personal friends (the Bollandists surmise Gerontius †c. 485), was printed in Latin (*Anal. Boll.* VIII.) and then in Greek (*Anal. Boll.* XXII.). The *Vita*, c. I, contains one citation from *Hist. Laus.*, c. 61 :—

Β (P. G. xxxiv. 1228)

Εἰ μὲν αἰρῆσαι συνοικισθῆναι μοι κατὰ τὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης λόγον, καὶ δεσπότην σε οἶδα, καὶ κύριον τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς ὁμολογήσω σε· εἰ δὲ βαρὺ σοι τοῦτο ὡς νεωτέρῳ φαίνεται,

πάντα μου λάβε τὰ πράγ-

ματα, καὶ μόνον τὸ σῶμά μου ἐλευθέρωσον, ἵνα

πληροφορήσω μου τὴν κατὰ θεὸν ἐπιθυμίαν.

Vita Melaniae, Gr.

Εἰ μὲν βούλει, κύριέ μου, ἀγνεύειν σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης συνοικισθῆναι μοι νόμον, καὶ κύριόν σε καὶ δεσπότην τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς ἐπιγράφωμαι· εἰ δὲ τοῦτό σοι ἐπαχθὲς καταφαίνεται καὶ οὐκ ισχύεις ἐνέγκαι τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς νεότητος, ἰδοὺ πρόκειται σοι ἅπαντά μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, ὧν ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη δεσπότης γενόμενος χρήσει καθὼς βούλει· μόνον τὸ σῶμά μου ἐλευθέρωσον, ἵνα τοῦτο σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ μου ἄσπιλον παραστήσω τῷ Χριστῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τὴν φοβερὰν οὕτω γὰρ πληροφορήσω τὴν κατὰ θεὸν μου ἐπιθυμίαν.

Vita Melaniae, Lat.

Si uolueris habitare mecum secundum legem castitatis et continentiae, dominum meum te cognoscam et dominatorem te uitae meae esse confitear; si autem graue tibi hoc quasi adolescenti uidetur, omnes meas facultates suscipe, et tantum corpus meum liberum effice, ut perficiam quod est secundum desiderium meum.

In this passage the differences between B and G which may be taken as critically certain and significant for the purpose in hand, are :—

B	G
συνοικισθῆναι	συνασκηθῆναι
ὁμολογήσω σε	om
μόνον	om
πληροφορήσω	πληρώσω

In all four readings the only two extant G authorities (hereafter called P and I) unequivocally support each other. The combined evidence of the Greek and Latin forms of the *Vita Melaniae* shows that in each case it presents the B reading: *καταφαίνεται* alone tells the other way, but it may well stand in some B mss. It is conceivable, of course, that the passage was

Γ (p. 155, 11)

Εἰ μὲν αἰρῆσαι συνασκηθῆναι καὶ μοι κατὰ τὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης λόγον, καὶ δεσπότην σε οἶδα καὶ κύριον τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς·

εἰ δὲ βαρὺ σοι τοῦτο καταφαίνεται ὡς νεωτέρῳ,

πάντα μου λαβὼν τὰ πράγ-

ματα ἐλευθέρωσον μου τὸ σῶμα, ἵνα

πληρώσω μου τὴν κατὰ θεὸν ἐπιθυμίαν.

- p. 18, 1 B *ἐὰν πείσῃς τοὺς ἀγγέλους κοιμηθῆναι ποτε, πείσεις ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον*
 Soz. *εἰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους πείσεις καθέθειν, πείσεις καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον*
 G *ἐὰν πείσῃς τοὺς ἀγγέλους κοιμηθῆναι, πείσεις καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον*
- p. 20, 16 B *καθεζόμενου* Soz. *καθεζόμενος* G *καθήμενος*
 17 B *ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκστάσει* Soz. *ἐν ἐκστάσει... ὁρᾶν* G *ἰδεῖν ἐκστασι*
- p. 28, 11 B *ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας αὐτῇ καὶ δεδωκῶς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ λέγει αὐτῇ*
 Soz. *ὁ δὲ χάριν ὁμολογήσας τῷ θεῷ... ἔφη*
 G *ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ (αἰ. κυρίῳ) λέγει αὐτῇ*
 13 B *ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ποιήσω μοι ἕτερον οἶκον*
 Soz. *ἐγὼ δὲ ἕτερον ἐμαυτῷ ποιήσω*
 G *ἐγὼ δὲ ποιήσω (αἰ. ποιῶ) ἐμαυτῷ ἕτερον οἶκον*
- p. 33, 9 B *ἀδύνατόν με γενέσθαι λοιπὸν ὅπερ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκάζετε τοῦ νόμου κ.τ.λ.*
 Soz. *λοιπὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκόντα με ὁ ἱερατικὸς νόμος συγχωρεῖ χειροτονεῖσθαι*
 G *ἀδύνατόν μοι (αἰ. μέ) γενέσθαι τοῦ νόμου κ.τ.λ.*
 14 B *μόνον ἄξιον ὄντα τοῖς τρόποις*
 Soz. *ἦν μόνον ἄρτιος ἢ τοῖς τρόποις*
 G *ἄξιον ὄντα τοῖς τρόποις*
- p. 35, 4 B *πάσης ἀπηλλάττετο ἀρρωστίας ὁ ἐνοχλούμενος*
 Soz. *πάσης ἀπαλλάσσειν νόσου τοὺς κάμνοντας*
 G *πάσης ἀπαλλάττεσθαι (αἰ. -τετο) ἀρρωστίας*
- p. 36, 3 B *παρέβλαψε* Soz. *ἔβλαψε* G *ἔβλαψε*
 10 B *κέλλης* Soz. *οἰκήματος* G *σκού*
- p. 37, 7 B *ὅστις τελευτᾶν μέλλων*
 Soz. *μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν*
 G *ὅς τελευτῶν*
- p. 43, 5 B Soz. G
τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὰ κατὰ τοὺς
ἀθανάτους πατέρας Μακάριον καὶ Μακαρίων τῶν δύο *δύο Μακαρίους*
τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα τοὺς γενεῶν τῶν δοιδιμωτάτων ἡγεμόνων τοὺς δοιδίμους ἀνδρας
λοὺς ἀνδρας, καὶ ἀκαταγωνίστους ἀθλητὰς τοῦ ἐναρέτου βίου ἄθλα πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα κ.τ.λ.....
πολλὰ
καὶ μεγάλα κ.τ.λ.....
ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἀθλητὴς τοῦ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν τούτων τῶν Μακαρίων ὁ μὲν
Χριστοῦ Μακάριος ὀνόματι Αἰγύπτιος εἰς ἣν Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος,
Αἰγύπτιος τῷ γένει ὑπῆρχεν ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὡς ἀστὸς ὁ δὲ ἄλλος
ὁ δὲ δευτέρος ἡλικία, πρῶτος ὠνομάζετο
δὲ τοῖς προτερήμασι τῶν ἦν γὰρ τῷ γένει Ἀλεξανδρέως. Αλεξανδρέως.
μοναχῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς Μακάριος καλούμενος τῷ ὀνόματι, ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
 15 B *νεώτερος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ* Soz. *ἔτι νεὸς ὢν* G *νεὸς*
- p. 48, 2
 B *εἰ τι ἀκήκοε πῶποτε τινα πεποιηκῶτα ἔργον ἀσκήσεως διαπύρωσιν πάντως τοῦτο κατώρθωσεν*
 Soz. *ἂν δὲ παρ' ἄλλοις ἤκουσεν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κατορθῶν*
 G *εἰ τι ἀκήκοε πῶποτε (τινα πεποιηκῶτα !)* *πάντως τοῦτο κατώρθωσεν*

- p. 62, 20 B παρακτὸς οὐ ἐμελλεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (αἰ. ὥρᾳ) ἐσθιεν
 Soz. πλὴν ὅσον ἤσθιεν
 G παρακτὸς οὐ ἤσθιεν
- p. 88, 4 B ἄγγελος κυρίου Soz. θεῖος ἄγγελος G ἄγγελος
- p. 89, 10 B (μηλωτῆν)...ἣς ἄνευ μηδὲ ἐσθιέτωσαν μηδὲ καθευδέτωσαν
 Soz. σὺν...ταῖς διφθέραϊς (=μηλωταῖς) καθεύδου
 G ἣς ἄνευ μὴ ἐσθιέτωσαν
- 11 B εἰσιόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 Soz. ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων...προσιόντας
 G ἀπιόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν
- p. 90, 3 B Soz. G
 ἐκέλευσε δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα τάγματα εἶναι τῶν ἀδελφῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων γραμμάτων· καὶ προσέταξεν ἐκάστῳ τάγματι τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἐπονομάσαι ταῦτα τοῖς κέστω τάγματι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἐπέθηκε στοιχείῳ ἐλληνικόν
- p. 91, 9 B τὸν μέντοι εἰσελθόντα εἰσάπαξ συμμεῖναι αὐτοῖς
 Soz. τὸν δὲ συνοικεῖν αὐτοῖς βουλόμενον
 G τὸν μέντοι εἰσελθόντα συμμεῖναι αὐτοῖς
- p. 92, 6 B ἐκάστῳ τάγματι καθ' ἐκάστην εὐχὴν
 Soz. ἐκάστης εὐχῆς
 G (ἐν) ἐκάστῃ εὐχῇ
- p. 126, 15 B Soz. G
 λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἐνάρετος ὑπολαβὼν δέ, λέγει αὐτοῖς·
 οὗτος· Τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ πῶς ἔχετε; τί ὑμῖν δοκῶ ἐγώ; Οἷος ὑμῖν δοκῶ;
 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· "Ἀνθρωπὸν ἤρετο τῶν δὲ ἀξιοχρεῶν τε εἶχε δὲ μεγάλην ὑπόληψιν
 σε οἴδαμεν τοῦ θεοῦ. φίλη καὶ μάλα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν παρα πᾶσιν, οὐ ψευδῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ·
 δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια· μεγάλην ὑπόληψιν εἶχε παρὰ πᾶσιν οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα ἐκράτει "Ἀνθρωπὸν σε οἴδαμεν θεοῦ.
 ψευδῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς. λέγει συνομολογούντων,
 αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλος· Οὐκοῦν Οὐκοῦν
 εἰ οὕτως οἴσθε τὰ καθ' ἐμέ, ἐμοὶ ἐμπιστεύσατε τὴν τῶν ἐμοί, φησὶν, ἐμπιστεύσατε·
 λιμωτῶντων ἐπιμέλειαν.
 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ σοβαροὶ· Εἶθε καταξίλοις. ἀποκρίνεται
 αὐτοῖς Ἐφραὶμ ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· Ἴδου ἀπὸ σήμερον δι' ὑμᾶς χειροτονῶ ἐμαυτὸν ξενοδόχον τῶν δεομένων.
 ἐκοντῆς, ἔφη, ἰδοὺ
 δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο χειροτονῆσω ἐμαυτὸν. ἐμαυτὸν ξενοδόχον.
- p. 127, 3 B καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀργύρια
 Soz. καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον παρ' αὐτῶν
 G καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύρια
 11 B κοιμᾶται Soz. ἐτελεύτησε G ἐτελεύτησε

in a B text. A number of the notices in the "Synaxarion" and the "Menaeon" contain traces of the Lausiatic History.

Finally, the extract given under Palladius' name in the Paris Catena ms. Gr. 174 (see Achelis, *Hippolytstudien*, 144) is not from *Hist. Laus.* or any work of Palladius of Helenopolis.

§ 5. HISTORY OF THE TEXT: THE VERSIONS.

The versions of the *Hist. Laus.* have been discussed at some length in *ProL.*, and further details concerning them, in so far as they bear on the criticism of the text, will be given later (§§ 8, 9): for present purposes it is sufficient to note that the chief versions at our disposal are:

Latin I (hereafter called I), containing the whole work.

Latin II (I₂), about half the work.

Syriac I (s), about half to two-thirds.

Syriac II (s₂), about one-third.

Of the two Syriac versions there exist MSS. written early in the sixth century, and the versions themselves probably both date from the fifth. Though no MSS. of the Latin versions are known older than the tenth or eleventh century, there are some grounds

B (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1084)

Πάχων τις ὀνόματι περὶ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα
ἐλάσας ἔτη, ἐκαθίζετο ἐν τῇ Σκήτει. συνέβη
δέ με ὀχληθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος, συνε-
χόμενον ἐπιθυμία γυναικείᾳ, δυσφορεῖν καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰς φαντασίας 5
τὰς νυκτερινάς. καὶ ἐγγὺς γενόμενος, ὑπὸ

1 τὸ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἐλ. ἔτος A^B 2 ἐκά-
θητο A^B 2—4 συνέβη δέ με ὑπὸ τοῦ
πάθους τῆς γυναικικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὀχληθέντα
A^B 6, 7 οἱ ὑπὸ...πειρασμοῦ A^B

G (p. 74, 21)

Πάχων τις ὀνόματι ἀμφὶ τὸ ἑβδομη-
κοστὸν ἔτος ἐλάσας ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ Σκήτει.
συνέβη δέ ὀχληθέντα με

ἐπιθυμία γυναικὸς δυσφορεῖν καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰς φαντασίας
τὰς νυκτερινάς. καὶ ἐγγὺς γενόμενος

4 γυναικικῇ WVC

§ (Tullberg, p. 29, mss. AB: Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 17177 f. 75, 12173 f. 44).

There was also another man by name Pachom, seventy years of age: he resided on the mountain called Seetis. And I went to him once upon a time when the thoughts of the desire of women harassed me, when my mind was dark and obscured from the thoughts of lust and from the visions and troubles of the night.

for supposing that the versions themselves were made in the course of the fifth to the seventh centuries. In order to test the Greek texts represented by these four versions, I shall take the first half of the chapter on Pachon (c. 23), which has the advantage of being preserved in all four versions, and also in six good members of the G text; moreover s is in print and may be studied in Tullberg's MSS. A and B (*Paradisus Patrum* 29—33), so that the reader has not to rely on Anan-Isho's text. The passage is one which I should not have selected had there been any opportunity of choice; but as no other combines these textual advantages there is practically none.

I print a Table in four parallel columns:

- | | |
|--|---|
| Col. 1. The Greek B text | } The resultant texts are given; only a few important variants are noticed. |
| Col. 2. The Greek G text | |
| Col. 3. 1 (from the <i>Cass.</i> and <i>Sess.</i> mss., see p. lxxvi). | |
| Col. 4. 1 ₂ (based chiefly on <i>Barber.</i> ms. lat. 702, the only one (known to me) that gives Pachon's name correctly, the others all having Pasco). | |

A literal translation of s is given on the left-hand pages, under the Greek texts; and one of s₂ on the right-hand pages, under the Latin versions. I have to thank Prof. Guidi for the text of s₂, and Mr Norman McLean for revising my translations of both these pieces, and of others throughout the volume.

1

Pachon quidam nomine septuagesimum
aetatis suae annum agens in ea quae Scithis
dicitur regione degebat. cum interea

grandis cupiditas feminei coitus me
coepit arguere, quod ego grauiter ac mo-
leste ferebam aduersus sordidas cogitationes
et contra insomnia nocturna configens ut

1₂

Pacho quidam nomine erat septua-
gesimum agens aetatis annum in Scythi.
itaque dum grauitur me

spiritus fornicationis temptaret super
concupiscentia muliebri exagitantibus
me cogitationibus, pene egressus sum de

1 quidam] om Barb

■₂ (Vat. *Syr.* 123 f. 286).

There was a certain Pachom of Memphis; he was in a cave (or cell) seventy years within in the desert of Scete. And it came about that I was harassed by the lust of woman, and I was troubled by the thoughts and the dreams of the phantasms of the night, and I was nearly withdrawing myself from the desert, because the

B

τούτου τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐξελθεῖν τῆς ἐρήμου,
ἐλαύνοντός με σφοδροτάτως τοῦ πάθους,
τοῖς μὲν γειτοσί μου οὐκ ἀνεθέμην τὸ
πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ὅπτε τῷ διδασκάλῳ μου 10
Εὐαγρίῳ· λεληθότως δὲ παραβαλὼν εἰς τὴν
πανέρημον συνετύγχανον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκα-
πέντε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σκῆτιν πατράσι γη-
ράσασιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐν οἷς δὴ περιέτυχον
καὶ τῷ Πάχωνι. εὐρῶν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀκεραιό- 15
τερον καὶ ἀσκητικώτερον ἐθάρρησα αὐτῷ
ἀναθέσθαι μου τὰ τῆς διανοίας. καὶ λέγει
μοι ὁ ἅγιος οἶτος· Μὴ ξενίσῃ σε τὸ πρᾶγμα·
οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ πάσχεις ἀπὸ βραθυμίας· μαρ-
τυρεῖ γὰρ σοι καὶ ὁ τόπος καὶ ἡ σπάνις τῶν 20
χρειῶν, καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι συντυχίας θηλειῶν
ἐνθάδε· ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς τῆς
κατ' ἀρετὴν συμβαίνει σοι τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ
ἐναντίου. τριπλοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος
ὁ πορνικός. ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἡ σὰρξ ἡμῶν 25
ἐπιτίθεται εὐπαθοῦσα· ποτὲ δὲ τὰ πάθη
ἡμῶν ἐπανίστανται διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ποτὲ
δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δαίμων ἡμᾶς τυραννεῖ διὰ
τῆς βασκανίας. ἐγὼ γὰρ πολλὰ παρατη-
ρήσας εὗρηκα τοῦτο. ἰδοὺ ὡς ὄρῳς με 30
γέροντα ἄνθρωπον· τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος
ἔχω ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ ταύτῃ φροντίζων τῆς

9 μου] τῶν πατέρων B 11 Εὐλογία
A^B 12 ἔρημον A^B

G

τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν τῆς ἐρήμου,
ἐλαύνοντός με τοῦ πάθους,
τοῖς μὲν γειτοσί τοῖς ἐμοῖς οὐκ ἀνεθέμην τὸ
πρᾶγμα ὅπτε τῷ διδασκάλῳ μου
Εὐαγρίῳ· λεληθότως δὲ παραβαλὼν εἰς τὴν
πανέρημον συνετύγχανον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκα-
πέντε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σκῆτιν γηράσασι
πατράσιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐν οἷς περιέτυχον
καὶ τῷ Πάχωνι. εὐρῶν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀκεραιό-
τερον καὶ ἀσκητικώτερον ἐθάρρησα ἀναθέ-
σθαι μου αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς διανοίας. καὶ λέγει
μοι οἶτος· Μὴ ξενίσῃ σε τὸ πρᾶγμα·
οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ πάσχεις ἀπὸ βραθυμίας· μαρ-
τυρεῖ γὰρ σοι καὶ ὁ τόπος καὶ ἡ σπάνις τῶν
χρειῶν, καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι συντυχίας θηλειῶν
ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς.

τριπλοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος
ὁ πορνικός. ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἡ σὰρξ ἡμῶν
ἐπιτίθεται εὐραστοῦσα· ποτὲ δὲ τὰ πάθη
διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ποτὲ
δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δαίμων
τῆ βασκανία. ἐγὼ γὰρ πολλὰ παρατη-
ρήσας εὗρηκα τοῦτο. ἰδοὺ ὡς ὄρῳς με
γέροντα ἄνθρωπον· τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος
ἔχω ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κέλλῃ φροντίζων τῆς

11 Εὐλογία PW 36 12 ἔρημον P
26 εὐπαθοῦσα VC

8

And I was nearly withdrawing from the desert, as great lust assaulted me. And I did not disclose my affliction to my neighbours nor to the brethren that dwelt with me, nor even to my master Euagrius (AB 12173; 17177 Eurignus); but I set out and started wandering in the desert, and I saw some of the old men who had grown old in the place, who were perfect fathers. And after this I saw that blessed Pachom, and I found that he surpassed them all in his way of life and in his thought. And I took heart that I should disclose to him the conflict of my mind. And he said unto me thus: "Let not the matter be regarded by thee as something strange; for not because of thine own negligence hath it thus befallen thee; the very place that thou dwellest in beareth witness to thee, because it is straitened in all necessities, and because there is no woman there; but from zeal has this lust befallen thee. For the war of lust and of fornication is threefold. For at times our body opposes us, when it is healthy and well fed; and at times lust through passion; and at times the evil one because of his envy. And I have much observed and thus have I found as I have told thee." And he said to me: "I whom thou seest, an old man have now for forty years been residing in this cell, and I myself have seen many others and they sayings of the Lord in all our old

1

pene ab his ubi eram solitudinibus ui ipsius morbi percussus exirem, uicinis quidem meis nihil de pestilentiae talis ardore dicebam, (sed) ne Euagrio quidem magistro meo tale aliquid confitebar: occulte tamen ad interiora ac nastiora deserta perrexi, ubi per quindecim dies in eo qui Scithis dicitur loco uenerabiles multos qui ibidem conseruerant patres uidi. inter quos et cum supradicto Pachone potui habere colloquium. et quia repperi eum inter ceteros monachos prope palmam tenere, confidenter ad eum detuli animi mei anxietatem. qui ita locutus est michi: Non sit tibi noua res ista quam pateris; nam quod non ex negligentia mentis atque desidia in id quo turbaris incurreris sufficienter tibi testimonium praebent et locorum natura et inopia omnium rerum, et ipsarum, quod nemini dubium est, absentia feminarum; sed magis temptatione ista laboras propter studium ac desiderium castitatis. triplex enim ex fornicationis nomine nascitur pugna: aliquando caro nostra in nobis si fuerit nimis sana lasciuit; saepe autem ex cogitationibus uanis morbus iste procedit; interdum contra nos daemon, dum nobis inuidet, facit. ego enim frequenter ista pertractans ista semper inueni. nam et ego ipse, ut uides, admodum senex per quadraginta annos in ista cellula degens maximamque salutis propriae gerens curam, etiam usque ad praesens tem-

10 sed] Sess; om Cass

1₂

eremo compellente me nimia passione. et uicinis michi quidem monachis non indicaui causam,

latenter autem perrexi in solitudinem et circuiui sanctos patres usque dies quindecim, eos qui in Scythi uenissent. in quibus repperi Pachum, quem omnes qui in illa eremo erant patres uenerabantur. itaque praesumpsi ego et cum lacrimis deprecans eum confessus sum (ei) passionem quae me nimis (et) incessanter impugnare non desinebat. et ipse ait mihi: Non conturbet te haec causa, non enim pateris haec a negligentia; attestantur enim tibi et locus et difficultas rerum, et quia non est in locis illis ulla uisitatio feminarum; sed magis

(lacuna in all copies)

ex inuidia diaboli qui semper insidiatur et decipere festinat animas hominum. ecce ut uides me iam senem hominem; quadragessimus annus habeo in cella hac et adiuuante gratia Christi sollicitus de salute animae meae; tamen usque nunc temptationem sustineo. nam cum

17 ei] om Barb et] om Barb

8₂

passion of lust pursued me. And to those who were my neighbours and near me I did not disclose the matter, nor even to my teacher Euagrius; I deluded them and did not inform them; and I came to the desert for fifteen days, and when I went I consorted with the fathers that were old men in Soete there in the desert, one of whom was Pachom. And finding that he was very perfect and pure and had passed his life in great asceticisms, I told him and showed to him what was in my thoughts. And he said to me: "Be not disturbed at thy case, for not from carelessness do these things befall thee; for the place also of thy asceticisms beareth witness to thee, both because thy needs are little, and because there is no association with women; but rather from solicitude. For in three ways occurs the war of fornication. For at times the flesh is disturbed and lustful; and from the passions it arises through the thoughts; and at times also Satan himself is disturbed. For I have for a long time been versed in these matters, and I have found this: as thou seest me (I am) an old man, and I have been seventy years in this cave (cell), and I have been solicitous for my salvation. And I am now ninety-three years old, and I am, reckoning from birth, in this advanced time of life; and to this day am

B

εμαντοῦ σωτηρίας· καὶ ταύτην ἄγων τὴν
 ἡλικίαν μέχρι ἀρτί πειράζομαι. καὶ δι-
 ώμνυτο λέγων ὅτι Δώδεκα ἔτη μετὰ τὸ 35
 πενηκοστὸν με ἄγειν ἔτος, οὐ νύκτα μοι
 συνεχώρησεν, οὐχ ἡμέραν, ἐπιτιθέμενός
 μοι. ὑποπόσας οὖν ὅτι ἀπέστη μου ὁ θεός,
 διὸ καὶ καταδυναστεύομαι οὕτως, ἡρησάμην
 ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἀλόγως ἢ πάθει σώματος 40
 ἀσχημονῆσαι αἰσχροῦς. καὶ ἐξελθὼν μου τῆς
 κέλλης καὶ περιῶν τὴν ἔρημον σπήλαιον
 εὗρον ὑαίνης· εἰς δὲ σπήλαιον ἔθηκα ἑμαυτὸν
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γυμνόν, ἵνα ἐξελθόντα φάγη με
 τὰ θηρία. ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, κατὰ τὸ 45
 γεγραμμένον· Ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν
 λύσιν αἰγῶ· ἔθογ σκότος καὶ ἐγένε-
 νετο νύξ· ἐν αὐτῇ διελεύγονται
 πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀργμοῦ, σκύμ-
 νοὶ ὠργόμενοι τοῦ ἀρπάσαι καὶ 50
 ζητῆσαι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ βρώσιν
 αἰγῶ. ἐξελθόντες οὖν οἱ θῆρες ἐν ἐκείνῃ
 τῇ ὥρᾳ, ὃ τε ἄρσην καὶ ἡ θήλεια, ὡσφράν-
 θησάν με ἀπὸ ποδῶν μέχρι κεφαλῆς
 περιλείξαντές με· καὶ ὡς ἐδόκουν βρωθῆναι 55
 ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. πεσὼν οὖν ἐκεῖ διὰ
 πάσης νυκτὸς οὐκ ἐβρώθην· λογισάμενος
 ὅτι Πάντως ἐφείσατό μου ὁ θεός, αὐθις
 οὖν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς τὴν κέλλαν.

54 μου A^B55 προσεδόκουν A^B

G

εμαντοῦ σωτηρίας· καὶ ταύτην ἄγων τὴν
 ἡλικίαν μέχρι τούτου πειράζομαι. †καὶ
 ὡς † διώμνυτο ὅτι Ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτη μετὰ τὸ
 πενηκοστὸν ἔτος οὐ νύκτα μοι
 συνεχώρησεν, οὐχ ἡμέραν, ἐπιτιθέμενος.
 ὑποπόσας οὖν ὅτι ἀπέστη μου ὁ θεός,
 διὸ καὶ καταδυναστεύομαι, ἡρησιάμην
 ἀποθανεῖν ἀλόγως ἢ πάθει σώματος
 ἀσχημονῆσαι [αἰσχροῦς]. καὶ ἐξελθὼν
 καὶ περιελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον εὗρον σπή-
 λαιον ὑαίνης· εἰς δὲ σπήλαιον ἔθηκα ἑμαυτὸν
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γυμνόν, ἵνα ἐξελθόντα φάγη με
 τὰ θηρία. ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, κατὰ τὸ
 γεγραμμένον·

Ἐθογ σκότος καὶ ἐγένε-
 νετο νύξ· ἐν αὐτῇ διελεύγονται
 πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀργμοῦ,

ἐξελθόντες οἱ θῆρες,

ὃ τε ἄρσην καὶ ἡ θήλεια, ὡσφράν-
 θησάν μου ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν περι-
 λείξαντές· καὶ ὡς προσεδόκουν βρωθῆναι
 ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. πεσὼν οὖν διὰ
 πάσης νυκτὸς οὐκ ἐβρώθην· λογισάμενος
 δὲ ὅτι Ἐφείσατό μου ὁ θεός, αὐθις
 ὑποστρέφω εἰς τὴν κέλλαν.

34 καὶ ὡς] TVC; om καὶ PW; om
 ὡς 36 39 ἡρησιάμην PWT 41 αἰσχροῦς]
 PVC; om WT 36 54 με VC ἀπὸ
 ποδ. ἕως κεφ. VC

B

age that thou seest in me I am greatly tempted by lust." And he swore thus to me: "After I was fifty years old, for twelve years did lust assault me never leaving me day or night. And I thought that God had abandoned me, and because of this it had thus obtained power over me. And I preferred in my heart to die like a brute beast, than that I should be a mockery and one worsted because of the lust of the body. And I went forth and wandered through the desert, and I found a den of hyenas. And I lay down at the entry, having stript, so that they might come out and devour me. And when it was evening, as it is written: *He made darkness and it was night wherein dwell* (sic) *all the beasts of the forest*, the hyenas came forth, the male and the female, and they smelt me, licking my body from my head to my feet; but when I thought that they would devour me they departed from me. And I remained there the whole night, and they did not devour me. And again I thought that God had pity on me, and forthwith I returned and went to my cell."

1

pus huiusmodi temptatione sollicitor. cum sacramento enim istud sanctus ipse dicebat: Per duodecim annos post quinquagesimum non nocte non die unquam hic a me morbus abcessit, usque adeo ut priuatum me iam dei auxilio suspicarer, ob quod merito me putarem daemonis uirtute superari; malui tamen eo tempore inrationabili quadam morte deficere quam tali corporis morbo cum tam obscaena deformitate succumbere. moxque progressus ac peragrans solitudines totas speluncam ferae alicuius inueni in qua me proieci per diem nudum, ut, quod sine dubio fore crederem, ab egredientibus ex ea bestiis deuorarer. cum autem ad uesperinas usque horas sic incendo uenissem, iuxta id quod scriptum est:

Posuisti tenebras et facta est nox; in ipsa discurrunt omnes siluarum ferae,

exeuntes bestiae

femina cum masculo, nidore ad me ducente uenerunt, a capite usque ad (ipsos) pedes lingua me blandiente lambentes: et dum me ab illis arbitror deuorandum, sic me intactum atque incolumem reliquerunt; iacensque illic per totam noctem nihil omnino perpesus sum. cogitans (igitur) et credens quod michi pepercisset deus, mox reuertor ad cellam.

53 ipsos] Cass; om Sess 57 igitur] Sess; om Cass 53 michi] + sic Cass

1₂

sacramento dicebat mihi quia Per duodecim annos post quinquagesimum annum non nocte mihi nec die pepercit, in tantum ut putarem quia dereliquit me fortasse deus, et ideo instanter sine cessatione huius passionis molestiam sustineo. elegi ergo magis mori irrationabiliter quam talem pati corporis confusionem. egressus igitur circuibam pene omnem solitudinem et inueni speluncam leaenae, et posui me iacere ibi nudum per totum diem, ut egredientes ferae comederent me. cum ergo facta esset uespera, secundum quod scriptum est:

Posuisti tenebras et facta est nox; in ipsa pertransibunt omnes bestiae siluarum,

egredientes bestiae,

masculus et femina, odorati sunt me a capite usque ad pedes, (et) lingentes me totum, recesserunt a me. ego autem putabam ut deuorarent me. iacui ergo ibi per totam noctem, sed non accesserunt ad me. cogitavi ergo quod deus pepercit mihi, et reuersus sum in cellam meam.

53 et] om Barb

2₂

I tempted by the demon of fornication." And he swore and said: "Thirteen years have passed without his ceasing by night or by day to agitate my heart; and I thought: 'Perhaps then God hath withdrawn himself from me'; and on account of this lust that pressed upon me I preferred to die without thought than that I should be contaminated by the passion of the flesh. And I went forth and wandered through the desert, and I found there a hyena's den, and I entered it and I lay down the whole day long stript, in order that the evil beast might come forth upon me and devour me. And when it was evening, as it is written: *Darkness was made and it was night, and in it passed every beast of the field*, and there came forth the male first and then the female, and they came and smelt me, and from the head to the toe nails they licked me. And according to what I did not expect they withdrew and went from me. And I lay there all the night. [And there came after them their cubs and they came and licked me, and laid themselves to sleep by my side; and they did not hurt me. And those beasts came, and there was in their mouths the flesh of a sheep, and they passed over me, and they led their cubs and went into the den.] And I thought that God had pity on me, and I arose in that hour and returned to my cell."

The following Table schedules the various words or phrases found in B in the preceding piece, but not in G, and indicates in each case which of the four versions retain them with B or omit them with G. Cases which are doubtful in any degree are enclosed in brackets.

B	l	l₂	■	■₂
3 ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος (πάθους A ^B)	G	(B)	G	G
συνεχόμενον (om A ^B , but seems re-written)	G	G	G	G
[6 ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ πειρασμοῦ (om A ^B)	G	G	G	G]
8 σφοδροτάως	G	(B)	(B)	G
18 ὁ ἅγιος	G	G	G	G
22 ἐνθάδε	G	B	B	G
τῆς κατ' ἀρετῆς	(B)	vac	G	G
23 συμβαίνει σοι τούτο	(B)	vac	B	G
παρὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου	G	vac	G	G
27 ἡμῖν ἐπίστανται	(G)	vac	G	(B)
28 ἡμᾶς τυραννεῖ	(G)	vac	G	(G)
36 με ἄγειν	G	G	(G)	vac
39 οὕτως	G	paraphr	B	paraphr
41 μοῦ τῆς κέλλης	G	G	G	G
46 ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ	G	G	G	G
49-52 οἱ σκύμνοι βρώσιν αὐτοῖς	G	G	G	G
52 οὖν	G	G	G	G
ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὄρᾳ	G	G	G	G
55 με	B	B	(B)	B
56 ἐκεῖ	B	B	B	B
58 πάντως	G	G	G	G
59 οὖν	G	G	G	G

In this Table G largely predominates; and when the cases entered as B are more closely examined it will appear that most of them are very uncertain: all four versions are so loose that some of the resemblances to B may easily be due to mere paraphrase, while others (as *με* in 55 and *ἐκεῖ* in 56) are such natural additions that they cannot be taken as evidence that the words in question stood in the Greek MSS. from which the versions were made. In short, I think it is not too much to say that in this test passage the versions afford no clear evidence for any characteristic B reading. In any case, there can be no doubt that they one and all represent the G text.

It has been shown (*Prol.* 88—9) that the Life of Evagrius is not found in the extant copies of either Syriac version

κ.τ.λ. This stamps the Syriac unmistakably as a B text: besides this, other B readings occur in the portion preserved in *Addit.* 14635, e.g. the addition of v. 14 to Wisd. iv. 13 (p. 116, 13), and ὑπερβολῆ τροπίων χρηστῶν for σφοδρῶς (p. 117, 8); and in *Addit.* 14732 throughout. From the nature of the case we may argue safely from the single chapter that the whole work must have existed in the B form. Wright's judgment assigning the fragment in *Addit.* 14635 to the sixth century will not, I think, be challenged by any one accustomed to early Syriac MSS.; and it has been endorsed by three specialists who have examined the MS. at my request.

The sixth century fragment of the third Syriac translation of c. 38, designated s, (see Note 71), seems to show influence of B (see apparatus to p. 122, 10 and 15).

Here then we have indisputable evidence of the existence of the B text in the course of the sixth century; and it is quite possible, and even likely, that the Greek, if not the Syriac, existed in the fifth.

The outcome of this and the preceding section is, therefore, that the G text certainly dates from the middle of the fifth century; the B text most probably from the second half of the fifth century, certainly from the early part of the sixth.

§ 6. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT: INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

In §§ 2, 4, 5, 8 a number of pieces have been printed both in the B and in the G text, and from these it is possible to form an adequate notion of the respective characters of the rival texts. It will be seen that G is a shorter and simpler form of the text than B. This relative shortness is due to various causes:

(1) Dialogues (often with demons), formal prayers, and moralisings on the part of the author, are much less frequent in G than in B:—the passage from c. 21 printed p. xix illustrates this; also the story of the Girl who calumniated a Lector (c. 70), where a prayer of 18 lines, and 20 lines detailing the girl's repentance and confession, and another 20 lines of moralising at the end, are

(2) The adjectives perpetually attached in B to the names of the solitaries—such as ἅγιος, μακάριος, μέγας, θαυμαστός, πνευματικός, and the like—are comparatively rare in G.

(3) Adverbs and adverbial clauses not necessary to the sense are frequently absent in G.

(4) In B scriptural citations are often completed, and formal texts found instead of mere allusions.

(Cases of (3) and (4) occur in the passage from c. 23, printed out in § 5.)

(5) In B many of the lives end with a set finale: "This was the virtue of the true athlete of Christ" etc.: in G these finales are rare.

From the literary standpoint there can be no doubt at all of the superiority of G; as compared with it, B is rhetorical, turgid and overladen, and creates the impression of a text that has been rewritten. In short B has all the appearance of being a "metaphrastic" text, as Dr Preuschen happily styles it (*op. cit.* p. 213). It is in most places easy to see how B could have been rhetorically worked up out of G; but that G could have been formed out of B by any process of pruning and abbreviation is well nigh inconceivable (see the passage p. xix). I adduce one instance in which the B text has demonstrably been formed out of the G text. In the description of the personal appearance of Macarius of Alexandria (p. 58, 4) G says: ἦν δὲ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ὑποκόλοβον κ.τ.λ.

In B it stands thus: Ἦν δὲ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον—δεῖ με γὰρ καὶ περὶ τούτου σημᾶναί σοι, δοῦλε τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀκριβῶς τοῦτο ἐμοῦ γινώσκοντος, ὡς ἄτε καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ συγχρονίσασαν τὴν ἐμὴν βραχύτητα.—ἦν δὲ τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ ὑποκόλοβον κ.τ.λ.

Here the traces of the process of insertion in B lie on the surface of the text.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the G text is the one that represents the Lausiaca History as first written by Palladius. But the B enlargement in the piece just printed, being in the first person, claims to be by Palladius, and so raises the question whether it can have been Palladius himself who revised his own work and produced the metaphrastic text;—so that both forms

of the text would be authentic. Although I do not think this hypothesis a likely one, it is proper to consider what can be said in its favour¹.

(1) Many of the additions contain what purport to be personal touches referring to the author, or direct addresses to Lausus: e.g. the piece just cited, and those at the end of cc. 23 and 28 (pp. 77 and 84). But such passages contain really nothing that could not have been written by a rhetorician dressing up Palladius' work. For instance, in regard to the piece printed above, Palladius had already stated several times that he had personally known Macarius and had lived with him.

(2) One of these passages, however, claims attention. We should naturally look for additional information in the expanded account of Olympias (c. 56), St John Chrysostom's friend and correspondent, whom Palladius must have known personally. The account in B is fully four times as long as that in G, indeed the maximum of difference throughout the entire book is here reached, for the whole of col. 1249 in Migne is represented by only three lines in G (p. 150). But the additional matter is the emptiest verbiage and contains no real information whatever,—except the passage cited in the note on p. 150, in which the writer says that he himself distributed much of Olympias' property according to her wish. This certainly has a genuine ring about it, and it is to be noted that nowhere in G does Palladius explicitly claim to have known Olympias; nor is the passage derived from the *Dial. de Vita Chrys.*

(3) One or two of the additions convey fresh historical information, in particular the piece at the end of c. 11 on the dedication of the basilica of Rufinus (p. 34). This piece, however, is encompassed by special textual difficulties, it being uncertain whether any, or how much, of it stood in G (see Note 22).

(4) Some linguistic arguments may be added. The following perhaps noteworthy expressions are found in the B enlargements and also in other places in G:

¹ It can hardly be necessary to point out that this question is quite different from that discussed in *Prolog.* 50—viz. whether it was Palladius himself who made the fusion of the *Vita Mon.* with his own *Hist. Laus.* The question of the interpolated Recension is distinct from that of the Metaphrastic Text.

B (references to <i>P. G.</i> xxxiv.)	Parallels in G
Proem ¹ : ἀκροθιγῶς (995: <i>infra</i> p. 4, 7) (a somewhat unusual adverb, but other authorities are cited in Hase's Stephanus)	p. 146, 1
Proem: τὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὠφέλειαν (995, <i>infra</i> p. 4, 12); repeated	p. 11, 22; p. 22, 4; p. 64, 16; p. 80, 17;
c. 5 (fin.): εἰς...ἀσφάλειαν καὶ παραφυλακὴν τῶν ἐντυγα- νότων (1018 A) (but cf. Socr. iv. 23: πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων)	p. 116, 8
Proem: περὶ τῆ πορεία (995: <i>infra</i> p. 4, 24)	p. 11, 7
Proem: τὴν μητέρα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας (995: <i>infra</i> p. 5, 7)	p. 12, 6
c. 27 (fin.): τημεληθεῖς (1092 D)	p. 78, 4
c. 32: σύστημα (for community) (1100 D) (but used by other writers)	p. 52, 16
c. 40: φίλη δὲ ἀλήθεια (1204 D) (see Note 42)	p. 81, 11
c. 54: εἰάν θέλω ἄπερ ἐπίσταμαι λέγειν ἐπιλείψει καὶ ὁ χρόνος (1226 C)	p. 15, 19

Such is the case, so far as I can see, in favour of the view that Palladius himself may have produced the metaphrastic recension of his own book. I do not think it comes to more than this, that the metaphrast had studied Palladius' text carefully, and now and then took pains to reproduce his environment and some of his expressions and vocabulary. On the other side, in addition to the rhetorical emptiness of the enlargements, lies the fact that the alteration of the bishop who ordained Evagrius deacon from Gregory Nazianzen to Gregory Nyssen is certainly an historical blunder (see Note 73). The change is no mere scribe's error, for the clause is added: ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἐν τιμῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων Βασιλείου. And this clause is an integral part of the B text, being found in all the authorities for B, including the sixth century Syriac fragment (see p. xliii). It seems incredible that Palladius, who knew Evagrius so well, should, after having been right in his original draft, have gone wrong in his (supposed) revision. I cannot think that any one will be found to maintain this theory.

Even if it were maintained that the B text came from the pen of Palladius, there could be no reasonable doubt that G represents what he wrote in the first instance; and it is the only text of which the authenticity can be predicated with certainty, or even

¹ It is shown in Note 1 that the Proem is the handiwork of the metaphrastic redactor; it is a good sample of his style.

with likelihood. The investigations of the two preceding sections, if they failed to establish a clear priority on either side, did establish the fact that, no matter how far back we trace them, the two forms of the text stand as far asunder as they do now, and have not diverged from any intermediate form. We are in the presence of a double text. It would be an unhistorical method of editing to construct a text resulting from some conjectural combination of G and B. In these circumstances the course for an editor of Palladius is clear: he has to endeavour to produce the G text with such purity as the somewhat intractable materials at his disposal will allow. As to the B text, the inclusion of its readings in the apparatus would make the latter a veritable textual jungle. Moreover B is already in print, both in Meursius and in Du Duc (Migne): the latter edition, when the interpolations from the *Hist. Mon.* have been removed and the order of the later portion of the work has been restored (as can easily be done by means of the references in the head lines in the following Text), presents a very fair working edition of the metaphrastic text. For these reasons B has been left on one side in the present edition, attention being concentrated on G, which is now edited for the first time. There are, however, in B a few passages which do present additional facts, whether authentic or not; all such passages are printed beneath the text (pp. 34, 77, 84, 134, 150). Of course the metaphrast used a G MS as the basis of his revision, and it is often possible to discern from the B MSS. what was the reading of this archetype (called β in the rest of this Introduction): such readings of β supply valid and useful evidence for G, because β was a fifth century G MS. Thus a number of B readings find place in the ensuing discussions and in the apparatus.

§ 7. CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE OF THE LATER PORTION OF THE BOOK.

Up to the end of c. 39 (on Pior and Moses) there is substantial agreement among the authorities as to the contents and structure of the book; but from that point onwards two distinct sequences of the chapters are found, the one supported by the extant G MSS.

and by s, the other by the B MSS. and by l. In spite of aberrations in certain of the B MSS. there can be no doubt as to what was the sequence in B. This sequence is the same as that in l. Hence we conclude that the two Greek G MSS. β and λ , used respectively by the redactor of B and the translator of l, had the same sequence of matter as is now shown by the B MSS. and by l. Thus what will be called the β l order is a G order, and dates from the fifth century; and it is not in any degree compromised by the fact that its extant Greek representatives contain a secondary form of the text. The agreement of s with the extant G MSS. (PWT)¹ shows that the PWTs order can claim a like antiquity. Thus neither order can establish any advantage of priority over the other².

The rival orders are exhibited in the accompanying Table. The figures in both columns give the numbers which the chapters bear in this edition, so that, *e.g.*, the chapters which are 47 and 58 in β l occupy the 40th and 41st places in PWTs. The locality referred to in each chapter is indicated when it can be ascertained.

(See Table on next page.)

It is necessary to refer briefly to two other orders found in certain MSS.:

(1) The order found in the Long (interpolated) Recension (Hervet and the Greek editions, except Meursius) has been given on p. xx, along with the alternations of the G and B texts found in this redaction. It is easy to see that the order has been determined partly by the type of text (G or B) the redactor was using at the moment, and partly by the desire to secure a more geographical grouping (*e.g.* the group of Galatian monks, cc. 45, 66, 68). The order of such a tertiary text can have no significance.

(2) The group of MSS. 14–18 contains a B text which has been subjected to a free literary revision. Several violent transpositions have been made even in the earlier portion of the book. Towards the end the order is: cc. 47, 39, 40 (om. 41^b), 42, 43, 44, 45 (tr. 46, 47), 48, 49, 50, 51, 52 (om. 53; tr. 54, 55, 56; om. 57), 58, 70, 41^a, 46, 54, 61, 55, 56, 65, 63, 38, 71, 35 (om. 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69), *Hist. Mon.* (joined on as if part of same work). It will be apparent, in spite of all eccentricities, that this order is a corruption of that of β l, just as the whole text is a corrupt form of B (see Note 11). The agreement of 14–18 with the Long Recension in the sequence cc. 41^a, 46, 54, 61, must be attributed to coincidence: to bring together the chapters on the two Melanias (46, 54, 61) was natural to any one rearranging the book; it

¹ See p. xv or p. 2.

² Only fragments of l_1 and s_2 exist in this portion of the work, so that they do not help us in the present discussion.

TABLE.

	Locality	β1	PWTs
Pior and Moses	Egypt	39	39
Ephrem Syrus	Edessa	40	47
Introd. on holy women		41 ^a (ll. 1—5)	58
Paula, Eustochium and others	Palestine, Asia Minor and Rome	41 ^b	40 (om. 41 ^b)
Julian	Edessa	42	(om. 42)
Adolius and Innocent	Jerusalem	43, 44	44, 43
Philoromus	Galatia	45	(om. 45)
Melania Elder and Rufinus	Egypt and Palestine	46	53
Chronius and Paphnutius	Egypt	47	50, 51
Elpidius	Jericho	48	48
Sisinnius	Jericho	49	(om. 49)
Gaddanas and Elias	Palestine	50, 51	(om. 52)
Sabas	Palestine	52	41 ^a
Abramius (an Egyptian)	?	53	63
Melania Elder	Rome and Jerusalem	54	59, 60
Silvania	Jerusalem to Egypt	55	46
Olympias and others	Constantinople	56, 57	69, 70
Monks at Antinoë	Egypt	58	54
Nuns at Antinoë	Egypt	59, 60	55
Melania Younger and others	Rome	61, 62	56, 57 61, 62
Story of Virgin and Athanasius	Alexandria	63	
Story of Juliana and Origen	Caesarea in Cappadocia	64	64
Story from Hippolytus		65	65
Verus, Magna and a monk	Ancyra in Galatia	66, 67, 68	66, 67, 68
Two stories of Virgins who fell	2nd at Caesarea in Palestine	69, 70	
The Brother		71	71

NOTE. The second column of figures represents the order of P throughout: W agrees down to c. 46, in the middle of which chapter it breaks off, the rest of the ms. being lost (see p. 176): T agrees down to c. 55 (incl.), then come cc. 65, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 71, so that cc. 56, 57, 64 are wanting. The only witness for this portion of s is the imperfect Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 12173 (see *Prolog.* 84); its entire contents are: Ep. Μακαρίῳ, cc. 35, 36, 47, 58, 40, 44, 50, 51, 48, 41^a, 63, 59 (half), 60, 46, 54, 55, 65, 71, 31, 25, 26, 27, 53, 28, 69, 70, 29, 30: in spite of all transpositions and omissions, it is quite clear that this VII. century M. represents a Greek original which contained the same

(From p. xlix.)

has been done also in the Munich fragment (no. 7 in the List of mss.), and in the Syriac *Paradis* of Anan Isho. The making c. 41^a introduce this Melania section, thus departing from β l and PWTs alike, will appear more remarkable; but, as a matter of fact, the junction is not effected in the same way: in 14—18 the preface stops at the word *ἀσθενεστίνας*, while in the Long Recension it goes on to the end, *χῆρας* (p. 128). The motive of the alteration very possibly lies in the fact that the accounts of the Melanias, especially when brought together, are by far the most important of all the histories of women, so that it was natural to prefix to them the preface on holy women.

A reference to the note in *Prolog.* 141 will show why it was necessary to deal at such length with the order of 14—18. But this order, and that of the Long Recension, may now be wholly neglected.

When we compare the two orders as exhibited in the Table opposite, we see that the difference between them lies partly in sequence and partly in the fact that certain sections found in β l (cc. 41^b, 42, 45, 49, 52) are not found in PWTs.

Let us begin by examining the differences of mere sequence.

The first difference which we notice on comparing the column PWTs with the column β l is that in PWTs c. 47 and c. 58 come between c. 39 and c. 40; but cc. 47, 58 are precisely the two chapters in the later part of the book that are concerned with monks in Egypt: thus, as the first thirty-nine have to do almost wholly with the Egyptian monks, it follows that in PWTs the body of matter concerning Egyptian monks stands all together before anything else. The next difference is the absence in PWTs of cc. 41^b, 42: now c. 41^b is a series of brief notes on a number of holy women whom Palladius had met; thus its absence, coupled with the facts that c. 46 comes later and c. 47 earlier than in β l, brings it about that in PWTs the accounts of Asiatic monks of Syria and Palestine stand all together (cc. 40, 44, 43, 53, 50, 51, 48), immediately after the Egyptian monks;—there are, however, in this section some differences of order and some lacunae in PWTs as compared with β l. After the Egyptian and Asiatic monks comes in PWTs the short preface on holy women, c. 41^a, introducing c. 63, a story about a virgin in Alexandria, followed by cc. 59, 60, which deal with nuns in Egypt. Then comes c. 46, the first of the chapters on Melania, followed by cc. 69, 70, stories of virgins who fell and repented. After them comes c. 54, the second of the Melania chapters; and from this point to the end the order in PWTs is identical with that of β l, allowance being made for the chapters that have already occurred in earlier positions.

The nett result is that in PWTs the subject-matter is grouped as follows:

- (i) Egyptian monks (1—39, 47, 58)
- (ii) Asiatic monks (40, 44, 43, (53,) 50, 51, 48)
- (iii) Holy women (41*)
 - (a) in Egypt (63, 59, 60)
 - (b) elsewhere (46, 69, 70, 54—57, 61, 62, 64, 65)
- (iv) Three Galatian stories (66, 67, 68)
- (v) The Brother (71)

On the hypothesis that $\beta 1$ give the original order, it is easy to see how the scribe of the archetype whence have come PWTs, set to work: he separated the women from the men, and brought together those of Egypt at the head of each category. Even the apparently motiveless insertion of cc. 69, 70 between c. 46 and c. 54 may be accounted for:—the opening words of c. 54 (*ἀνω διηγησάμην*) required that something should come between cc. 46 and 54; and of the remaining chapters, 69 and 70 are the most suitable, indeed the only available, ones for the purpose. On the other hand, it is impossible to discern any intelligible principles by which the order of $\beta 1$ may be supposed to have been derived from that of PWTs: the narrative alternates between accounts of men and women, and travels backwards and forwards between Egypt and Palestine and Asia Minor and Italy, without any apparent method; so that the alterations from PWTs to $\beta 1$ on the part of a redactor or scribe could be attributed only to mere caprice. The question may be raised whether it be more likely that disorder of such a kind should be due to the author or to a redactor: in the various cases of evident rearrangement of the subject-matter which have been before us (pp. xlix, li), the tendency has always been in the direction of attempts at a more logical grouping.

Yet in the order of $\beta 1$ there is one point that should not pass unnoticed: the accounts of the monks and nuns of Antinoë (cc. 58, 59, 60) stand together, and are separated from the great body of Egyptian reminiscences. Now Tillemont is probably right in placing Palladius' four years' stay at Antinoë during his second sojourn in Egypt. When he was banished to Syene (see Appendix V ii); and so it would seem that in this point $\beta 1$ reflects a fact in Palladius' life which would be more striking still could we identify the Antinoë of Jerusalem or Egypt mentioned in c. 55,

with the journey into banishment in A.D. 406. At times I have been disposed to imagine that in the order of $\beta 1$ may be discerned a dim general correspondence with the outlines of Palladius' career:—a stay of twelve years in Egypt (cc. 1—39), ending with the death of Evagrius in 399 or 400 (c. 38); then four or five years as a bishop in different parts of the East, engaged in the struggle in behalf of St John Chrysostom (cc. 41—52, predominantly); next a journey to Rome on St John's business in 405, on which occasion he met the Melanias (c. 54); this was followed in 406 by his exile to Egypt (c. 55?), and his stay at Antinoë (cc. 58—60); finally we learn from Socrates (VII. 36) that, after his recall from banishment, Palladius was translated from his bishopric of Helenopolis in Bithynia to that of Aspuna in Galatia, and almost at the close of the book we have three stories (cc. 66—68) connected with Ancyra in Galatia.

The idea here suggested must not be pressed to the point of an argument, and obvious difficulties in detail can be urged against it¹. Still when all allowances have been made, it can hardly, I think, be without significance that there has existed in the world just one man, and that man Palladius, to whom the order of $\beta 1$ would not have been mere disorder, but the perhaps unconscious reproduction of shadowy reminiscences of the course of events long past.

On the whole the result of the examination into the question of mere sequence is distinctly favourable to $\beta 1$.

We must now consider the pieces found in $\beta 1$, but not in PWTs.

c. 41^b consists of a series of very brief notices on ten or eleven holy women whom Palladius had met in various places: he tells us that one of them whom he had seen at Antioch was the aunt of St John Chrysostom; he says that at Rome he met the new converts Avita and her husband Apronianus and daughter Eunomia, of whom he speaks again in c. 54 as living at Rome, Apronianus being a recent convert of Melania's, and in all this his statements are borne out by Paulinus of Nola and Rufinus (see Note 95); the "aged virgin" Asella, whom he saw at Rome, was

¹ In particular, the Asiatic experiences contained in cc. 41—52 cannot all have fallen within the years 399—405 (see Appendix V ii).

in all probability St Jerome's Roman friend (see Note 78); he states that he had never seen Eustochium. Throughout the information is precise and circumstantial, and where it can be tested it is accurate. The internal evidence is altogether in favour of the authenticity of the piece, and no reason, except its absence from PWTs, exists for suspecting it. Dr Preuschen accepts it as genuine (*Pall. u. Ruf.* 254). The fierce attack on St Jerome with which it opens is, like the similar passage in c. 36, an echo of the living controversies of the time, and is at once a proof of its authenticity and an explanation of its absence from various copies.

c. 42, on Julian of Edessa, is attested by Sozomen (III. 14, 29); for in this chapter Sozomen has made extensive use of the *Hist. Laus.*, and what he says of Julian is not to be found in the Greek Life to which he refers, nor anywhere else than in *Hist. Laus.* The account is so short that probably it was omitted by an oversight as part of c. 41—there was originally no division into chapters. Preuschen accepts it also as a genuine piece of the *Hist. Laus.* (*op. cit.* 228, 254).

c. 45, on Philoromus: Palladius says he lived with him. A stylistic argument of genuineness is given in Note 84.

c. 49, on Sisinnius: the chapter is quite naturally connected with c. 48, Sisinnius being introduced as a disciple of Elpidius.

c. 52, on Sabas, calls for no remark.

These three chapters (45, 49, 52) are quite in Palladius' manner, style and vocabulary, and no intrinsic ground exists for suspecting them; (see Preuschen, *loc. cit.*).

It will be in place here to refer to the passage concerning the swine in the description of the Pachomian Monastery at Panopolis (p. 94), dealt with in Note 55. It is found only in β 1, being omitted in the other authorities; yet there can be little doubt that it was written by Palladius, and belongs to the context in which it stands in β 1.

¹ One conceivable hypothesis in regard to the pieces just discussed should be stated in order to be definitely rejected; viz. that they did not properly belong to the Greek original of β , but had been introduced into it from B, so that their presence in β affords no ground for supposing that they stood in β ; and that consequently they are to be regarded as the handiwork of the metaphrastic reviser. This hypothesis is excluded by what has just been said in favour of the authenticity of the individual pieces, notably c. 41^b; and also by the general textual

It thus appears that there are strong reasons, external and internal, for accepting as genuine a number of pieces found in β l, but absent from PWTs.

Here once again the question naturally suggests itself: Can a revision of the book by Palladius himself be the explanation of the phenomena, PWTs representing the first draft, and β l a slightly enlarged second edition? This theory is very attractive, for it would help to solve not only the problems now engaging our attention, but also some of those that will arise in the sequel. Against it, however, stand two objections which seem peremptory.

(1) One of the chief points of difference lies in this, that in β l the short preface on holy women (c. 41^a) introduces the series of notes on Paula, Eustochium and the rest (c. 41^b); while in PWTs it introduces the story of the Virgin of Alexandria, who received St Athanasius into her house when he was fleeing from the Arians (c. 63). But the very grammar of the opening words of c. 41^b—*ἐν αἷς καὶ Παύλῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ*, with no verb to govern the dative—shows that it must originally have been connected with the preface *Ἀναγκαῖον* (41^a), which concludes: *πολλαῖς ἀστείαις συντετύχηκα παρθένοις τε καὶ χήραις* (see p. 128). Now supposing that PWTs contain the order first chosen by Palladius, and that he desired to introduce into his book an account of Paula and the other holy women, it is in the highest degree unlikely that he would, actually cutting a sentence in two, have moved from its original position the story of the Virgin and Athanasius, in order to put in its place the new material, instead of inserting an independent chapter somewhere else. Indeed, 41^a and 41^b fit together so naturally and so well, that no other hypothesis seems tolerable than that they formed integral parts of the same context from the beginning.

phenomena, as the reader may easily see for himself by examining the apparatus to the various passages. In particular let him turn to the close of c. 52 (p. 145), for which B and l are printed in full: it is quite clear that in β and the Greek original of l the passage stood substantially as in ll. 6—8 of the text, and that in B the metaphrastic reviser has expanded it six or sevenfold. His operations on these β l passages are precisely similar to his treatment of the rest of the text. It may be taken as certain that all these pieces stood in the G mss. from which B and l were made.

(2) Moreover in β l the story of the Virgin of Caesarea, who received and sheltered Origen when fleeing from persecution (c. 64), follows immediately after the story of the Virgin of Alexandria, who did the like for Athanasius (c. 63). It will at once be felt that the two similar stories naturally fall together: nay, there is at the beginning of c. 64 a $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ referring to the analogous story that has just preceded. In PWTs the two stories are separated and the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ becomes meaningless, referring to some men whom Palladius had met in Rome¹. There can be little doubt that in PWTs c. 63 has been moved from its original position immediately in front of c. 64 in order to be substituted for c. 41^b, which someone desired to suppress, doubtless on account of the attack on St Jerome.

Thus the idea that PWTs represent the first draft and β l a revision by Palladius is excluded; and all the evidence considered in this section leads up to the conclusion that in contents and structure β l have preserved the original form of the *Hist. Laus.* Their order of chapters is accordingly adopted in this edition.

§ 8. RELATIONS OF THE TEXTUAL SOURCES.

(I) The Greek MSS.

We have at our disposal for the construction of the G text the following Greek MSS.: **P**aris 1628 and **T**urin 141, for nearly the whole book; **W**ake 67, for about one-half; the twin MSS. **V**enice 346 and **C**oislin 282, for about one-fifth; the **A** MSS. for the portions of the G text which they contain, amounting to nearly one-half; and a few fragments. Moreover it is often possible to determine what was the reading of β , the MS. used by the metaphrast as the basis of his revision; in such cases we have an additional authority for the G text.

Now while presenting the same substantial text, the various

¹ The truth of this statement is not affected by the fact that WT and s are imperfect in various ways and do not contain c. 64; for in all of them c. 63 is followed by c. 59, as in P, which without any doubt has faithfully preserved the order of the archetype of PWTs in all this portion of the book.

authorities for G differ from one another frequently and considerably in matters of detail, so that the apparatus of variants is commonly very large. Our next step, therefore, must be to try to discover what laws underlie the relationships between these MSS. This must be by a process of induction; and in order to arrive at even approximately correct results, it will be necessary to experiment over a wide field. For this purpose those portions of the book are selected which are extant in all six of the chief G MSS., viz. cc. 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 35, 36, 37, containing in all some 410 lines of the printed text. Two Schedules of readings will be constructed: the first will contain such readings as affect only the Greek text and would not be apparent in the versions; the second, those that can be discerned in the versions. Only those cases are included in which the authorities are divided between a single pair of readings, and in which there is no uncertainty or confusion as to the readings. Readings are omitted which are supported by only a single authority; and for the purposes of these Schedules the discussions of the succeeding sections are so far anticipated that the Venice and Coislin MSS. are treated as a single authority, and similarly the Paris and Wake MSS. when they agree: so that readings supported by VC alone or by PW alone are omitted.

(The Schedules are printed in Appendix VII.)

The first impression made by these Schedules is one of mere bewilderment; the authorities are found grouped in all possible combinations, and it would be easy by judicious selection to make out a plausible and even a telling case in support of any given relationship between the Greek MSS. We are evidently in the presence of a textual problem of unusual complexity. The first step must be to tabulate the results of the Schedules, by giving the number of times each combination of the Greek MSS. occurs. When this is done, it will be found that certain facts emerge from the chaos. The readings in Schedule II. marked with an asterisk are available for the purpose of the annexed Tabulation:

TABULATION OF COMBINATIONS OF GREEK MSS. IN SCHEDULES.

			Sched. I	Sched. II	Total
PWTA	versus	VCβ	34	43	77
PWT	v.	VCβA	6	5	11
PWA	v.	VCβT	7	4	11
PTA	v.	VCβW	2	—	2
PA	v.	VCβWT	2	2	4
PT	v.	VCβWA	2	2	4
PWVCβ	v.	TA	4	3	7
PTVCβ	v.	WA	—	1	1
PWTVC	v.	Aβ	6	5	11
PWAVC	v.	Tβ	3	4	7
PTAVC	v.	Wβ	2	—	2
PWVC	v.	TAβ	8	1	9
PTVC	v.	WAβ	1	1	2
PAVC	v.	WTβ	2	1	3
PVC	v.	WTAβ	2	1	3
PWTβ	v.	VCA	7	5	12
PWAβ	v.	VCT	9	1	10
PTAβ	v.	VCW	1	—	1
PWβ	v.	VCTA	4	7	11
PTβ	v.	VCWA	—	2	2
PAβ	v.	VCWT	1	—	1
Pβ	v.	VCWTA	3	—	3
Total no. of readings			106	88	194

From this summary it appears that the combination

PWTA v. VCβ

stands in such marked excess above any other combination, that we may safely take as a working hypothesis that it represents a dominant and ultimate textual fact. And when we look further into the Table we shall discover that VCβ are found together 117 times in all out of the total of 194 cases; and also that, in addition to the 77 times that PWTA stand together, three members of this group stand together in various trios 73 times more. And these numerical considerations are strengthened materially by an examination of the nature of the readings in which PWTA stand over against VCβ: from Schedule II. it will appear that the difference

often consists in the absence of a word or clause on one side or the other (oftenest on the side of PWTA); while from Schedule I. it will appear that equally often the difference lies only in the smallest minutiae of grammar or order—and I venture to think that this latter class of differences is no less significant than the former.

For instance, the following series of minute differences occurs in c. 35 :

PWTA	VCβ	PWTA	VCβ
ἐ(ι)ς ὕστερον	ὕστερον	εἶπον 2 ^ο	λέγω αὐτῷ
ὡς ἐτῶν κε'	om ὡς	μετὰ γὰρ	καὶ μετὰ
τὸ ὄρος τῆς Λυκῶ	τὸ ὄρος τὸ Λυκῶ	καὶ τοῦτο	om καὶ
τῇ συντυχίᾳ	συντυχίᾳ	om αὐτῷ	παραβαλοῦσθ αὐτῷ
ἐν τῇ θυρίδι	τῇ θυρίδι	εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξ.	εἰς Ἀλεξ.
τὴν ἐμὴν	τὴν πρὸς με	ἔχεις	ἔχει
εἶπον	λέγω	om ἡ	ἡ παραλογοισαμένη

To find the same groups of MSS. again and again consistently ranged against one another is a phenomenon that can be explained only on the hypothesis that there is a special affinity between P, W, T and A on the one hand, and a special affinity between VC and β on the other¹. And the validity of the inference cannot be shaken by the numerous cross divisions, how perplexing soever they may be. The consideration, however, of the problems to which they give rise is reserved to the two succeeding sections. For the present, having ascertained that the principal extant Greek representatives of the G text fall into two clearly defined groups, we shall pass on to the determining of the relation in which each of the chief versions stands to these groups.

(II) The Versions.

Relation of 1 to the two groups of G MSS.

Schedule II. registers 120 readings of 1, a few being in

¹ It is to be noticed that the Tabulation shows a specially close affinity between P and W, for they part company only 28 times; they are by far the most constant and characteristic members of the group PWTA.

brackets as somewhat doubtful—this distinction, however, will be disregarded in what follows. It is found that

l agrees with β 82 times,
 with VC 60 times,
 with PW 35 times (and, when P and W part
 company, with P once and with W 9 times),
 with T 34 times,
 with A 31 times.

Moreover, l is found without either VC or β only 17 times:—and it will appear later that in some of these cases VC have been contaminated by mixture with a B text:—but l is found 59 times without any one of the four, P, W, T, or A. The combination VC β l occurs 42 times, and 13 times these four stand alone, often in unmistakably significant readings; as the additions *τοῦ Νεῖλου* (p. 86, 13); *πᾶσαν* (p. 87, 9); *καὶ Ἀλβάνιον καὶ Ἀμμώνιον* (p. 101, 5); *ἦ* (p. 106, 5).

These figures indicate an affinity between l and the group VC β .

The high number of agreements of l with β suggests a specially close affinity. They stand alone together in Schedule II., in opposition to the united witness of the other authorities, 16 (perhaps 23) times; and instances of this phenomenon occur throughout the whole book. An examination of these β l readings (see, for instance, those scheduled from c. 37), shows that usually they are of a kind that cannot be due to mere accident in the transmission of the text. A question at once arises: May their presence in l be due to the fact that λ (the Greek original of l) had suffered contamination by intermixture with a B text? In the following sections we shall meet many instances of such processes; but, after a careful consideration of the whole series of β l readings, I am satisfied that there is no sufficient reason for suspecting any such influence of B in λ or in l. The point is of such importance for forming a right judgment on the textual materials, that it is incumbent upon me to offer in justification of my conclusion some illustrations of the kind of reasons on which I rely. I take first a passage out of c. 37:

B (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1187 c)

Ἔτα λέγει αὐτῇ· Κάτ-
 ελθε καὶ πρόελθε. ἀπεκρί-
 νατο αὐτῷ ἐκείνη· Εἰκοστὸν
 πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχω μηδέποτε
 προελθοῦσα, καὶ ἵνα τί σή-
 μερον προέλθω; λέγει αὐτῇ
 ἐκεῖνος· Οὐαί, οὐκ εἶπες ὅτι
 'Ἐγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ ἀπέ-
 θανον; δῆλον πάντως ὅτι
 καὶ σοὶ ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστιν.
 εἰ οὖν τοῦτό ἐστι, νεκρὸς οὐ-
 δενὸς ἐπαισθάνεται· ταῦτόν
 σοὶ οὖν ἔστι καὶ προελθεῖν
 καὶ μὴ προελθεῖν. ἀκούσασα
 δὲ ταῦτα ἡ παρθένος προ-
 ῆλθε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ προελθεῖν
 αὐτὴν ἔξω καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἕως
 ἐκκλησίας τινός, ἐλθὼν ὁ
 μακάριος εὗρεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ·
 Εἰ ὄντως θέλεις (τελείως)
 πληροφορηῆσαι με ὅτι ἀπέ-
 θανες καὶ οὐκέτι ζῆς ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ἀρέσκουσα, ποιήσον δ
 ἐγὼ δύναμαι ποιῆσαι καὶ
 τότε πληροφορήσεις με ὅτι
 ἀληθῶς τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ
 ἀπέθανες. καὶ ἡ παρθένος·
 Λοιπὸν τί θέλεις ποιῆσω;
 (λέγει αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνος)· 'Ἐκ-
 δουσαμένη κ.τ.λ.

G (*infra*, pp. 114, 15—
115, 8)

Τότε λέγει αὐτῇ· Ἐξελθε
 (αἰ. κάτελθε) καὶ πρόελθε.
 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ (ἐκείνη)·
 Εἰκοστὸν πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχω
 καὶ οὐ προῆλθον· καὶ (νῦν)
 ἵνα τί προέλθω; λέγει αὐτῇ·

Εἰ ἀπέθανες τῷ κόσμῳ
 καὶ σοὶ ὁ κόσμος,

ταῦτόν
 σοὶ ἔστι καὶ προελθεῖν καὶ
 μὴ προελθεῖν· πρόελθε οὖν.
 (ἡ δὲ) προ-
 ῆλθε· καὶ μετὰ τὸ προελθεῖν
 αὐτὴν ἔξω καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἕως
 ἐκκλησίας τινός

λέγει αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ·
 Οὐκοῦν εἰ θέλεις
 με πληροφορηῆσαι ὅτι ἀπέ-
 θανες καὶ οὐκέτι ζῆς ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ἀρέσκουσα, ποιήσον δ
 ποιῶ, καὶ
 οἶδα (αἰ. γνώσομαι) ὅτι

ἀπέθανες·

(λέγει αὐτῇ) ἐκ-
 δουσαμένη κ.τ.λ.

I (*Bibl. Casin.* iii, *Flor.*
308)

.....
 et illa respondit: Vicesi-
 mum et quintum annum
 ago ex quo numquam ex
 hoc loco egredior; quam
 ob causam uis ergo pro-
 cedam? ait ille:

Tu saeculo mortua es
 et saeculum tibi;

unum ergo est
 siue non procedas siue
 procedas: ergo progredere.
 statimque tunc
 illa processit. posteaquam
 processit e cella sua
 (clause om in Sess and
 Cass 348, 143)

et illic ad eam loquitur:
 Si ergo uis per-
 suadere quod mortua sis
 neciam hominibus placens
 uiuas fac et ipsa quod
 facio, et

uere
 te mortuam scio:

exue te,
 inquit, etc.

It is most unlikely that the scribe of λ (or its progenitor), when copying out a G ms., should have taken from a B text just the single word *ἀληθῶς*, and have rejected all the other B enlargements and alterations; far more probable is it that λ and β both contained a G text which in this passage differed from the extant G mss. only in having *ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἀπέθανες* instead of *ὅτι ἀπέθανες*.

Next I take a passage from c. 58, in which the argument is of quite a different character from the foregoing. Here, although a portion of B has been re-written after the manner of the metaphrastic reviser, it is possible to recover with security the Greek text underlying B and I.

B (P. G. xxxiv. 1203 D)
 Οὗτος ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι
 Ὁ νοῦς ἀποστὰς τῆς τοῦ
 θεοῦ θεωρίας κατ' ἐννοίαν
 ἢ δαίμων γίνεται ἢ
 κτήνος. ἡμῶν δὲ φιλο-
 πευστούντων τὸν τρό-
 πον ὃν εἶπεν, ἔλεγεν
 οὕτως ὅτι Νοῦς ἀνθρώπου
 θεοῦ θεωρίας ἀναχωρήσας
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ τῷ τῆς ἐπι-
 θυμίας δαίμονι περιπίπτει
 τῷ ἄγοντι εἰς ἀκολασίαν, ἢ
 τῷ θυμικῷ πονηρῷ πνεύματι
 ὅθεν αἱ ἄλογοι τίκονται
 ὄρμα. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκό-
 λαστον ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλε-
 γεν εἶναι κτηνώδη, τὸν
 δὲ θυμὸν κίνησιν δαιμο-
 νιώδη.

G (*infra*, p. 152, 10—12)
 PWTAs: "Ἐλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι·
 PW: Νοῦς ἀποστὰς
 θεοῦ ἐννοίας
 ἢ κτήνος γίνεται ἢ δαίμων·
 Ts: Νοῦς ἀποστὰς
 θεοῦ ἐννοίας
 περιπίπτει ἐπιθυμίᾳ·
 A: Νοῦς ἀποστὰς θεοῦ, ἐν-
 νοίᾳ περιπίπτει ἐπιθυμίας·
 PWTAs: καὶ τὴν μὲν
 ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλε-
 γεν κτηνώδη, τὸν
 γὰρ δὲ θυμὸν δαιμο-
 νιώδη.

I
 Nobis ista dicebat:
 Sensus humanus cum a
 cognitione recesserit dei,
 aut quaecumque anima
 laus daemonis incipiet
 fieri (*sic* l²⁰³; l²⁰³ vac; dae-
 moni efficitur similis l²⁰³)
 aut mutis animalibus
 comparatur. cuius dicti
 rationem cum ab eo cupe-
 remus accipere, ista di-
 cebat: Qui a deo recesserit
 necesse est ut aut in desi-
 derium aliquod aut in ali-
 quam iracundiam ruat:
 desiderium quidem illud
 insensatorum animalium,
 iracundiam uero daemo-
 num esse dicebat.

In spite of the corruption in I, it is possible to see that in λ the passage read substantially thus:—Ἐλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστὰς θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἢ δαίμων γίνεται ἢ κτήνος. ἡμῶν δὲ φιλοπευστούντων τὸν τρόπον ὃν εἶπεν, ἔλεγεν οὕτως ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστὰς θεοῦ (ἐννοίας) ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιπίπτει ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἢ θυμῷ· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι κτηνώδη, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμονιώδη. It cannot be supposed that this is an abridgment of B made by the scribe of λ: the readings of Ts and of A in the middle column forbid such a notion. Rather did the passage stand substantially as restored above in λ and β and the type of G text they represented. The question whether the βλ text be the result of a conflation of the readings of PW and of TAs, or whether (as seems more likely) it be the original text, and the pair of readings be due to its breaking asunder into two parts owing to the repetition; is one which in no way affects the point here at issue, viz. that the series of agreements between B and I is due, not to any influence of B on λ or I, but to the fact that β and λ contained types of the G text closely akin.

I shall briefly indicate one further argument, still of a different character from both the preceding, in support of the same view. If the reader turns to Note 45 he will see that in a passage of c. 27, out of a mass of additional matter found in B, the clause

ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα αὐτομάτως φέρεσθαι is attested both by *l* and by *s*₂, there being no vestige of it in any other text. Here *λ* is supported by *σ*₂ (the Greek original of *s*₂), in which no trace is found of any B element, and which has no special affinity with *l*. That the scribes of *λ* and *σ*₂ should have independently picked out the same words, and no more, from the enlargements of B, is a supposition that cannot be entertained. We can only conclude that the clause stood in the three G MSS., *β*, *λ* and *σ*₂.

Thus the independence of *λ* from B, and consequently the reality of the relationship between the G texts *β* and *l*, is convincingly established. (But see p. lxxxii.)

Relation of *s* to the two groups of G MSS.

If the conclusions arrived at in § 7, as to *βl* having preserved the true order and structure of the concluding third of the book, be valid; nay, if the single point has been established that the series of notices of Paula and other holy women, contained in c. 41^b, is authentic, so that the junction in PWT and *s* of the story of Athanasius in c. 63 with c. 41^a is erroneous; it follows that PWT and *σ* (the Greek original of *s*) were all descended from a single MS. in which this alteration had been made: for the substitution of c. 63 for c. 41^b is a corruption of a kind that cannot have arisen by mere coincidence, but demonstrates descent from a common vitiated ancestor. Now about the authenticity of c. 41^b and its primitive organic connection with c. 41^a, there cannot, I think, be any doubt at all. And so a close affinity of *s* with PWT (and *A*) is shown.

The phenomena of Schedule II. (App. VII) are in conformity with this result: the combination PWTAs occurs 38 times, and *s* is found with three of the Greek members of the group 12 times more. It has to be remembered that in the case of the Syriac versions it is difficult (much more frequently than in the case of the Latin versions), to determine whether the rendering really represents a given Greek reading, or is merely due to Aramaic idiom; e.g. whether a pronoun or pronominal suffix in *s* or *s*₂ is evidence of a pronoun in *σ* or *σ*₂: in this way a number of the minor readings of *s* and *s*₂ are by no means certain—far less certain than similar

cases in the Syriac versions of the New Testament, where much closer fidelity in translation was naturally aimed at. In regard to the numerous readings in which *s* agrees with *VCβl* against *PWTA*, it has to be remembered that *s* is by far the oldest member of the group *PWTAs*, as it dates from the sixth or fifth century; when, therefore, *s* is ranged with *VCβl*, it is (commonly) evidence of a corruption in *PWTA*: this point will be reverted to in § 10. Throughout the book *s* often agrees in significant readings with *PW*, the best mss. of the group; but its closest agreement is with *T*, with which it often stands alone in very remarkable readings. Instances will be found in the text at p. 108, 7, 8, 18; p. 126, 9 and 11; p. 138, 7; p. 144, 14; p. 149, 10 and 14; p. 160, title of c. 65. These agreements, sometimes in manifest error, are so striking as to demonstrate a specially close affinity between *T* and *σ*. And thus, quite independently of the arguments from order and structure, and from the junction of c. 63 with c. 41^a, *σ* is shown to have belonged to the group *PWTA*.

Relation of *s*₂ to the two groups of *G* mss.

The first four chapters in Schedule II. (App. VII) supply a sufficient number of readings of *s*₂ to enable us to form an adequate idea of the character of text that was presented by *σ*₂. The Schedule shows *s*₂ sometimes ranged with *PWTA*, sometimes with *VCβ*, and, as a matter of fact, throughout it thus fluctuates between the two main groups¹. Attention has just been called to a place where *s*₂ supports *βl* against *PWTAVCs* (see Note 45); at p. 59, 19-21, it similarly attests the curious piece of demonology found in *B* and *l*, but not in *P*^a or *l*₂ (the only other extant authorities); at p. 40, 5, 6, it attests another *βl* reading; and at p. 34, 13-16, in a passage where *l* is missing, it enables us to reconstruct *β* out of *B*. On the other hand, *s*₂ by no means always, or even usually, supports the *βl* readings. It thus appears that the Greek text underlying *s*₂ was intermediate between *βl* and *PWTAs*; when its readings can be ascertained with certainty

¹ I have not been able to verify the Schedule by the mss., so that I do not guarantee its accuracy or completeness in regard to *s*₂.

they are of great value, as representing Greek MSS. of the fifth century of a type not found among the MSS. I have examined.

Relations of l_2 and c to the two groups of G MSS.

In regard to these versions the Schedule does not help us. In § 5 it has been shown that l_2 represents a G text. So does c , the Coptic version, extant in only a few fragments. A comparison of the pieces translated from chap. 18 (*Prol.* 123–6 and 149) with the two Greek texts will show, in spite of all paraphrasings and additions, that c represents a G text. Moreover in the Table in *Prol.* 120–22, nearly all the pieces of Greek noted as omitted in c are proper to B, and do not occur in G; indeed, had the comparison of c been made with a G text, that Table would have been reduced to half its dimensions¹.

In *Prol.* 114 reasons were given for surmising that the Greek MSS. underlying l_2 and c were closely akin. An examination of the apparatus to the passages in which c is extant will bear out this view. It is true that most of the agreements between l_2 and c consist in the omission of words and short clauses found in the other authorities for G; and agreement in omission is more likely than other forms of corruption to be due to mere coincidence in error. But a time comes when persistent agreements in such omissions reach a point at which coincidence can no longer be a reasonable explanation of the phenomena; and so we are led to the conclusion that l_2 and c are derived from Greek MSS. containing a somewhat shortened type of text, whereof no Greek representative has yet been discovered. There are besides certain positive agreements that place the kinship between l_2 and c beyond doubt: e.g. the clause at p. 30, 23, "nec tuam oblationem obliuioni tradit" (*al. tradet*) l_2 ; "will receive thy sacrifice also" c : also p. 120, 9. The relationship between l_2 and c will be further illustrated in § 10. It seems that l_2, c , like s_1 , represent a Greek text that stood midway between β_1 and PWTAs, fluctuating between all known types of the text. Perhaps the most striking

¹ It is important to notice that these eliminations hardly affect the points taken as bases of arguments, *Prol.* 122; this remark applies to most of the similar arguments, *Prol.* 112–14, 118–19.

case of the agreement of the archetype of l_2c with a characteristic βl reading is at p. 116, 16, where c adds to St Basil's episcopal city of Caesarea the description "among the Arkeans," the equivalent of *τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀργέα*, found only in B and l: there is a lacuna here in l_2 , due to homocoteleuton; but there can be no doubt that the clause stood in the Greek text whence l_2 and c are descended. (For l_2 , see also pp. 44, 7 and 48, 7.)

The other versions, Ethiopic, Armenian and Arabic, are mere fragments, and will be sufficiently dealt with in the appropriate places.

We may sum up as follows the results of the investigations of this section:

- (1) The chief extant Greek authorities for the G text fall into two distinct groups, one made up of PWT α , the other of VC β .
- (2) l is akin to VC β , and in a specially close manner to β .
- (3) s is akin to PWT α , and in a specially close manner to T.
- (4) l_2 and c are derived from Greek MSS. closely related to one another: the case of chap. 38 in c is special (see Note 71).
- (5) l_2c and s_2 represent Greek texts intermediate between PWT α s and βl , but neither type has yet been found in Greek.

The pedigree and relationship of the chief sources for the text are exhibited in the annexed Pedigree.

Fragments too small to be located in the Table are not included. Composite MSS. (A and VC) are included in respect only of the portions of the G text which they contain.

Capitals denote Greek MSS.

Greek letters denote lost Greek archetypes.

Small Roman letters denote versions.

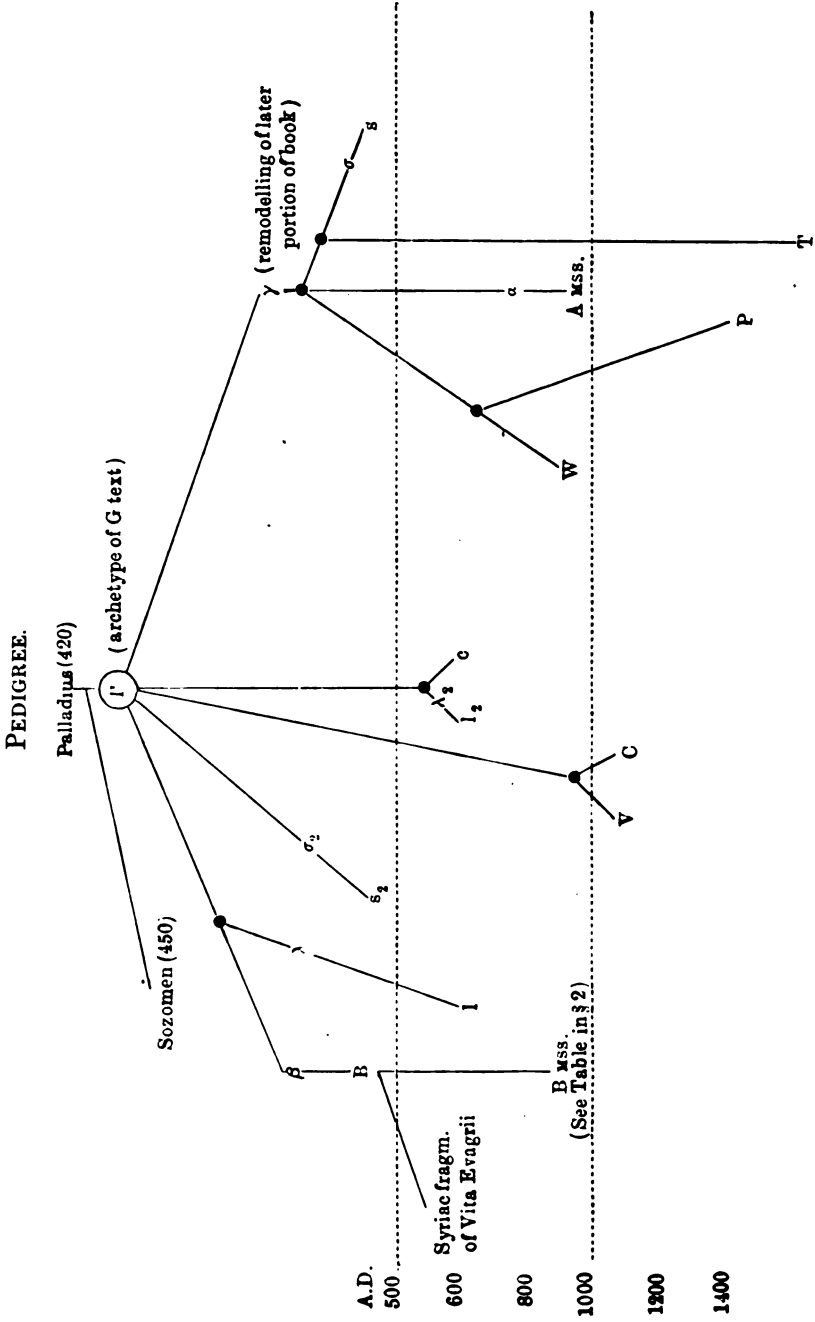
§ 9. THE DOCUMENTS.

The purpose of the present section is to supply a sufficient description and characterisation of the actual MSS. used in this edition.

I. The Greek MSS.

1. *Manuscript of the original text, found in the Vatican library, under the number 1628*

2. *Manuscript of the original text, found in the Vatican library, under the number 1629*



Saec. XIV : paper : 14·5 × 20 cm.

Contents: ff. 1—144 *Hist. Laus.*, γ text (see § 7) complete except c. 38 and end of c. 36; rest of codex (ff. 144—244) *Hist. Mon.*

On the whole correctly written and accentuated, with breathings but no iotas subscr.: a certain number of itacisms, but not many considering date: also interchanges of σ and ω : a few absolute errors (not commonly recorded in this ed.): a few corrections, some by scribe himself (or contemporary), some by later hand: (see Preuschen, *Pall. u. Ruf.* 139.)

W—Oxford, Christ Church, *Wake* 67.

Saec. X: parchment: 16·5 × 25 cm.

Contents: a miscellaneous collection of *Vitae*, and ascetical tractates (see Kitchin's Catalogue p. 28). *Hist. Laus.* occupies ff. 193—251, where it breaks off incomplete, the codex being mutilated. Fol. 192, containing the beginning of *Hist. Laus.*, was detached and has been bound up in a wrong place, being now f. 150: it alone is mentioned in the Catalogue, the great body of *Hist. Laus.*, being without title, was overlooked. My finding this copy was a happy accident: having a half hour to spare, I amused myself in turning over the pages of the MS., till familiar words caught my eye.

No titles of chapters or marked divisions in the text: the page has usually 26 lines of writing, equivalent to 16 or 17 lines of this printed text: writing regular and good, with very few corrections: itacisms &c., misspellings and other errors somewhat more frequent than in P: accentuation fairly correct, but often omitted: thus W is less correctly written than P. Certain chapters (*e.g.* 32—34) never were in W; many others are wanting through the loss of several folios.

At present W contains about half of the γ text, viz. (in nos. and order of this ed.): Ep. ad Laus., Prol., cc. 1—6, 8—17, 18 (half) 23—31, 35—37, 40, 41^a, 43, 46 (half), 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 58—60, 63.

(For readings of W, up to p. 100, see "List" p. 170; from p. 100 onwards, see note on p. 100.)

P and W are twin offspring of a common ancestor: throughout the whole text they stand alone again and again in readings often certainly erroneous: they alone place the chapter on Nathanael 16) af. . . . instead of . . . 5 they alone insert the long

apophthegma at p. 46, 17 (see note 28); at the end of c. 36 they break off with the words: "I knew this prophecy of this man" (p. 108, 6), and omit the rest, though Ts no less than VCBl give the prophecy; they omit c. 38, on Evagrius, which is in T as well as VCBl (one sub-group of B, 1—6, omits it, and s is doubtful).

P is not a descendant of W, for it contains many portions of the text that never stood in W.

T—Turin, Università, *graec.* C. IV. 8, olim C. v. 33 (al. 141).

Saec. XVI: paper: 19 × 27 cm.

Contents: f. 1 homilies, apophth., Vitae (from Theodoret); f. 53 *Hist. Laus.*; f. 126 *Hist. of the Brahmins*; f. 138 *Hist. Mon.*; ff. 186—202 *Vita Pauli* and two apocalypses attributed to Jerome. At end: *τοῦτο τὸ σύγγραμμα εὐρόντες ἡμεῖς εἰς παλαιὸν βιβλίον ἀπεγραψάμεθα κ.τ.λ.* *Hist. Laus.* contains the whole γ text except cc. 56, 57, the latter half of 61, and 64, none of which were ever in the codex. Written with extraordinary incorrectness, abounding in grotesque errors of grammar and spelling, often not even Greek words at all: seems as if written down from dictation by a scribe imperfectly acquainted with Greek: a few samples are given, all from *Hist. Laus.*

p. 34, 1 ἡδονῆς αὐτῶ ἐπαναστὰς εἰς τῶ σαρκίῳ for ἡδονῆς αὐτῶ ἐπαναστάσης τοῦ σαρκίου.

p. 37, 14 ἐμαρτυρίσαντο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῆς ἀς ἔχων for ἐμερίσαντο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐν ἀκινήτοις ἀ ἔσχον.

p. 80, 13 τοῦ ἡμᾶς τοῦ καθελόντες for τὸ οἶμα αὐτοῦ καθελόντες.

Similarly κατακροντες ποιωμενος for κατ' ἄκραν πεποιημένος: πισεῖ for τίς εἶ: μὲν for με ἐν: ἵνα for εἶναι: ἦκουσ ἔστινα for ἦκουσέν τινα.

Such errors occur on every page; there is throughout an interchange of β and κ : as καίνειν for βαίνεις, καὶ ἀς οὖν for βίας οὖν, παράβηται for παράκειται, βλεψιμαῖοι for κλεψιμαῖοι.

The text of T presents highly curious and interesting features. Its agreements with s in a number of striking readings found nowhere else, have been referred to on p. lxix; they demonstrate a relationship so close that the facts can be accounted for only by the hypothesis that at a point in the pedigree lower than γ came a ms. of which the ancestors of T and σ were twin offspring. As MSS. of s exist dating from the sixth century, a higher antiquity is

established for the peculiar type of text preserved in T than can be claimed by any other known Greek MS. Unfortunately T has suffered extensively from intermixture with a B text.

This intermixture reaches its acme in cc. 17, 18 and 66, 67, 68; in these chapters T has been so contaminated as to become practically a B text: in cc. 8, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 37, 61, 62, the same phenomenon is observable, but in a less degree. The large number of cases in the Schedules of § 8 (App. VII), in which T is found ranged with VCβ against PWA, and still more those in which Tβ stand alone, must be, for the most part, attributed to the working of the same process. The textual phenomena as a whole lead to the conclusion that throughout the entire book T has in varying degrees been subjected to this process of contamination by intermixture with a B text. For this reason the value of T as a source for the text is much impaired. The interrelations of T with PW and A will be examined in § 10.

ven—Rosweyd's Codex Venetus.

At the beginning of the "Notatio" to Bk. VIII. of the *Vitae Patrum* Rosweyd speaks of a MS. at that date (1615) at Venice, in the possession of Gabriel, Archbishop of Philadelphia¹. It is no longer at Venice, and I have been unable to trace it. One MS. from the same collection is now at Milan in the Ambrosian Library², and I had hoped ven also might be there.

Excerpts were copied from ven for Rosweyd, as also from a Codex Augustanus (no. 7 in List, § 2): the copy of cod. Aug. is now in the Royal Library at Brussels, but not that of cod. Ven. I thought it might be among papers of Rosweyd in the Bollandist Library, but no trace of it could be found.

Rosweyd records a considerable number of readings of ven in the Notationes to Bk. VIII. and to the Appendices; all these are entered in the apparatus to this edition. They demonstrate a very close affinity between ven and T, which often stand alone in quite peculiar readings. But if Rosweyd's readings can be fully relied on, T is not itself the missing ven, but only a twin MS.; for there are a certain number of slight differences; indeed in Notatio 128 (ed. 1; = 191 ed. 2), Rosweyd records a reading of ven in one of the passages omitted in T (see p. 157, 8).

On this personage and his anomalous ecclesiastical position—he was apparently in communion at once with the Pope and the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople—see an art. by Mgr Pisani in vol. I of *Rev. d'Hist. et de Lit. Rel.*

¹ *Ann. de l'Institut de France*, t. 10, p. 111.

A—(Nos 37—44^c in List § 2).

As has been explained in § 2, **A** includes the whole group of MSS. containing what was called in *Prolog.* the "Long Recension." This form of the *Hist. Laus.*, besides being interpolated in regard to matter, is composite in regard to text, the *Hist. Laus.* it contains being partly a **G** text, which has been named **A**, and partly a **B** text, distinguished from other types of the **B** text as **A^B**. The MSS. used for this edition are no. 37, Paris *Gr.* 1626 (saec. XII., parchment), and no. 38, *Coistin* 295 (saec. XIV., paper) (see Preuschen, p. 147): no. 37 is the better MS. but it is not quite complete; no. 38 is therefore the MS. chiefly relied on for **A** and **A^B** readings: up to p. 126, however, most of the readings have been tested in no. 37 also: when necessary they are distinguished as **A⁷** and **A⁸**. Some of the Roman MSS. seem to contain slightly better texts, but I had not time to take their readings. **A** MSS. are extant dating from the tenth century. The archetype of the group will be called **α**.

The text is thus divided between **A** and **A^B** (the numbers and sequence of chapters are of this edition):

A: cc. 25—28, 30, 31, 35—37, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, 53—55, 58—60, 71.

A^B: Proem, Ep., *Prolog.*, cc. 1—24, 29, 32—34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 48—52, 56, 57, 61—70, Epil.

But six lines of c. 7, a considerable section in the middle of c. 18, and a piece in the middle of c. 39 are **A**; while the opening of c. 54 is **A^B**, and the conclusion nearly **A^B**. These insertions of small pieces of one text in the midst of great masses of the other seem curiously capricious. Nor is this all: throughout the **G** portions of the text (= **A**) is found every here and there a characteristic **B** reading; conversely, throughout the **B** portions (= **A^B**) is found every here and there a characteristic **G** reading. Instances of the first will be found in the Schedules in App. VII; the explanation must be that **A** (like **T**, but in a far less degree) has been contaminated by intermixture with a **B** text. Instances of the second will be found in the portions of **A^B** printed from c. 22 in *Prolog.* 30—34; the most obvious explanation would be that **A^B** preserves a purer form of the **B** text than is found elsewhere. Against this theory, however, stands the fact that some of the agreements of **A^B** with **PWT** are in readings which are certainly erroneous (see Table on p. lxxxv). Moreover the **B** portions of MSS. 45-46, designated **B⁴⁵⁻⁶** (see p. xxi), similarly at times present **PWT** readings where the other **B** MSS. agree in a rival reading; and in those portions of the **B** text extant both in **B⁴⁶⁻⁶** and in **A^B**, sometimes **B⁴⁶⁻⁶** and sometimes **A^B** agrees with the **G** MSS., the other going with the great body of **B** MSS. The following instances from c. 22 will illustrate what I mean:

p. 71, 13	μοχθήσας PTOW ⁰ B ⁴⁵⁻⁶	μόχθω πολλῶ B MSS. A ^B
15	οm PTOW ⁰ A ^B	τὸ πλέγμα B MSS. B ⁴⁵⁻⁶
20	οὔτε ἡγανάκτησεν PTOW ⁰ B ⁴⁵⁻⁶	οὔτε κἀν πρὸς βραχὺ ἡγανάκτησεν B MSS. A ^B
p. 72, 3	ἐπιρρίψαι POW ⁰ A ^B	ἐπιτρέψαι B MSS. (and T) B ⁴⁵⁻⁶
p. 73, 23	κακόγηρε PTOW ⁰	φαγόγηρε λῆρε B MSS. B ⁴⁵⁻⁶

A^B combines κακόγηρε λῆρε

On a review of the phenomena throughout, I am disposed to think that it is B⁴⁵⁻⁶ that approximates by nature to the G text, and so preserves a purer form of B; and that the G readings found every now and then in A¹ were introduced by the scribe, just as he introduced occasional B readings into his G text.

From what has been said it appears that we must conceive the scribe of α (the archetype of the group) as having before him two MSS., the one a G MS. of the type PWT, the other a B MS., and as copying out the text now of one, now of the other, intertwining them in a manner that to us is quite unaccountable; and not only so, but often introducing into his transcript of one text individual readings from the other, so that A contains an admixture of A^B, and A^B of A.

It has been explained in § 3 that none of Du Duc's Greek text is really A or A^B, and that Hervet's Latin was made from a contaminated copy, and cannot be trusted. This redaction of the *Hist. Laus.* contains two sections (c. 116 and the first paragraph of c. 150 in Du Duc and Hervet) not found in any other form of the work, and of unknown origin: they are not printed in this edition.

V—Venice St Mark's, *Bessarion* 346.

Size of text: 21 x 28 cm.

Location: in the "logical" redaction (see

Prolog. 209), the Greek of Rosweyde's Bks. v. and vi., but cc. 1 and 2 are missing; f. 127 *Hist. Laus.* (see below); f. 173 *Hist. Mon.* 1, 8, 16; ff. 189—208 more apophthegmata and sermons.

C—(Preuschen's C^o) Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Coislin* 282.

Saec. XI: parchment: 23 × 27 cm.

Contents: f. 1 apophthegmata; f. 100 *Hist. Laus.* (see below); f. 137 *Hist. Mon.* 1, 8, 16; ff. 149—252 apophthegmata, sermons, and Vitae. (This ms. came from Mt. Athos.)

These two MSS., in respect of the portions of *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.* which they contain, are absolute twins, as is shown by their common peculiarities both of structure and of text. Their readings almost invariably agree, often in contradiction to all other authorities. When they diverge, sometimes V is correct, sometimes C; so that neither is a copy of the other.

These are the mss. numbered 45 and 46 in the List, § 2. It has been pointed out (p. xxi) that the portion of the *Hist. Laus.* contained in them is a composite text, having a section from an A^B ms., a section from a G ms., and a section from a B ms. (p. lxxi). The G section alone is considered here; it alone is designated by V and C: when the other sections are referred to they are cited as 45-46, or B⁴⁵⁻⁶. V occupies ff. 152—163; C ff. 120—130. The chapters of G text are 23—28, 31, 35—39: it appeared in § 8 that the text approximates to that of β, rather than to that of PWTAs; and it was shown that the resemblances are not ordinarily due to intermixture with B. Individual cases, however, of such an element may be discerned in VC: a piece elsewhere found only in B is added at the end of c. 39; on p. 115 attention is called to the apparent influence of B in VC; and most of the cases in Schedule II., App. VII, where 1 stands with PWTAs against VCβ, may probably be attributed to intermixture of a B text with VC (see especially p. 105, 5). The apparatus shows that the G text preserved in VC has also been rewritten with considerable freedom. For the rest, the writing, spelling, itacisms, accentuation, &c. are those of fairly correct average mss. of the eleventh century. (On C see Preuschen, p. 148.)

O—Oxford, Bodleian, *Laud. Graec.* 84.

Saec. XI | XII: parchment.

Contains, in a miscellaneous collection of Vitae and Ascetica, on ff. 223—227 a fragment of *Hist. Laus.*: only cc. 32, half of 33, and 22: full of itacisms and absolute misspellings.

W^o—ff. 61—70 of W (described above).

Contains cc. 22, 20, 21.

The fact that c. 22 is common to O and W^o enables us to see that these two fragments preserve pieces of a single type of G text not found elsewhere: combining them we have cc. 20, 21, 22, 32, half 33. The collations of O are given in full, and those of W^o in c. 21; but for W^o in c. 20 and c. 22 see *infra*, p. 177. They show signs throughout of intermixture with B; in c. 32 especially O has been strongly assimilated to B (see Notes 55 and 57).

33—Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Gr.* 919 (Saec. XIV).

A miscellaneous collection of Ascetica: ff. 29—46 contain under the title 'Εκλογαὶ ἐκ τοῦ λαυσαϊκοῦ, *Hist. Mon.* c. 1, *Hist. Laus.* cc. 17, 11, *H. M.* c. 16, *H. L.* cc. 32, 33, 34, 37. The text of *Hist. Laus.* is fundamentally a G text, akin (apparently) to PW; but it has been rewritten and abridged with such freedom that it is only occasionally of service for textual purposes. Besides the rewriting, the text has been further vitiated by intermixture with a B text (see *infra*, p. 114, and Note 57). The curiously composite ms. no. 47 contains the same text in cc. 17 and 32—34. Full collations of mss. 33 and 47 are given in c. 32; occasional readings in cc. 33, 34 (and elsewhere).

34—Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Gr.* 881 (Saec. X).

Contains among a collection of Acta and Vitae, on ff. 222—224, c. 32 only: a G text; but so altered as to be of little use for textual purposes: cited only in a few cases.

35—Brit. Mus., *Addit.* 14066 (saec. XII).

Contains in a miscellaneous collection, on ff. 164—5, a single episode out of c. 17 (see *infra*, p. 44, 28—p. 46, 8): a G text, but extensively interpolated with the B enlargements. As PW are the only available authorities for the G text in cc. 17 and 18, the readings of the fragment no. 35 are given in full. When the obvious B interpolations have been removed, no. 35 substantially supports PW.

36—A fragment printed among the "Opera S. Nili" (Migne, *Op. Lat.* LXXIX. 1312).

Contains c. 23 in a G text, akin to PW, free from all additions. Its collations are given in full.

See also *Op. Lat.* LXXIX. 1312.

Contains, at f. 186, c. 23 in a G text, but so altered as to be quite valueless: its readings are neglected.

ath—Fragments from c. 63 incorporated in one of the Lives of St Athanasius (see below p. 158): a G text.

This summary description of the Greek MSS. known to me which contain portions of the G text, shows that contamination in a higher or lower degree by mixture with the predominant B text, or else by literary revision, or by both processes, has been the fate of nearly every representative of the G text: PW and the fragments no. 36 and ath are the only ones in which the evidence of such deterioration does not lie on the surface.

B—It remains to speak of the great group of MSS. of the metaphrastic text. The Table on p. xxiii shows that the B MSS. coming under examination fall into seven sub-groups:—1—7, 8—11, 12—13, 14—18, 19—22, 37—44 (the A^B group), 45—46, (the last two groups only in respect of the portions of the B text which they contain). It is, I think, true to say that in some respect or other each one of these sub-groups has preserved more faithfully than any of the others the features of their common ancestor B; so that a critical edition of the metaphrastic text would be an undertaking of extreme difficulty. The sub-group 14—18 presents special features, indicated in Note 11. For the purposes of this edition the value of B lies almost exclusively in the possibility of recovering readings of β , the fifth century G MS. from which B was made (see p. xliv): β readings are to be identified, in varying degrees of probability, by observing attestations of B by one or more G authorities (often l): only in such cases are B readings regularly recorded, and no inference must ever be drawn from mere silence in regard to B.

(II) The Versions.

1—(*Prol.* 59—64).

It has been shown in § 5 that λ (the Greek MS. from which l was made) was a G MS., and in § 8 that it had a special affinity with β . Only three copies of l, and a few fragments, have hitherto been found:

Cod. Sessorianus 41, (1^{sess}), (Vittore Emanuele Library, Rome).
Cod. Casinensis 348, (1^{cas}) } (both at Monte Cassino).
Cod. Casinensis 50

Sess. 41 is assigned to the tenth century by Reifferscheid (Sitz. Wien. Akad. L. 772); but Signor Ambrosi, Custodian of mss. in the Vit. Eman. Library, places it early in the eleventh: Dom Amelli places Cass. 348 late in the eleventh, and Cass. 50 in the twelfth. Cass. 348 was carelessly transcribed and then carefully corrected by the same, or a contemporary, hand: many of the corrections are restorations of the readings of the ms. copied, but many are clearly attempts at emendation that depart from the original. Cass. 50 is a clean copy of 348, adopting all the corrections; thus it is of no independent value as a textual source. Sess. is on the whole the most correct, but it has errors of its own, and also has lost several folios, from the beginning of c. 57 to near the end of c. 65. Sess. and both Cass. mss. have a lacuna from p. 34, 3 to p. 37, 3, and another from p. 164, 7 to p. 165, 12: in each case the text runs on continuously, making complete nonsense, and thus showing that the mss. are derived from a single exemplar which had lost a folio in each place. A third Cassinese ms., 143 (see *Prol.* 62), contains the text of l for cc. 6, 14, 29, 37, 38, and extracts from cc. 18 and 61 (see p. xxxiv, note), but in a corrupt form: these pieces are printed in *Bibl. Casin.* III. One piece of l is readily accessible in print—the version of c. 34 among the Latin *Apophthegmata* (Rosweyd, Bk v, xviii. 19). The Munich ms. *lat.* 3056 (f. 213) contains extracts from l, but abbreviated.

1^{rev}—l was revised on a Greek B ms. and a considerable number of the metaphrastic enlargements were incorporated from beginning to end. This debased form of l is found in the great majority of the mss. and in the printed *Paradisus Heraclidis*. The pieces of l printed in the *Bibl. Casin.* and Rosweyd (*loc. cit.*), or in this *Introd.*, or else the apparatus to c. 45, will afford a sufficient idea of the character of 1^{rev}. For an edition of l, the better mss. of 1^{rev} (i.e. nos. viii.—xi., *Prol.* 60) cannot be neglected; but the fact must be emphasised that for controlling the l readings in this volume only the Sess. and Cass. mss. may be employed, all others as yet brought to light, as well as the printed text, being worthless for the purpose.

Mr Burkitt's investigation of the biblical citations in l leads him to the conclusion that there is no trace of any Vulgate reading, and to the surmise that l was translated not later than the sixth century, possibly in Africa. The reviser who produced 1^{rev} was familiar with the Vulgate. (*Prol.* 70—75.)

—(*Prol.* 64—69).

There are two groups:—

1. *Cod. Casinensis* 348 (Brit. Mus. Addit. 29518 (f. 104), Barberini

lat. 702 (f. 193), and *Munich lat.* 3056 (f. 213), 5823 (f. 100), 18553^a (f. 114), 23757 (f. 129).

These MSS. range from saec. XI—XV.

l_2^b —consisting of the other MSS. known to me, and the printed texts: same date.

The main differences between l_2^a and l_2^b have been sufficiently explained in *Prolog.*: l_2^a is on the whole a slightly more correct text.

But better than either are the fragments (cc. 18 (half), 19, 21) in *Cod. Cass.* 143, printed in *Bibl. Casin.* III.; two instances suffice to show the superiority: *fecit sensatam* instead of *mansuefecit*, p. 58, 2; and *ultima mala*, representing *ἔσχατα* (for *σχάρα* or *σχάσρα*) instead of *multa mala*, p. 65, 8.

l_2 contains only fragments of the Ep. to Lausus and the Prologue, and cc. 1—6, 9—13, 16—19, 21, 23, 24, 38, 44, 70: all of this, except the fragment of Ep. (printed p. 6) and a few lines of the Prologue, appears in the printed editions. The date of the translation may be sixth, seventh, or eighth century.

■—(*Prolog.* 84—86).

The chief mss. are:—

Brit. Mus., *Addit.* 17177 (saec. VI).

Contents: cc. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 12—14, 16, (of 18, the few lines on Mark), 22, 23, 34, 37, 21.

Brit. Mus., *Addit.* 12173 (saec. VI | VII).

Contents already specified on p. l, note.

Also in other places, among collections of apophthegmata, cc. 17, 18 (f. 111) and c. 23 (f. 44)—found similarly in other MSS. (see *Prolog.* 90—94).

Tullberg's "ms. A" contained cc. 35, 40, 47, 22, 23, 41^a, 63, 57 (half), 60, 70, 29 (print breaks off imperfect): also apparently c. 21. His "ms. B" contained cc. 22, 23.

[The abridgment of c. 8 in *Addit.* 17262 is from a B text.]

Combining these, we find that *s* is extant, and in sixth century MSS., for Ep. to Lausus, and cc. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 12—14, 16—18, 21—23, 25—31, 34—37, 40, 44, 46—48, 50, 51, 53—55, 58, 59 (half), 60, 63, 65, 69—71.

Seeing that there are remains of three or four Syriac versions of the *Hist. Laus.*, the assumption that the above-mentioned MSS. all contain portions of

the same version requires justification. It is reasonable to suppose that all the chapters found together in any given ms. containing a whole section of the book, really belong to each other, and are portions of one and the same version. Now Tullberg's A contains chapters in common both with 17177 and with 12173; and so it supplies the link that enables us to identify these two mss. as containing portions of the same Syriac translation. In regard to cc. 17 and 18, the few lines on Mark (p. 56, 8—10) have been cut out of c. 18 in both 12173 and 14648; but they are found by themselves as one of the series of lives in 17177: this seems good reason for assigning the Syriac of cc. 17 and 18 to the same version as is found in 17177. Moreover we know that this version of c. 18 is not s_2 .

In regard to Tullberg's mss. some difficulty exists. The printing of his edition apparently was not completed; every copy I have seen breaks off at p. 42 in the middle of a sentence in c. 29; consequently no indication is given towards the identification of the mss. employed. The title contains the general statement that they belong to the Vatican and the British Museum. There can be no doubt that Tullberg's V is the great Vatican copy of Anan-Isho's *Paradise* (Cod. Syr. 126); but neither in the Vatican nor in the British Museum did I find any ms. corresponding to his A; *Addit.* 12173 presents striking resemblances to A, but it does not contain cc. 22 or 23, for which chapters Tullberg cites readings from A. If Tullberg's readings are fairly inaccurate, his B may be *Addit.* 17177, for B is cited only for cc. 22 and 23, the only chapters printed by Tullberg which are found in 17177. He cites also an N and an O in one or two chapters: I can offer no conjecture concerning them. I was not able to search the Propaganda collection in Rome.

s_2 —(*Prol.* 86—88).

The chief mss. are:

Vat. *Syr.* 123, (s_2^{vat}) (saec. VI).

It contains: cc. 1—16, two episodes from 18 (*infra* pp. 49, 52), 19—21, beginning of 22, 23—29 (incomplete, the ms. being mutilated).

Assemani gives as the date century VIII.; but this is certainly an error arising from the fact that the codex is composed of two independent mss. bound up together: century VIII. is a probable date for the first of them, but the second which contains the *Hist. Laus.* is much older. It is a Nitrian ms., and I at once perceived its likeness to the sixth century Nitrian mss. at the British Museum. Professor Guidi and Mr Norman McLean independently passed the same judgment, so that I have no hesitation in assigning it to the sixth century.

Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 12175, (s_2^{add}) (A.D. 534).

Contains: cc. 1—5, 15, 16, 20, 43, 24, 19, 39.

(Brit. Mus., *Addit.* 12172 (saec. ix) contains c. 16.)

Thus of s_2 we have cc. 1—29 (except 17, 18, 22), 39, 43.

The Vat. MS. contains the better text.

An idea of the general character of s and s_2 as translations may be gathered from the Table in § 5, where a literal rendering of half of c. 23 is supplied: see also Appendix V. ii.

s^{an} —(*Prol.* 77—84).

By s^{an} I designate Anan-Isho's Syriac redaction of the *Hist. Laus.* in Bk I. (and a few chapters of Bk II.) of his *Paradise*; it has been printed by Bedjan in his edition of the *Paradise* (*Acta Martyrum* VII). The relations of the text to s and s_2 are much more complex than I had imagined when writing *Prol.* Only after examining Vat. Syr. 123 was I in a position to give a full and precise account of s^{an} , as follows:

Anan-Isho (c. 650) had before him three Syriac mss. almost identical in contents with *Addit.* 17177 and 12173 of s , and 12175 of s_2 ; also a copy of the two chapters (17, 18) found among the *Apophthegmata* in 12173 and 14648: he also had a Greek ms. of a B text. He then combined his Syriac mss. so as to make them supply one another's deficiencies, building them up more or less on the model of his Greek ms., though often retaining the peculiar configuration of the Syriac mss.: where the Syriac failed he commonly filled up the gap by a translation from his Greek B ms. And so the first portion of his Bk I. is made up thus:—

s	Ep.,	6,	9, 10	12—14,	16—18
s_2		1—5			15,
fresh trans.	Proem,	Prol.	7, 8	11	

At c. 18 comes a break: c. 19 (s_2) occurs in Bk II.; c. 20 is omitted altogether (though in 12175); c. 21 comes later (after c. 37, as in 17177): thus cc. 22, 23, from s , follow c. 18. For the rest of Bk I. he used s when available, as in 12173, supplying the lacunae by translations from his Greek B ms.; and in Bk II. he used up the remaining pieces of 12175. But Anan-Isho also, especially in the early chapters, revised the Syriac G texts of s and s_2 by means of his Greek B ms., so that his Syriac contains a large admixture of B readings not found in the sixth century Syriac mss. Fortunately he soon tired of this, and by the time he reached cc. 17 and 18 his Syriac commonly differs only now and then, and slightly, from s or s_2 . Throughout the whole book, however, isolated B readings continue to occur, so that it is never safe to trust his text without reference to the mss. of s and s_2 in their independent state. The more considerable enlargements of B, such as amount to several lines, are usually inserted by Anan-Isho; at the beginning of c. 17 he gives both forms of the short introduction on the Macarii, the G form from his

Syriac ms. and the B form translated from his Greek ms. In the later portion of the book the fact of translation from a B ms. is at once evident, since to find in the midst of a substantially G text, chapters of an absolutely B text, just where there are lacunae in s (as cc. 56, 57, 61, 62), immediately arrests attention; but in the early chapters, owing to the assimilation of the circumjacent G text to the B type, it is not equally obvious.

Anan-Isho's section on Pachomius (cc. 32—34) receives attention in Note 47; the Life of Evagrius (c. 38) in Note 71.

A word of warning to the textual critic is necessary in regard to Bedjan's edition of the *Hist. Laus.* in Anan-Isho. The primary purpose of his edition must always be kept in mind, viz. to supply Syriac literature to his own people. The readings of the earlier mss. are of no value for this purpose. But as he has added an apparatus purporting to give the full collations of some of the old mss., among others of *Addit.* 17177 and 12173, it is necessary to point out that this apparatus, owing to its incompleteness and capriciousness, is a snare and pitfall to the Occidental textual critic. Two or three instances will justify this statement. Under the symbol L he gives 3 variants of 12173 in the *Ep. ad Lausum* (Bedjan, pp. 1—4), not including the various Titles; but he omits 14 others, some fully as important as any he includes. Again, in c. 58, at the foot of p. 173 he records that L has ܘܘܘܘ instead of ܘܘܘ; but he neglects to state that it omits the first seven lines on the next page, one of the B enlargements inserted by Anan-Isho. Lastly (p. 137), at the beginning of c. 55, he does not notify that L omits the word ܘܘܘܘ, a point of some critical interest, on which, trusting to his text, I was misled when writing *Prol.* 296. These examples suffice to show that Bedjan's collations of L do not dispense us from recourse to the mss.

c—(*Prol.* 110—128).

The only MSS. given in printed Catalogues are:

Vat. *Cop.* 64 (saec. x).

Contains: Ep. ad Lausum, Prologue, and parts of cc. 9, 10, 38.

Vat. *Cop.* 69 (A.D. 1153).

Contains c. 18 (incomplete).

(See Mai, *Script. vet. nov. Coll.* v, *159, *165: the MSS. mentioned by Zoega are copies of these.)

Bohairic dialect: a G text, akin to l_2 .

eth—(*Prol.* 156).

Only cc. 32 and half 33.

A G text, translated with fair literalness (see Note 47).

arm—(*Prol.* 97—106).

They are sufficiently closely to

the Greek to allow of any judgment, are all B texts; except c. 38, which is beyond question a G text (see Note 71).

ar—(*Prolog.* 164).

Only a few scraps of cc. 32, 33: though completely rewritten and paraphrased, features of the B text may be discerned.

One other point remains for brief discussion here. We have seen that in the case of the Greek G MSS. the question of intermixture with B always calls for careful consideration; and we have seen, too, that l has been subjected to extensive and systematic revision on a B text in l^{rev}, and s and s₂ in s^{an}: we have to ask now if there are grounds for suspecting the presence of any minor B element in l l₂ s s₂ c, in the states which have been recognised as substantially G.

l—It has been shown that the general series of agreements of l with B indicates not any adventitious influence of B on l, but an affinity between β and λ. There are, however, two readings of l to which attention may be directed, as conceivably indicating conflation:

p. 11, 17 G εἶδους B προσώπου l uultum ac figuram
p. 106, 10 G δάκτυλον ἤραν B δ. ἀπέκοψαν l abscidit ac rapuit

l₂—Only in c. 21 have I noticed any serious ground for suspecting B readings in l₂, see the apparatus to p. 67, 10, 11 and p. 68, 18. See, however, pp. 11, 20; 18, 22; 21, 13; 22, 9; 44, 22; 49, 19; 53, 8; 54, 15; 64, 6.

■—The question may arise as to p. 83, 6 ἐξεστηκώς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν φρενῶν (see Note 45 fin.); p. 100, 3 λάθρα; p. 101, 1 (apparatus) ὅτι νικήσει αὐτόν; p. 103, 1 καὶ προγινώσκειν πάντα. See also: pp. 15, 7; 30, 17; 31, 8; 36, 7; 44, 24; 73, 23; 76, 3; 86, 7; 98, 23; 99, 4; 106, 13; 114, 2; 135, 2; 139, 5.

■₂—See pp. 16, 24; 17, 7; 27, 7; 28, 9; 38, 14; 39, 2; 61, 1.

c—See pp. 30, 6; 117, 9; 118, 11.

The cases cited are comparatively so few, and when examined are seen to be of a kind that might so easily have arisen independently, that they may safely be neglected.

§ 10. METHOD OF EDITING.

Now that all the materials are before us, the question remains: What is the editor to do?

It has already been settled (§ 6) that the proper course to pursue

is to edit the G text without including the B enlargements in the apparatus. But of the G text there are two varieties: the $\beta\lambda$ type, represented by B and l, with which VC and s_2 in some measure agree; and the γ type, represented by PWTA and s. We have now to make our choice between these two types of the G text.

The discussions of §§ 7 and 8 have shown that the distinctive Bl readings are of two kinds: (a) whole sections or considerable passages, found in Bl but omitted in γ ; (b) minor variants consisting of the addition of a word or a phrase. Each class of reading is occasionally supported by s_2 . The series of whole passages in Bl has already been discussed at some length in § 7, and in many cases distinct reason has been shown for accepting them as genuine. The case of the minor Bl readings must now be considered.

As Sozomen is the earliest witness to the text, we must examine the evidence he affords. In the following cases he may be supposed to support Bl:

- p. 33, 4 B ἀπελθόντων οὖν αὐτῶν μετὰ βοηθείας πολλῆς εἰς τὸ συλλαβίσθαι αὐτῶν
 l cumque ad eum cum magna multitudine quo facilius abstraheretur intrassent
 Soz μέλλων δέ ποτε πρὸς χειροτονίαν ἐπισκοπῆς συλλαμβάνεσθαι
 PWTl₂s₂ ὡς οὖν ἀπῆλθον μετὰ βοηθείας
 (s vac)
- p. 60, 8 B ἐπειδὴ οὐκέτι ἔξεστί μοι ἀδικεῖν οὐδένα
 l quia nulli ulterius iam nocere possum
 l₂ quia iam mihi non expedit nocere aliquem
 Soz ὡς μὴ θεμιτὸν αὐτῷ ἐτι μηδένα κακῶς ποιεῖν
 PTA^Bs₂ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι ἀδικεῖν οὐδένα
 (Ws vac)
- p. 62, 20 B οὐκ ἔλαβέ τι παρά τινος
 l non ab ullo aliquid accepit
 Soz οὐδὲ ἐλάμβανέ τι παρά του
 PTW^o οὐκ ἔλαβε παρά τινος
 (Wl₂s vac; s₂ om; P 14 18 om τι see Note 11.)
- 91 7 F ῥύξας φρέαρ
 ecisset sibi ρύξας
 φρέαρ ὅτι ἔλαβε
 φρέαρ ὅτι ἔλαβε

- p. 125, 4 B ἐπιστὰς ἡμῖν ὁ μακάριος Πίωρ
 l sanctus Pior.....adstitit nobis
 Soz ἐπιστάντα δὲ αὐτοῖς.....τὸν Πίωρ
 PTVCs₂ ἐπιστὰς ὁ Πίωρ
 (W₁s vac)
- p. 158, 4 B ἵνα μὴ τινα μῶμον δῶ ἐξ ὑπονοίας
 l ne qua...ex suspicione quorundam uel macula notaretur
 Soz ἵνα μὴ τινα ψόγον ἐξ ὑπονοίας αὐτοῖς προστρίψῃται
 PWTs ἵνα μὴ τινι μῶμον δῶ ἐξ ὑπονοίας
 (l₂s₂ vac)

(To these without any doubt may be added the piece at p. 34, 6 in Table p. lxxxv.)

In the following cases Soz seems to support PWT against Bls :

- p. 39, 20 B τοιούτου χάριματος ἠξιώθη ὡς καταπτύειν δαιμόνων
 l talem diuinam gratiam meruit ut contempneret daemones
 s₂ has ὡς, but not τοιούτου
 Soz ἐδόθη χάρις...ὑπερφρονεῖν τῶν δαιμόνων
 PWT χάριματος ἠξιώθη καταπτύειν δαιμόνων
 (l₂s vac)
- p. 123, 13 B καὶ ἐσήμανε ὅτι Πίωρ παρεγένετο καὶ ἕξω ἔστηκεν. αἰσθόμενος
 δὲ τοῦ ψόφου τῆς θύρας κ.τ.λ.
 l significauit dicens: Pior uenit et pro foribus assistit. datoque
 ianuae sono etc.
 s₂ punctuates as Bl
 Soz καὶ στὰς πρὸ τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας ἐμήνυσεν ἐλληλυθέβαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ψοφεῖν τὴν θύραν ἦσθετο κ.τ.λ.
 P } καὶ ἐσήμανεν ὅτι Π. { παραγένετο. στὰς οὖν ἕξω }
 TVC } { παρεγένετο. ἕξω οὖν (δέ) στὰς } καὶ τοῦ
 ψόφου τῆς θύρας αἰσθόμενος κ.τ.λ.
 (W₁s vac: a few unnecessary words are omitted.)

Thus Sozomen's testimony helps little towards a practical judgment as to the choice of text to be made, though he does seem to have had before him some out of the few Bl readings in question.

An examination of the whole series of minor Bl readings shows that they commonly are of the nature of single words or phrases or clauses which help to smoothen the construction, or to colour the narrative, or to suggest a reason for something said or done. In character they are not unlike the so-called Western readings in the Acts: and just as there are minds to whom the Western text of the Acts appeals as the more primitive, so it may be that

to some literary critics the β l text of the *Hist. Laus.* will seem the better. For my own part, I do not think that these readings ordinarily improve the text, but rather weaken it by spoiling a terse rapidity of narrative often displayed in the γ text. But the Bl readings are very early; and some may be disposed to hold the view that they are due to a retouching of the text by Palladius himself. Certainly, though γ is the best on the whole, the β l text has some good qualities not shared by γ : in § 7 we have learned that β l almost certainly preserve the true sequence of the chapters in the last third of the book, and also a number of authentic pieces of the text not found in γ ; in the next Table we shall see that B and l are consistently free from a number of "tendenziös" alterations in the Greek representatives of γ ; and in Notes 45 and 69 will be found further points worthy of consideration.

Amidst these uncertainties the editor's course is clearly pointed out by the logic of facts. Not the very smallest fragment of a β Greek text has yet been brought to light: β is known only through B; even VC are forthcoming only for one-fifth of the book, and in that fifth they do not support nearly all the Bl readings. Under such circumstances any attempted reconstruction of β by inserting the Bl readings into γ , would be neither β nor γ , but a critical figment not representing any text that ever had a real existence: the morsels of B intruded into the text would often not be really β , but the metaphrast's revision; and the adjustments of grammar and construction necessary in order to make way for them would in all probability seldom faithfully reproduce β . The production of a Greek ms. of the β type would alter the situation; but with the materials at hand it is clear that the only historical method of editing the *Hist. Laus.* at the present time is to reproduce the γ text as faithfully as may be. Therefore the minor Bl readings are given only in the apparatus, and the text will present a critical edition of γ . In the case, however, of the whole sections not found in γ but only in Bl (viz. cc. 41^b, 42, 45, 49, 52, discussed in § 7), an approximate text is supplied between square brackets and printed closer; and a few lesser pieces attested by β , as well as Bl are inserted in the text between half brackets ($\left[\right]$): the removal of such pieces is easy, and will yield the γ text.

For the reasons developed in § 7 the order of B1 towards the end of the book is adopted.

The only problem that now remains is the investigation of the interrelations of the chief representatives of γ —of PWT and A with one another, and of all with s (see Pedigree, p. lxvii). As a starting point we shall examine the treatment of a number of heretical or suspected names that occur throughout the book. All the authorities, so far as they are in each case extant, are included in the following Table.

ρ. 29, 16 διδάσκαλος Διοσκόρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Εὐσεβίου καὶ Εὐθυμίου τῶν ἀδελφῶν PWBlss ₂ (om τῶν ἀδ. ss ₂)	διδάσκαλος Διοσκόρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Ἀμμῶνος T ven A ^B _{1,2} C (Ammonius I ₂)
ρ. 29, 17 καὶ Ὀριγένους PWBlss ₂	καὶ Ἰωάννου T ven A ^B _{1,2} C
ρ. 30, 11 λέγει τῷ οἰκονόμῳ αὐτοῦ Ὀριγένει PWBlss ₂	λέγει τῷ οἰκονόμῳ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρῳ TA ^B _{1,2} C
ρ. 31, 11 Ὀριγένει τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ οἰκονόμῳ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ Blss ₂	Μακαρίῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ Ἀμμῶνι PWT ven A ^B _{1,2} C (Ἀμμωνίῳ PA ^B _{1,2} : +Theodore c)
ρ. 31, 18 Ὀριγένης τε καὶ Ἀμμώνιος Blss ₂	Θεόδωρός τε καὶ Ἀμμῶν PWTc (Ἀμμώνιος P: +Theodore and Jacob c)
(οἱ πατέρες A ^B : I ₂ s vac)	
ρ. 34, 6 ἀνδρῶν ἐλλογίμων Ὀριγένους καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Πιερίου καὶ Στεφάνου B Soz (I ^{στ}) (Ἔ. καὶ Δ. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Soz)	ἀνδρῶν ἐλλογίμων Ἀθανασίου καὶ Βασιλείου PWTA ^B
(Isc vac: s ₂ om: I ₂ paraphr)	
ρ. 35, 8 Διώσκορος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος PWBA ^B ss ₂ (I ^{στ}) (om ὁ ἐπ. s) (Ic vac)	ὁ Μακάριος Tl ₂
ρ. 35, 9 τὸν μακάριον Εὐάγριον PWBA ^B ss ₂ (I ^{στ}) (Ic vac)	τὸν μακάριον Θεόδωρον Tl ₂ (Theodorum et Macariolum)
ρ. 75, 5 τῷ διδασκάλῳ μου Εὐαγρίῳ TVCBls ₂	τῷ διδασκάλῳ μου Εὐλογίῳ PW 35 36 A ^B
(I ₂ om: c vac)	

p. 78, 1	καὶ Εὐάγριον	καὶ Εὐλόγιον
	TVCBl _s ₂	PWL ₂
		(A ^B om: sc vac)
p. 81, 5	τὸν μακάριον Εὐάγριον	(τὸν) Μακάριον τὸν πρεσβύτερον
	VCBl _s ₂	PWTA (om τὸν ¹)
		(l ₂ c vac)
p. 113, 18	μαθητῆ Ὁριγένους	om
	VCBl _s	PWTA 33
		(l ₂ s ₂ c vac)

In every one of these twelve pairs of readings, the reading in the left hand column is manifestly the true one, those on the right being all due to an orthodox "tendenz,"—the desire to get rid of objectionable names, even the very name of Origen when borne by one of the monks. Bl and s₂ (so far as they are extant) are entirely free from this taint; so are VC in the four cases for which they are extant. On the contrary, l₂ and c whenever their readings can be determined (7 and 5 times respectively) uniformly present the corruption. Turning to γ, we find that its Greek representatives pursue no consistent line, but that s when extant always supports Bl (VCs₂): whence it may be inferred that the taint was not in γ itself. When we remember that a close affinity between l₂ and c has already been proved (p. lxxv); and when we observe that there is an evident unity about the series of falsifications in the Table (Theodore being substituted for other names three times, Macarius three times, Eulogius twice); we shall, in view of the various facts just recited, easily conclude that these corruptions in proper names arose in, and spread from, a Greek ms. of the type represented by l₂ and c.

The phenomena presented by PWTA (and A^B) in the Table are very curious, and very instructive for the present investigation into the character of these MSS. At the outset it must be again emphasised that the close textual affinity of the four MSS. PWTa (the archetype of the A MSS.), and their descent from a single ancestor γ, from which they inherited serious dislocations of the text, have been established in §§ 7 and 8. PW consistently go together in the Table; and in the two cases in which A (as distinguished from A^B) is extant, it goes with PWT. But the proceedings of T are very perplexing. It would seem that T and A^B have come more under the influence of the archetype of l₂c than

have PW; this appears from the Table, and also from the passage p. 48, 25—p. 49, 2, where TA^B₁ agree in a recasting of the text against the united witness of PBl_s (Ws, c vac.)¹: see also Tl₂ at p. 49, 27. The presence of T on the left hand in the passages in the Table taken from p. 75, 5 and p. 78, 1 may reasonably be attributed to the influence of B, which in varying degrees pervades T.

The most important result to be derived from the Table is that s in every case has preserved the original reading where the Greek representatives of γ have gone wrong, sometimes all of them together. This shows that corruptions from which s is free, have crept into the Greek γ MSS. at some time between the end of the fifth century (the date of s) and the tenth (the date of W and the earliest A MSS.). In such cases the agreement of s with Bl (VCs₂) shows that they, and not PWTA, have preserved the true γ reading. Similar instances occur throughout the book; there is a good one at p. 82, 6, where s supports VCBls₂ in reading τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, omitted by PWTA. Where s thus bears witness against the Greek representatives of γ, its evidence is to be followed. For this reason I have relegated to footnotes a series of passages in c. 18 (see p. 50, 5 and 9, p. 51, 1, p. 57, 12) found in PWTA^B₁ (and c when extant), but not in Bl_s (or s₂ when extant)²; their absence from s shows them to be interpolations, arising, probably, from Greek MSS. like the originals of l₂ and c. (The case of s is further discussed in Appendix V. ii.)

It is difficult to imagine how it can have come to pass that, though s has often thus kept right when PWTA have all gone wrong, at other times Ts agree in error, when PWA are right in company with Bl (see instances cited p. lxiv); while at p. 147, 3 TAs agree in the error ἀδελφῆς (see Note 95): moreover at p. 149, 3 P and s give ἀπλότης incorrectly for the ἀπαλότης of TABl (W vac); and at 137, 9 A and s alone read ὁ μακάριος Εὐάγγριος.

And when we neglect s and consider only the Greek γ MSS., their interrelations are found to be no less perplexing. All the following combinations occur, most of them frequently:

¹ Such departures of A^B from B, where B is correct, form one of the grounds for surmising that A^B has been in some measure revised by a γ ms. (perhaps akin to T): (see p. lxxii).

² The addition at p. 50, 9 is not in W, and the context of p. 57 is completely lost.

PA	v.	WT(B)	WA	v.	PT(B)
PT	v.	WA(B)	WT	v.	PA(B)
TA	v.	PW(B)	WA	v.	PT(B)
PB	v.	WTA	WB	v.	PTA

Nor is this all: sometimes agreements in error are found, of a kind that indicate descent from a common ancestor: thus at p. 130, **17** TA have *πρὸς ἡμέρας* for *πρὸ ἡμέρας*, and p. 138, **19** they have *πᾶσιν* for *πρᾶξιν*; similarly at p. 147, **1** PA have Ἐπριανόν for Ἐπρονιανόν (see Note 95), and p. 168, **12** for the *μηδένα νύξαι* of TBs, we find in A *μηδὲν ἀνοιξαι*, and in P *μηδαμῶς ἀνοιξαι* with further alterations of the text. At other times, too, PT agree in such corruptions: at p. 79, **3** they read *φύσεως* for *φυσιώσεως*; and PT (but not A or s) append to the account of Sylvania (c. 55, p. 149) a couple of lines which stand at the end of the story of Juliana (c. 64, p. 160) in B1, and are repeated there word for word in P, (c. 64 is missing in T and in s).

Still more unaccountable are such cross divisions as the following:

p. 107, 6 <i>διεγενόμην</i>		<i>διεγενόμην</i>
WTA ³⁷ VB(1)	(om s)	PA ³⁸ C
p. 109, 5 <i>ἐγγράμματος</i>		<i>ἀγγράμματος</i>
WTA ⁴⁰ VBI		PA ³⁹ 33Cs

With the present materials it is futile to speculate on the hidden cross-currents that have given rise to results so inconsistent and seemingly defying all attempts at clear-cut classification. But whatever the explanations may be, the main textual facts acquired during the foregoing discussions stand out unmistakably, and cannot be obscured by the crowd of outstanding unexplained difficulties, which must be dealt with individually as they occur. The process known as "Intermixture of texts" has evidently been busily at work, and in a very subtle manner, among the ancestors of the MSS. with which we are occupied. We have seen (p. lxx) that T has been extensively contaminated throughout by mixture with a B text; and so the large number of TB readings seldom cause any embarrassment: and this is true also, and for the like reason, in regard to most of the AB readings. We have now to ask the question: Have T and B the protagonists of the Greek members

of the γ group, been subjected in any measure to similar deteriorating influences? We shall take first the case of P.

P. P has the Proem, found elsewhere only in B (see Note 1). Notes 4 and 31 contain further evidence of P having been corrupted by B. Sched. I in App. VII presents three cases in which PB stand together against WTA and VC; only one is sufficiently clear to be made the basis of an argument:

- p. 113, 13 WTAVC *ἐκείνοι δὲ οὔτε (οὐδὲ AVC) ἑκατὸν χρυσίων ἡδέως (+ οὐκ A)
ἀν ἔλυσον*
P *ἐκείνοι δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς ἑκατὸν χρυσίους ἡδέως ἀν τοῦτο
ἐποίουσαν*
B *λέγουσι.....οὔτε εἰ ἑκατὸν ἐδίδως χρύσινα τοῦτο ἐποι-
οῦμεν ἡδέως*

Outside the Schedules we find:

- p. 77, 3 *οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐδήχθην* PBI; *οὐκ ἐδήχθην* WT36VCas₂
p. 76, 4 the word *αἰσχροῦς* found in PVCBI, but not in WT36L₂ss₂

Of cases in which VC are not extant the following deserve consideration:

- p. 48, 12 W *ὀπῆς· ὡς τελώνης γάρ μοι οὐ συνεχώρει* (see p. 173)
T *ὀπῆς· ὁ τελώνης γάρ, φησί, οὐ συνεχώρει*
P *ὀπῆς· τὸ γὰρ παντελῶς μὴ ἐσθίειν ὁ τελώνης μοι οὐ συνεχώρει*
B *ὀπῆς· ὁ τελώνης γάρ μου οὐ συνεχώρει, φησί, τὸ παντελῶς μὴ
ἐσθίειν*

(Neither l nor s have any trace of the clause *τὸ παντελῶς μὴ ἐσθίειν*:
Al₂s₂ vac)

- p. 95, 11 the words *ἀσθενέστεροι ὄντες* found in PA^B and, with a slight difference, in B; but omitted in T and the other extant representatives of G (W vac)
p. 139, 5 WTs *ἢ εἰς αἰσχροουργίαν ἢ εἰς αἰσχροπάθειαν καὶ αἰσχύνην λη-
φθέντες*
P *ἢ εἰς αἰσχροουργίαν ἢ αἰσχροπάθειαν περιπίπτουσι
καὶ αἰσχύνην ληφθέντες*
B(l) *ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς αἰσχροουργίαν ἢ αἰσχροπάθειαν
καὶ αἰσχύνην*

(A om)

- p. 143, 9 WTLs *ὡς (+ τὸν T) ἥλιον διαφαίνειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀστέων*
P *ὡς τὸν ἥλιον διαφαίνειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀστέων τὸ πῆγμα*
B *ὡς ἥλιον διαφαίνειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀστέων τὸ πῆγμα*
(A vac)

It is not, I think, open to doubt that in all these cases the P reading is the result of assimilation to B; we shall therefore be prepared to find throughout the book a number of readings, less striking than these, also supported by PB, which are due to the same cause having been at work in P: (see Note 101).

W. Sched. I in App. VII contains two cases in which WB stand together against PTA and VC, but neither is significant. There is, however, at the beginning of the Prologue (p. 9, 12) a long insertion in W, found in B, but not in any other authority for the text (see p. 170). The following appear to be cases of the same phenomenon:

- p. 17, 15 PT *εἰ μή τι ἐργαζόμενος ἢ ἐσθίων*
 Soz *πλὴν ὅσον ἐργαζόμενος ἢ ἐσθίων*
 W *εἰ μή τι ἐν τῷ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ἢ ἐσθίειν*
 B *εἰ μή τι (αἰ. που) ἐν τῷ ἐργάζεσθαι ἢ ἐσθίειν*
- p. 27, 6 PT *σύμβιον* WBl *γνησίαν σύζυγον*
- p. 41, 8 PT *κέλλαν* WB *σκέπην*
- p. 48, 19 PT *τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ στυφόμενος τῇ ψυχρότητι*
 WB *τῇ δὲ νυκτερωῇ στυφόμενος ψυχρότητι*

(In none of these cases is A extant, or do the versions help)

Except in the piece in the Prologue, and in that at p. 17, 15 (where Sozomen's witness seems very significant) the idea that B may have exercised a direct influence on W hardly rises above a suspicion, for the traces of B are few and slight—I have found no others sufficiently clear to be worthy of individual mention. Thus W is much freer than P from any taint of B. At the same time, the large number of minor readings on p. 170—5 in which WB stand against PT, and WT against PB, cannot but give rise to the suspicion that W and P have both suffered to an appreciable extent from intermixture with B.

PW. We have yet to consider whether P and W have inherited in common from their proximate ancestor any admixture of B readings. Here again the passages at the beginning of the Prologue, discussed in Note 4, compel us to return an affirmative answer. In the greater portion of the book, although the combination PWB v. TA frequently occurs, it is impossible to say whether PW have been corrupted by B, or TA have gone wrong

together, as they certainly sometimes do. But in the portions of the text for which VC are available it may be possible to form a judgment on some such readings. The following passage is the chief instance :

p. 111, 4—7 (a few non-significant words are omitted):

TAVC	(καὶ A)	προσδραμόντες δὲ (om A)	ἅπαντες.....λέγουσιν αὐτῶ·
PW	καὶ	προσδραμόντες	ὑφ' ἐν.....λέγουσιν αὐτῶ·
B		συνδραμόντες δὲ	πάντες ὑφ' ἐν.....λέγουσιν αὐτῶ·
TAVC	Τί ἔχεις;	καὶ πόθεν εἶ;	καὶ τί πάσχεις; τότε (om A) λέγει
PW	Τί ἔχεις, ἄνθρωπε;	ἢ πόθεν εἶ;	ἢ τί πάσχεις; λέγει
B	Τί ἔχεις, ἄνθρωπε;	ἢ πόθεν εἶ;	ἢ τί πάσχεις; λέγει
TAVC	αὐτοῖς...τρῖσι	περιέπεσα (-σον VC)	δανεισταῖς
PW	αὐτοῖς...τρῖσι	δανεισταῖς	περιέπεσα
B	αὐτοῖς...τρῖσι	δανεισταῖς	περιέπεσα

When it is stated that s omits *ὑφ' ἐν* and *ἄνθρωπε*, and has *καὶ* — *καὶ*, it will be difficult to resist the conclusion that the text of the common proximate ancestor of P and W had been assimilated to B in the foregoing passage, (or to β, for l is doubtful).

The following also may be noticed :

p. 106, 12	PWB	ἔβαψαν	TAVC	ἔρριψαν
p. 112, 2	PWB	ἔνα ἄρτον	TAVC	om ἔνα
p. 78, 4	PWB(A ^B)	ἐπιμελούμενον	TVC	τημελούμενον
p. 144, 20	PWB	ἄρτους νεαροῦς	Tls	om νεαροῦς

From the foregoing investigations it follows that every single known Greek representative of the G text, with the possible exception of the fragments 36 and ath, has been to a greater or less extent contaminated by admixtures of B. In W, however, this element is sufficiently slight to be in practice negligible.

It is clear that P and W have to serve as the basis of the text, pre-eminently W where it is extant : but owing to the numerous and great gaps in W, P must still, even after the production of W, remain the principal ms. In those portions of the text for which a number of other G mss. exist, it is possible to eliminate many, perhaps most, of the eccentricities of P and W, and to recover a text probably representing with fair accuracy that of γ. But where PWT are the only G mss., and still more in the considerable sections where PT are the only G mss., it is impossible to attain to any such security. An instructive example lies

before us in the portion of the book, up to p. 54, printed off before the finding of W. Choice had to be made again and again between a reading supported by P and one supported by TB. On the one hand, I knew very well from later portions of the text that P has throughout a number of singular readings which are corruptions proper to itself; but on the other hand, still more frequent are the corruptions of T through assimilation to B, so that no confidence can be had in any reading supported merely by TB. Under these circumstances I elected to follow P in this whole class of readings, as it seemed that thus I should be less often in error than by following TB throughout:—and seldom are the readings of a kind in which intrinsic criteria of truth could be applied. The effect of W on the text may be seen by a glance at p. 170—5; W supports P much more frequently than it does TB; but often it does support TB, and often T: and in these cases its witness against P is decisive and final. Unfortunately W and P are very closely akin; and without any doubt the production of an independent G MS.,—*e.g.* one of the type of T, but free from the special corruptions of T,—would reveal the fact that several of the PW readings are false, and perhaps would call for greater alterations in the text than did W. In such cases as chapters 20, 21, 22, where W fails, but another G MS., viz. W^o, is extant, a similar difficulty has to be faced. A large number of readings are supported by TW^oB against P. We have seen that W^o is tainted by B, though in a less degree than, and quite independently of, T: it is in each case possible that the agreement of T and W^o with B may be due to accidental coincidence in assimilation to B. But a few lines of W are extant towards the end of c. 21, and in the single instance of TW^oB that occurs in this piece (p. 68, 17 ἀφηγησάμενος), W goes with them against P, thus showing that many of the rejected TW^oB readings are probably the true ones. Yet even in this series of readings I have thought it best to follow P, though with the full knowledge that often I must be leaning on a broken reed: the advantages of preserving a more homogeneous text seemed to outweigh the possible slightly greater accuracy that might have been obtained in the three chapters in question.

And so I have throughout endeavoured to adhere to the

principle of following PW (where W is extant), and P (where W is not extant), unless there be positive reasons for departing from them: where P and W differ I incline to W; but if T side with either of them I allow it to turn the balance. Thus I have throughout sought to construct the text by an objective method, choosing not that reading which seems in itself the best, but that one which seems best attested; and, except in a very small number of cases of evident corruption, I have excluded conjectural emendations, however attractive. Sometimes I have printed between †† words certainly corrupt (see p. 181)¹.

From all that has gone before, the practical conclusion follows that a text constructed out of materials of the kind at my disposal cannot pretend to finality: even under far more favourable conditions, the best critically constructed text can claim no more than to be an approximation to the original. I am painfully aware that on most pages there are readings in the apparatus just as likely to be the true ones as those in the text. In saying this, I do not for a moment doubt that the present edition is an immeasurably nearer approach than any of its forerunners to what Palladius wrote; nay more, I do not doubt that in substantial it reproduces the original with correctness. Beyond this it is not at present possible to go.

What may rightly be expected of an editor is that he should report fully and accurately the readings of the MSS. which he undertakes to record. I have taken exceeding pains to secure completeness and accuracy in collation and in the apparatus.

In the case of P, I constructed the text from Dr Preuschen's collations, which he kindly placed at my disposal; I then verified my text throughout,

¹ Friends in whose judgment I have much confidence have suggested various emendations: for instance at p. 71, 16 σκῆψιν for σῆψιν (O reads σκέψιν); p. 71, 18 ἐρσιβοῦσθαι (suggested by B's ἐρσιδωμένοις) for ἐρριτιδῶσθαι; p. 72, 6 ψάλλει ψαλμόν for βάλλει ψαλμόν. But in these, and in all cases in which the readings of the MSS. give any tolerable sense, I have followed their evidence. Thus ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν σῆψιν may mean "giving him a nausea, a disgust, a sickening (as we should say) of the monastic life": ῥιτιδῶ ("wrinkled") suits the context far better than ἐρσιβῶ ("mildewed"); and as for βάλλειν ψαλμόν, I have found in the *Aprophthegmata* (Macarius, no. 33, Romanus, no. 1) βάλλειν τοὺς δώδεκα ψαλμοὺς; also (Arsenius, no. 24, Theodora, no. 3) what seems to be an analogous expression, βάλλειν (αἰ. ποιεῖν) τὴν σύναξιν: these cases suggest a technical use of βάλλειν.

first in manuscript, and again in proof, with P itself: I have to thank M. Léopold Delisle, Librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale, for sending this ms., and also *Coislin* 295 (A), to the University Library, Cambridge, for my use.

At the time of my finding W the printing of the first portion of the text was in too advanced a stage to allow the evidence of W to be taken into account, so that up to p. 100 it was possible only to append a list of the differences of W from P (pp. 170—5); from p. 100 onwards the readings of W are incorporated in the manner explained in the note on that page. I collated W on my own proofs, but I have not had time to revise my collation on the ms. I have to thank the Wake Trustees for placing the ms. in the Bodleian to render it more easily accessible to me.

Through the courtesy of the Librarians of the University Library at Turin and the Vittore Emanuele Library at Rome, I was able to collate T in the latter library. My text and apparatus were compared, partly in proof and partly in manuscript, with T by Dom Rylance.

I collated V at Venice and constructed my text from these collations; I then compared the text in manuscript with C. All the readings wherein V and C differed were then checked for me by Dom Rylance, first with V, and then with C. The proofs of the long chapters 35 and 38 (John of Lycopolis and Evagrius) were compared with *Coislin* 282 itself by experienced eyes without the detection of a single omission or other error in the readings of C.

For A and O and W^o, and the other G fragments, all the readings have been revised in proof on the respective mss. As explained on p. lxxi, *Coislin* 295 has been made the primary authority for A, so that A and A^B are to be taken as referring specifically to it.

As B is a large group of mss. embracing a number of sub-groups, there must be a certain relativity about the B readings, dependent on the number and variety of B mss. I have been able to consult in each individual case: to take any one ms. as spokesman for the whole class would have been altogether misleading. For cc. 19—42 a number of representative mss. have been consulted for each B reading, and from c. 43 to the end four or five authorities have been employed; but for the first eighteen chapters most of the B readings depend on Meursius and Du Duc, for I unaccountably neglected to test them by the two Brit. Mus. mss.: the defect has been remedied in part in the List of Readings of W (p. 170). Such rectifications would seldom or never affect the text, and would come to no more than that in the apparatus TB† should sometimes be read instead of TB or T. Only occasional B readings are included, in so far as they help to determine G; and the symbol *B* is used throughout the apparatus, to indicate that the readings are not those of any definite ms., but what appear to be the resultant readings of the group, so far as may be judged from the mss. used in each case.

In regard to the versions, I took the readings of l from Cass. 348, often compared with *Sass*, and those of l₂ from *Addit.* 33518; many of the l readings have been checked by Dom Amelli and Dom Rylance. In the cases

of *s* and *s*₂^{add} the readings have been carefully tested in proof: *s*₂^{rat} was examined by me at an early stage, and I have not had an opportunity of testing the accuracy or completeness of the *s*₂ readings that depend upon it. For *c* and *arm* I am indebted to the late Rev. Forbes Robinson and Dr Armitage Robinson respectively: but it is to be understood that they only answered my questions, and are not responsible for any omissions in the readings of these versions.

P being the principal MS., its spelling is followed; and this is the explanation of apparent inconsistencies, as in the employment of *σσ* and *ττ*, *οὔτως* and *οὔτω*; its practice has been adopted too in such points as the *ν* *ephehk.*: but adverbial expressions, as *καθυπερβολήν*, *ἐσύστερον*, are printed as two words. The itacisms and absolute mis-spellings and other errors, whether of *P* or any other MS., are not commonly recorded; though, indeed, it is quite possible that an expert in Byzantine Greek might recognise in some of the rejected forms examples of fourth century usage. But in the case of the Greek authorities named at the head of each portion of the apparatus, and not included in square brackets, all readings other than mere spellings are intended to be included, so that the argument from silence is to be rigidly applied. In the case of the versions, following Bishop Lightfoot's example in his edition of the Ignatian Epistles, I have as a rule recorded only those readings which may be supposed to represent Greek readings; I have, however, aimed at including readings apparently supported by two versions, even if there is no extant Greek attestation.

The various marks and abbreviations used are sufficiently explained in the "List of Symbols" (p. 2): it should have been there stated, however, that *P** *C** bear their recognised meaning of "original reading," *P*^{cor} or *C*^{cor} signifying corrections, whether of "m. 1" (the first hand), or "m. 2" (a later one).

In *W*, *l*, *B*¹¹, and perhaps in *s* and *s*₂, the text is continuous; accordingly I believe there was originally no division into chapters. I therefore omit the titles in the text; but for convenience of reference, I number the chapters, following the authority which in each case seems to make the most reasonable division.

With this by way of introduction and explanation, I commit my edition of the Lausiatic History to the judgment of the critics. One criticism there is which I feel the work will not deserve—the charge of failure on the part of the editor to take trouble, even in a measure which has at times caused a sense of oppression, as being perhaps disproportionate to the importance of the results achieved.

NOTE (to p. xvii).

The List of Greek mss. in § 2 was made out before the appearance of Gardthausen's *Sammlungen u. Cataloge griechischer Handschriften* (Byzantinisches Archiv 3, Leipzig, 1903). This work has, however, guided me only to one additional ms.—that at Andros. Thus the claim made on p. xvii—viz. that I have dealt with all catalogued Greek mss. of *Hist. Laus.* in Western Europe—still holds good, and indeed may be put forward with increased confidence. I have myself, by personal examination or by enquiry, made sure of the ground in England. Thanks to the various Lists due to MM. Omont, Graux, and Martin, the like security may be felt in regard to France, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Denmark. I have examined very nearly all the actual catalogues and lists mentioned by Gardthausen under Italy, Germany and Austria. It is not likely that there are any Greek mss. of *Hist. Laus.* still lurking in German libraries; but in Italy, especially South Italy, there may well be some in the collections still uncatalogued. In regard to the Russian, Hellenic and Turkish dominions I do not pretend to any completeness, having examined only the more important catalogues.

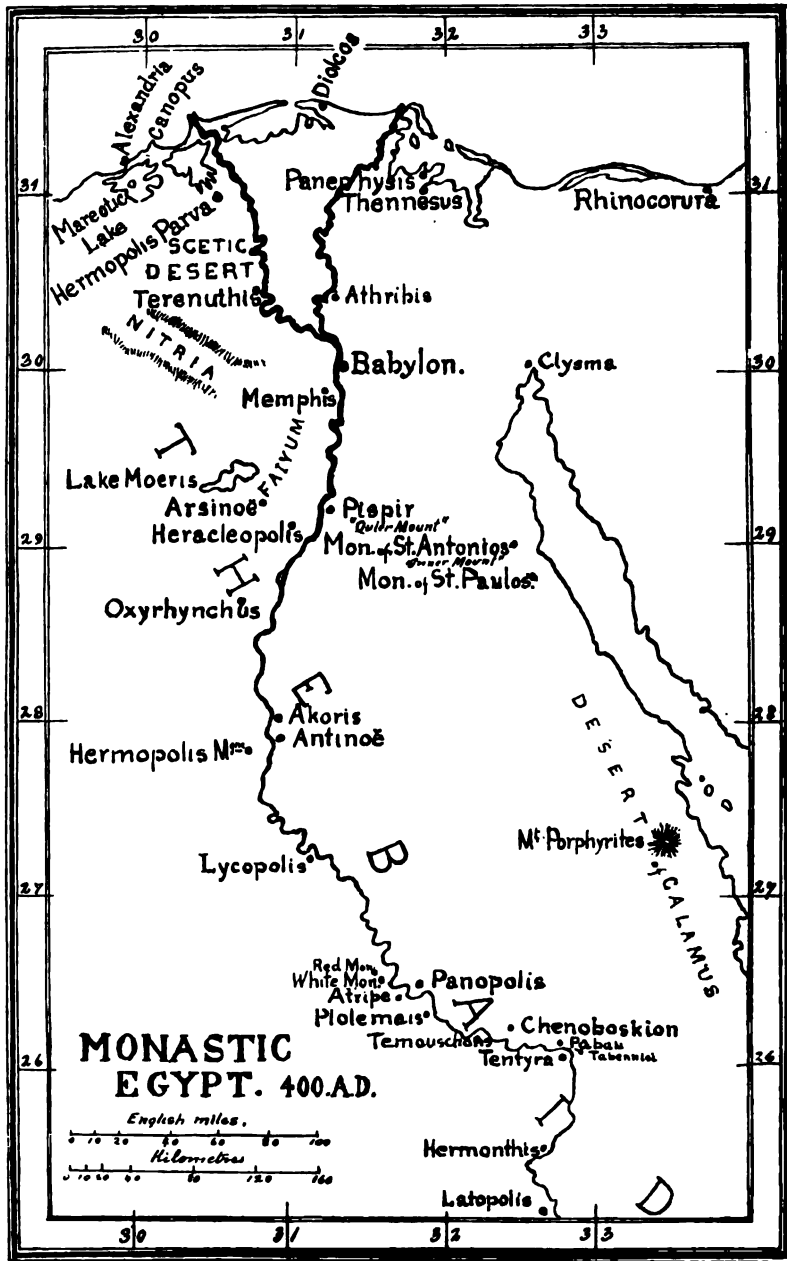
The above statements are subject to two reservations :

(1) I have had to trust to the catalogues : but the case of the *Wake* ms. (see p. lxviii) shows what surprises may be in store for anyone who turns over the pages even of mss. described in competent catalogues.

(2) Most of the catalogues take count only of full copies or independent fragments of the various works, and do not mention mere extracts in *Catena* and similar collections : since my last visit to Paris I have noticed that various *Coislín* mss. (37, 117, 118, 122, 363) contain extracts from *Hist. Laus.* indicated in Montfaucon's *Bibl. Coislíniana*, but naturally omitted in Omont's *Inventaire Sommaire* ; I regret that I have not had an opportunity of seeing if any of these extracts contain the G text.

MAP OF MONASTIC EGYPT (400 A.D.).
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

The map illustrates the strictly monastic references in *Hist. Laus.*, *Hist. Mon.*, *Vita Antonii*, *Vita Pachomii*, *Apophthegmata*, *Cassian*, and other sources of the same date for the history of Egyptian monachism. An elaborate map, illustrating the whole course of Egyptian monastic history, is supplied in Evetts' ed. of Abu Salih's *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* (Anecdota Oxon., Semitic Series VII).



Diolcos: *Hist. Mon.* 32, 33 (Soz. vi 29, Nicephorus, xi 35); Cassian, *Inst.* v 36, *Coll.* xviii 1. I have been able to find no other references at all to Diolcos, so that its site is conjectural; it is placed in the position that seems to be indicated in *Hist. Mon.* and Cassian.

Canopus: Pachomian monastery, see Note 54.

Alexandria: monks in the neighbourhood, *Hist. Laus.* 1, 2, 5, 7 (*init.*).

Panephrisis: }
Thennesus (San): } Cassian (*Prol.* 204).

Rhinocorura: Sozomen vi 31 (*fn.*).

Hermopolis Parva (Damanhour): the bishop of Hermopolis was ordinary of Nitria and Scete.

Nitria, Cellia, and Scete: see Note 14.

Terenuthis: see Note 14.

Athribis: see Note 46.

Clyasma (Suez): see *Prol.* 218.

Babylon (Fostal: close to Cairo) }
Memphis (Tel Monf) } *Hist. Mon.* 20¹.

Arsinoë (Medinet el Faiyum): *Hist. Mon.* 20.

Heracleopolis (Ahnas el Medineh): *Hist. Mon.* 16.

Pispir (Der el Memun): the "Outer Mountain of Anthony"; see Note 37.

Mon. of St Anthony (Der Mar Antonios): the "Inner Mountain of Anthony"; see Note 37 and *Prol.* 231-2.

Mon. of St Paulos (Der Mar Boulos): the abode of Paul the Hermit; see Note 40 and *Prol.* 231-2.

Oxyrhynchus (Behnesch): *Hist. Mon.* 5.

Akoris (Tehneh): *Hist. Mon.* 14.

Antinoë (Sheikh Abadeh): *Hist. Laus.* 58-60, *Hist. Mon.* 7; see Note 69.

Hermopolis Magna (Eshmunen or Schmoun): *Hist. Mon.* 3, 8; Pachomian monasteries, see Note 54.

Lycopolis (Asyut or Siout): *Hist. Laus.* 35, *Hist. Mon.* 1; see Note 61.

Mount Porphyrites }
Desert of Calamus } see Note 60.

Red Monastery of abbot Bishoi.

White Monastery of Bgoul and Schenoudi: see Note 46.

Atripè or Athribis: see Note 46.

Panopolis (Akhmim): *Hist. Laus.* 32; Pachomian monasteries, see Note 54.

Ptolemais (Absai el Menshiyeh) }
Temouschons (Bahgoura ?) }
Chenoboskion (Schenesit) } Pachomian monasteries; see Note 54.
Pabau (Faou) } (The sites of others cannot be determined.)
Tabennisi (Dechna l) }
Hermouthis (Erment) }

Latopolis (Esnch)

Tentyra (Denderah): the bishopric in which was situated the first group of Pachomian monasteries.

¹ For the Itinerary of *Hist. Mon.* see *Prol.* 201, with correction in Note 37.

Chronological Table

illustrating early monastic history, with special reference to the *Historia Lausiaca*. Few of the dates can be fixed with certainty within a year or two: those to which c. is prefixed are but approximations.

- c. 250 During the Decian persecution many Christians in Egypt fled out of the cities and villages to the deserts and mountains; it is possible that one of these, named Paul, may have remained permanently in a mountain by the Red Sea (see *Prolog.* 230-1).
- St Anthony born.
- 250—270 Christian ascetics began to dwell in huts in the neighbourhood of the towns and villages of Egypt.
- 270¹ St Anthony adopts this mode of life.
- 285 St Anthony withdraws to Pispir.
- 292 St Pachomius born.
- 305 St Anthony comes out of his cave and organises the monastic life for the disciples that had gathered around him: **Inauguration of Christian Monachism**: St Anthony withdraws to the monastery by the Red Sea.
- c. 310 St Hilarion visits St Anthony, and initiates monastic life in Palestine.
- 314 St Pachomius becomes a monk.
- c. 318² He founds the first Christian monastery, at Tabennisi.
- c. 325 Mar Awgin an Egyptian founds monastery at Nisibis,—beginnings of Mesopotamian and Syriac monachism (*Prolog.* 218).
- c. 320—330 Amoun inaugurates Nitrian monachism.
- c. 330 Macarius of Egypt becomes a monk in Scete.
- c. 333 St Athanasius' first visit to the Thebaid and Tabennisi.

¹ St Anthony's dates depend on the statements of the *Vita*, combined with St Jerome's entry in his *Chronicle*, that he died in the year equivalent to 356 or 357.

² The series of Tabennesiot dates are those of Ladeuze which appear on the whole to be the most carefully considered, and are accepted by Leipoldt: 340, 345, 348 have all been defended as the year of Pachomius' death and 300, 305 for the inauguration of Tabennisi (see Note 4c).

- c. 335 Macarius of Alexandria becomes a monk.
St Epiphanius, after spending some years in Egypt, founds monastery near Besanduke in Palestine (*Prol.* 219).
- 340 St Athanasius, Ammonius the Tall and Isidore in Rome, propagate monastic idea in Rome and Italy.
- 341 St Anthony visits Paul the hermit (?).
- 343 (?)¹ Schenoudi becomes monk at 9 years of age, under his uncle Bgoul at the White Monastery.
- c. 345 John of Lycopolis encloses himself in his cave.
- 346² Death of Pachomius : Petronius succeeds as Superior General, but dies: Horsiesi succeeds.
- 350 Theodore becomes coadjutor to Horsiesi.
- 352 Ammon, writer of the *Ep. ad Theophilum*, goes to Tabennisi.
- 356—362 St Athanasius, driven from Alexandria, lies in concealment with the monks of Thebaid.
- 356-7 St Anthony dies.
- c. 360 St Basil forms monastery at Neocaesarea in Pontus.
First Armenian monastery, under Nerses the Great.
St Martin inaugurates Gallic monachism at Ligugé, near Poitiers.
St Eusebius combines clerical and monastic life at Vercelli.
- 363 St Athanasius visits Tabennesiot monasteries.
- 365 (or 373) First Civil Edict concerning monks (Valens).
- 368 Death of Theodore of Tabennisi ; Horsiesi resumes government of Tabennesiot order.
- c. 372 St Martin founds Marmoutier at Tours.
- 373 Melania the Elder visits Egypt and Nitria : death of Pambo.
- 374 Banishment of Nitrian monks to Palestine.
- c. 375 Rufinus in Egypt, at Nitria and Pispir.
- 376-7—398 Rufinus and Melania at Jerusalem.
- c. 380 St Ambrose's monasteries at Milan.
- 380 C. of Saragossa forbids clerics to become monks—shows the spread of the institute in Spain³.
- 382—399 Evagrius in Nitria and Cellia : he dies in 399.
- c. 385 Monachism introduced into Babylonia and Arabia.
- 385 SS. Jerome and Paula in Egypt, in Nitria.
- 386—404 „ „ at Bethlehem : Paula dies 404.
- 386-8 Palladius at Bethlehem.
- 388—399 Palladius at Alexandria, Nitria and Cellia.
- 390—400 Cassian in Egypt and Scete.

¹ This date depends on statements of the *Lives* that Schenoudi was a monk during 109 years : see Leipoldt, 46.

² See Note 2 on preceding page.

³ Dom Ferotin tells me there is no direct evidence of any monastery in Spain before the sixth century.

- c. 390 St Augustine's monasteries of clerics at Thagaste and Hippo.
Macarius of Egypt dies.
- 394-5 Tour narrated in *Historia Monachorum*.
Macarius of Alexandria and John of Lycopolis die.
St Paulinus withdraws to Nola.
- 399 Palladius leaves Egypt.
- c. 400 Organisation of Armenian monachism under Gind.
 - 401-2 Postumianus in Egypt (*Dial.* 1 of Sulpitius Severus).
 - 401 Tall Brothers driven out of Nitria and go to St John Chrys.
 - 403 Conciliabulum of the Oak : death of Ammonius the Tall.
St Jerome (*Ep.* 107) speaks of monks in Persia, India and Ethiopia.
- 406-12 Palladius in banishment at Syene and Antinoë.
- c. 410 Foundation of monastery of Lerins by Honoratus.
- c. 415 Foundation of monastery of St Victor at Marseilles by Cassian.
 - 419-20 Writing of *Historia Lausiaca*.
 - 420-28 Cassian writes *Institutes* and *Collations*.
 - 423 St Augustine's Letter (*Ep.* 211) to the Nuns of Hippo.
- c. 425-50 Beginnings of Irish and Welsh monachism.
- c. 440 Writing of Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa*.
 - 440-70 Synods in various parts of Gaul legislate for monks.
 - 451 C. of Chalcedon legislates for monks (canons 4, 8, 23, 24).
 - 451-2 Schenoudi dies.
- c. 490 Monachism in the Jura in Auvergne.
- c. 500 St Benedict becomes a monk.
[By this date the monastic institute had spread to and taken firm
root in every Christian country of both East and West.]

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* Chapters 8, 9, 20, 28, 48 contain considerable interpolations from *Hist. Mon.*
 Chapters 44—46, 48—76, 116, 150 are interpolations.

**THE
HISTORIA LAUSIACA
OF PALLADIUS.**

LIST OF SYMBOLS.

(All necessary information may be found in *Introd.* §§ 9, 10.)

Greek Authorities.

- P = Paris Gr. 1628 (xiv.). W = Oxford (Christ Church) Wake Gr. 67 (x.).
 T = Turin 141 (xvi.). ven = Rosweyd's Cod. Venetus.
 V = Venice Bess. 346 (xi.). C = Paris Coislin 282 (xi.).
 O = Oxford Laud. Gr. 84 (xi., xii.). W^o = ff. 61—70 of W (cf. *Introd.* § 9).
 A = those portions of the "Long Recension" (cf. *Introd.* § 1) which contain the pure text: where no other indication is given the ms. used is Coisl. 295 (xiv.); but Paris Gr. 1626 (xii.) has in nearly all cases been tested: they are distinguished, when necessary, as A³⁸ A³⁷ respectively. herv signifies Hervet's Latin trans. of A (Rosweyd *Vitae Patrum Lib.* viii.).
 B = the Metaphrastic text: B indicates what, in spite of divergences among the mss., may be judged to be the true B reading: B[†] signifies "some B mss."
 A^B = those portions of the "Long Recension" which contain a B text (Coisl. 295 and Paris Gr. 1626): when not mentioned A^B is included in B.

Other Greek mss. are cited by the number they bear in the List of mss. (*Introd.* § 2). Hyphens (1-2-3) indicate that the mss. so joined are closely akin: (1-6) signifies the whole group (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6).

Soz refers to Sozomen's citations, printed in full below the text (ed. Hussey).

Versions.

- l = Latin Version I.
 l^{rev} = the revision of l (the printed *Paradisius Heraclidis*, Rosweyd, App. I.).
 l₂ = Latin Version II.
 s s₂ = Syriac Versions I. and II. respectively.
 s^{an} = s or s₂ as found (usually revised) in Anan Isho's *Paradise* (ed. Bedjan).
 c ar arm eth = Coptic (bohairic), Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic Versions (all fragmentary).

(The occasional symbols l^{com} l^{com} l₂^a l₂^b s₂^{vat} s₂^{add} are explained in *Introd.* § 9.)

It must be remembered that readings of l cannot be controlled at all by l^{rev}; nor ordinarily those of s or s₂ by s^{an}; nor always those of l₂^a by l₂^b (the printed text).

The following marks and abbreviations are also used:—

+ = add. tr = transfer.

vac signifies that the context is wanting: om that the context is there, but does not contain the word or words in question: paraphr that a version is a mere paraphrase: txt that the authority cited supports the text.

B or one of the versions is enclosed in () as (s), when it is paraphrastic, or only doubtfully supports the reading to which it is attached.

Words in the apparatus enclosed in () have reference only to the authority which has immediately preceded. In the case of the Greek authorities named as sources for the different portions of the text, full collations of all substantive readings (i.e. all other than spellings) are recorded. Sometimes one of the Greek sources is between [] as [T]; this indicates that its text in the passage in question is corrupt, and that only selected readings from it are given. As B is used in this manner throughout the book, it is not necessary to name it among the sources of each chapter. In the case of the versions, only those readings are ordinarily recorded which may be supposed to represent Greek readings.

Passages constructed out of B and one or more of the versions are enclosed in []. Words which, in the editor's judgment, probably, but not certainly, belong to the text are enclosed in [].

† † indicate probable corruptions, or else the (very few) conjectural emendations.

Prolog. signifies the previous volume of Prolegomena (*Texts and Stud.* vi. 1).

The references to Migne's reprint of Du Duc's text (*Patr. Gr.* xxxiv.) are given in the headlines; a | is placed in the text where a column ends in Migne.

INTRODUCTORY PIECES.

995] Προοίμιον τοῦ βίου τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ ἀναγράφεται ἐνάρετος ἀσκήσις καὶ θαυμαστὴ βίου διαγωγή τῶν μακαρίων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων μοναχῶν καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, πρὸς ζῆλον καὶ μίμησιν τῶν τὴν οὐράνιον πολιτείαν ἐβελόντων κατορθοῦν καὶ τὴν εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ἀγούσαν βουλομένων ὀδεύειν ὁδόν· καὶ γυναικῶν πρεσβυτῶν καὶ ἀοιδίμων θεοπνεύστων μητέρων μῆμαι, τῶν 5 ἀνδρείφ καὶ τελείφ φρονήματι τοὺς τῆς ἐναρέτου ἀσκήσεως ἄθλους ἐξανυσσῶν, πρὸς ὑπογραμμὸν καὶ ἔρωτα τῶν ἐβελουσῶν τὸν τῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀγνείας ἀναδήσασθαι στέφανον· διὰ τὸ † ἀνδρὸς τινος παγκρατίστου καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ πολυμαθοῦς καὶ τὸ ἦθος εἰρηνικοῦ καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ θεοφιλοῦς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους τῶν χρειῶν κοινωνικοῦ, καὶ αὐτῇ κορυφῇ τῶν 10 ἀξιομάτων διὰ χρηστότητα τρόπων πολλῶν λογάδων ἀνδρῶν προτετιμημένου, καὶ τὸ ὅλον τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θείου πνεύματος φρουρουμένου, ἐπιτάξαντος ἡμῖν, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ χρὴ ἀληθῆς εἰπεῖν, πρὸς τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων θεωρίαν τὸν νωθρὸν ἡμῶν νοῦν διεγείραντος πρὸς μίμησιν καὶ ἄμιλλαν τῶν ἀρετῶν τῆς

1 On this Prooemium see Note 1. Though all the texts are strictly speaking B texts, in the apparatus to this piece B may be taken as signifying readings of the group 1—5: 20 has not been collated, but it may be presumed to agree with 22: 45 agrees closely with 46.

In A 45-46 B (1—6, 13, 20, 22, 47) (P): om TB (8—11, 14—18, 19, 21) l (L_{CSA})

Title: Πρ. τοῦ βίου τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων 5, 6 (prefix Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου before Πρ.); + (τοῦ Χριστοῦ) τοῦ λεγομένου (al. καλουμένου) λαυσιακοῦ (al. λαυσιακοῦ) A 45-46, 47, 13

P 20, 22: Πρ. τοῦ βίου τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ ἀναγεγραμμένων θείων (ὁσίων) 20 πατέρων

A 46 P 22

1 θαυμαστοῦ A 5 πατέρων P τῶν] τῷ A 46, 22 6 ἐξανυσσῶν] B 46; ἐξανισάντων AP 22 7 ἔρωτα] + θείων B 8 διὰ τὸ] B; δι' ὧν A²⁷; διὸ A²⁶, 46; διὸ καὶ σὺ μακαριώτατε P 22 ἀνδρὸς τινος παγκρ.] B (ὅπρὸ ἀνδ. τ. π. B†); om A 46 P 22 καὶ τῇ] om 22 9 πολυμαθοῦς P τῷ ἦθει B 10 καὶ!]+ τῇ P; τῆς 22 11 χρηστότητος P 13 τὸ νωθρὸν (om νοῦν) P

ἀσκήσεως τῶν ὁσίων καὶ ἀθανάτων πνευματικῶν ἡμῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀρεσκείᾳ θεοῦ ἐν σκληραγωγίᾳ πολλῇ τοῦ σώματος βεβιωκότων· ὡς ἀναγραφαιμένους ἡμᾶς τοὺς τῶν ἀνικητῶν ἀθλητῶν βίους διαπέμφασθαι τούτῳ, ἀνακηρύττοντας ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν μεγάλων τὰς ἐναργεῖς ἀρετάς. ἔστι δὲ ὁ τοῦ
 5 θεοῦ τούτου καὶ πνευματικοῦ πόθου ἐραστής ὁ ἄριστος τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λαύσιος, ὁ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ῥοπήν φύλαξ τεταγμένος τῆς ἐνθίου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείας.
 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὁ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ ἀπαιδευτος καὶ πνευματικῆς γνώσεως ἀκροθιγῶς πῶς γευσάμενος καὶ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων πνευματικοῦ βίου ἀνάξιος, δεδουκῶς τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμέ ἄμετρον τῆς ἐπιταγῆς μέγεθος, δυσανασχέτου
 10 τῷ ἐπιτάγματι, πολλῆς δεομένης καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἔξωθεν καὶ πνευματικῆς συνήσεως· ὅμως καταιδεσθεῖς πρῶτον τὸ σπουδαῖον τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιταγὴν ἡμᾶς διεγείραντος, ἀναλογισάμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὠφελίαν, δεδιῶς δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ εὐλόγῳ παρακοῇ κίνδυνον, τῇ προνοίᾳ πρῶτον ἀνατεθεικῶς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπίταγμα καὶ πολλῇ προσεχείᾳ χρησάμενος,
 15 τῇ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων πρεσβείᾳ πτερούμενος, ἐνέβην εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοῦ σκάμματος, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τῶν γενναίων ἀθλητῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν τὰ ἔπακρα μόνον ἀθλά τ' καὶ σημεία ἀναγραφάμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀνδρῶν ἀοιδίμων κατορθωκότων πολιτείαν ἀρίστην ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν μακαρίων καὶ εὐσχημόνων ἄκραν πολιτείαν ἐξασκησασῶν.
 20 Καὶ τῶν μὲν τὰ ἱεροπρεπῆ πρόσωπα αὐτοπροσώπῳ θείᾳ ἰδεῖν κατηξιώθη, τῶν δὲ προτελειωθέντων ἐν τῷ σκάμματι τῆς εὐσεβείας παρὰ θεοφόρων ἀθλητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν οὐράνιον τούτων πολιτείαν μεμάθηκα. πολλὰς δὲ πῶλεις καὶ πλείστας κόμας, σπήλαιον τε ἄπαν καὶ πάσας σκηνὰς τῆς ἐρήμου τῶν μοναχῶν, πεζῇ τῇ πορείᾳ περιουστῆσας θεοσεβείας σκοπῶ μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας, ἃ μὲν
 25 αὐτὸς ἰστορήσας ἀνεγραψάμην, ἃ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἀκήκοα, ἄθλους μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνδρειοτέρων τῆς φύσεως γυναικῶν διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ἐλπίδα ἐνσημάνας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ, ἀπέσταλκα τῇ τῶν θείων λογίων φίλῃ ἀκοῇ σου, ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων καὶ θεοφιλῶν ἐγκαλλώπισμα καὶ τῆς πιστοτάτης καὶ θεοφίλου βασιλείας ἀγλαΐσμα, γνήσιε καὶ φιλόχριστε δοῦλε θεοῦ

A 46 P 22

1 ἀθανάτων]+καὶ 22 καὶ?] om B 2 ὡς] B; ὦν A 46 P 22 3 τοῦς] om 22 ἀνικητῶν] B; νικητῶν A 46; νικητικῶν 22 P (βικ.) τούτῳ] τούτων 46
 4 ἐνὸς ἐκάστου] B 46; ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ P 22; ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ A δ' ὁ P 22 6 θεοῦ] θείου AP 22 8 ἁγίων] om 46 πν. βίου] om 46 9 ἄμετρον] B; μέτρον A 46 P 22; +καὶ P 22 ἐπιταγῆς]+τὸ P 22 καὶ μ. καὶ A δυσανασχέτου] B 22; δυσανασχέτου P; καὶ δυσανασχέτων 46; δυσανασχέτουτος A; ἐγχειρήσαι τούτῳ B
 12 τὴν² after ἐντυγχ. B ἐντευζομένων 46 13 δεδιῶς] A 46; δεδουκῶς P 22 ἐν] ἐπὶ B τῇ²] A 46; θεοῦ B; ὅτι P 22 14 χρησάμενος]+καὶ 22
 17 ἔπακρα] AB; ἐπ' ἄκρα P 22; om ἐπ' 46 18 καὶ?] B 46; om AP 22
 19 ἐξασκησῶν] B; ἀσκησάντων AP 22; ἡσκημένων 46 21 δέ] om P 22
 τελειωθέντων 46 εὐσεβείας]+τῶν δὲ P 22 θεοφορήτων A 46 23 πολ. τούτων 46 πολιτ.]ζῶην B ἐκμεμάθηκα B 22-23 πολλὰς.....κόμας] om 46
 23 σπήλαια B ἄπαν] ἅμα B 24 πεζῇ] πολλῇ B σκόπου 22 εὐσεβ. A
 25 ἰστορήσα 46 ἀθλα A 22 27 ἀπέσταλκα] om 46 29 ἀγλαΐσμα] om 46
 θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ 46

Λαῦσε, ἐγχαράξας κατὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἐμοὶ βραχύτητα ἐκάστου τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀθλητῶν ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν καὶ τὸ αἰδιμον ὄνομα, ἐξηγησάμενός τε ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πᾶν μεγάλων ἄθλων ἐκάστου ὀλίγους καὶ σφόδρα βραχεῖς, προσθετικῶς τῶν πλείστων καὶ τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν τόπον τῆς μονῆς.

⁵ Ἐμνημονεύσαμεν δὲ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν κατορθωσάντων μὲν εἰς ἄκρον τὴν ἀρετὴν, διὰ δὲ τὴν μητέρα τῆς ὑπερηφανείας τὴν καλουμένην κενοδοξίαν εἰς ἔσχατον βάραθρον καὶ πυθμένα ἄδου κατενεχθέντων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ μακρῶν χρόνων καὶ πολλῶν κόπων κτηθέντα αὐτοῖς ἐπέραστα καὶ περιμάχητα τῆς ἀσκήσεως κατορθώματα ἐν μιᾷ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῆς οὐσίσεως ~~ἰσοκαλῶς~~, καὶ ἰο χάριτι δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ προνοίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ ~~σύνθεσιν~~ σπλάγγων πνευματικῶν ἐξαρπασθέντων τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου δικτύων καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων τὸν πρότερον ἀνακτησαμένων ἐνέρετον βίον.

A 46 P 22

1 ἐπιχαράξας P 22 3 ἐκάστου] om P 4 προσθεθ.] AB 46; προτεθ. P 22:
+ τε P 6 κατορθωκότων B 9 κτηθέντα] BA³⁸ 22, 46; κτισθέντα A⁷P
10 ἐν] om 22 13 τὸν] A 47; τῶν BP 22, 46 ἀνακτησαμένων] + τὸν P

**Ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης Λαύσω πραιποσίτῳ
παρὰ Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου**

Μακαρίζω σου τὴν προαίρεσιν· ἄξιον γὰρ ἀπὸ μακαρισμοῦ ἄρξασθαι τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· ὅτι πάντων εἰς τὰ μάταια κεχρητύων καὶ λίθους οἰκοδομούντων ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἠφελήθησονται, αὐτὸς λόγους οἰκοδομῆς διδάσκεισθαι θέλεις. ἀδίδακτος τῷ ἐπιστάτῳ

In this Letter see Note 2. In this piece the B mss. are unusually divergent from one another: selections only are recorded from the readings of some of the more representative among them, but not the full collations of any single B ms.

In AB (except 1—5) l_2 cs (PT): om B (1—5) 1 (s_2)

Title: AB (12—18, 20, 22): ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης Λ. πραιποσίτῳ παρὰ Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου (A 22 παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου ἐπισκόπου Καππαδοκίας: 20 om παρὰ to end)

21: ἐπιστολὴ Π. ἐπισκόπου Καπ.

10: Λ. πραιποσίτῳ ἐπιστολὴ γραφείσα

6: τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Παλλ.) ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Λ. πραιπόσιτον

P: ἐπιστολὴ Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου Ἐλληνουπολέως πρὸς Λαῦσον πραιπόσιτον

T: ἐπιστολὴ γραφείσα Λαύσω πραιποσίτῳ παρὰ Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου Ἐλεπόλεως (sic) τῆς Βηθυνίας

47: τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Π. ἐπισκόπου Ἀσπώνωνος ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Λ. τὸν φιλόχριστον πρεπόσιτον τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀγίων καὶ σημειοφόρων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πάσει πόλει καὶ χώρῃ. (47 and 19) Π. ἐπίσκοπος Ἀσπώνωνος (Ἀσπώνων 19) Λ. τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ (+ πραιποσίτῳ 19) χαίρειν. Μακαρίζω κ.τ.λ.

No title in s (add. 12178)

c: The letter written to Lausius the praepositus, the servant of Christ

l_2^a : (Munich mss) Incipit Prologus Heraclidis uiri religiosissimi discipuli sancti Anthonii ad Lausum episcopum in librum de conuersatione sanctorum patrum.

(add. 33518) Incipit Prologus Heraclii episcopi De uita sanctorum patrum.

(As this fragment of l_2 has not yet been printed it is given here from add. 33518.)

Beatifico et admiror propositum tuum; dignum est enim a beatitudine incipere huius epistolae textum; quum omnes circa uana et inania praesentis saeculi studium suum impendunt et in edificatione lapidum ex quibus non ualde gaudebunt; ipse autem uerbum edificationis et sancte scripture doctrinam doceri desideras sanctorumque patrum conuersationem et instituta.....(erasure)

PTA l_2^a cs

2 μάταια] + τρεχόντων καίτοι 8—11, 6 (ἦτοι) καὶ λίθους οἰκοδομούντων] om 12—18, 20-21 3 ὠφελήθησονται] A 12—18, 20—22, P s ; ὠφελήθησαν 8—11 c; ἐχάρησαν T 47, 19, 6 (l_2 gaudebunt) οἰκοδομῆς] οἰκοδομείς (itacism?) A m 22; οἰκοδομείς καὶ T (so too Du Duc; probably an emend.; for 18, his only ms. in this piece, reads οἰκοδομῆς, without καὶ); ψυχοφελείς P

γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοφυῆς καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχων· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα ἐστὶ διδασκὰ, ἐπειδὴ ποιητὰ καὶ κτιστὰ. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τάγματα διδάσκαλον ἔχει τὴν ἀνωτάτω τριάδα· τὰ δὲ δεύτερα μανθάνει παρὰ τῶν πρώτων· τὰ δὲ τρίτα παρὰ τῶν δευτέρων· καὶ οὕτω καθεξῆς κατὰ τάξιν, μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων. οἱ γὰρ κρείττους ἐν γνώμῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ τοὺς 5 ἐλαττωμένους ἐν γνώσει διδάσκουσιν. οἱ τοίνυν οἰόμενοι διδασκάλων μὴ χρῆζειν, ἢ μὴ πειθόμενοι τοῖς ἐν ἀγάπῃ διδάσκουσιν, ἀγνοιοῦν νοσοῦσι τὴν μητέρα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας· ὧν πρωτεύουσιν εἰς ἀπώλειαν οἱ τῷ αὐτῷ πάθει τῆς οὐρανοῦ διαγωγῆς ἐκπεσόντες, οἱ ἐν ἀέρι πετόμενοι δαίμονες τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀποδρῖσαντες διδασκάλων. οὐ γὰρ αἱ λέξεις ἢ αἱ συλλαβαὶ εἰσι διδασκαλία, ἀ 10 ἔχουσιν ἐνίοτε καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον φαῦλοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ ἥθους καταρθώματα, ἢ τε ἀλυσία καὶ ἡ ἀπτοησία καὶ ἡ ἀδειλία καὶ τὸ ἀόρητον, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ πάντων παρρησία, ἢ καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὡς πυρὸς φλόγα γεννώσα. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦν τοῦτο, οὐκ ἂν ἔλεγεν ὁ μέγας διδάσκαλος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· Μάθετε διπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι πρᾶός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινός τῇ καρδίᾳ· οὐ τῇ εὐλεξίᾳ ῥυθμίμων τοὺς ἀποστό- 15 λους, ἀλλὰ τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ τοῦ ἥθους, μηδένα λυπῶν πλὴν τῶν μισολόγων καὶ διδασκάλους μισούντων. δεῖ γὰρ τὴν κατὰ θεὸν ἀσκουμένην ψυχὴν ἢ μανθάνει πιστῶς ἢ οὐκ οἶδεν, ἢ διδάσκει σαφῶς ἢ ἔγνω. εἰ δὲ ὀπότερον μὴ βούληται εἰ δύναται, μανίαν νοσεῖ. ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἀποστασίας διδασκαλίας κόρος καὶ ἀνορεξία λόγου, ὃν αἰεὶ πειρᾷ ἢ ψυχῇ τοῦ φιλοθέου. ἴσχυε οὖν καὶ ὑγίαινε καὶ 20 ἀνδρίζου, καὶ χαρίσθηται σοὶ ὁ θεὸς τὸ μεταδιώκειν τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

14 Mt. xi. 29.

PTACB

1 ἐστὶ μόνος P 6, 10 καὶ²] om A 6, 10 2 πάντα] + τε P ἐπειδὴ] + καὶ A
 3 μανθ. after πρώτων B[†] 4 δὲ] om PT καθεξῆς] + καὶ A 6 κατὰ τάξιν]
 om 22 5 ἄχρι A κρείττους P γνώμῃ] τιμῇ A ἀρετῇ] + ὄντες A
 6 ἠλαττωμένους P (ἐλαττωμ. T 12, 22) ἐν γνώσει] om P 7 ἢ] TA 22; οἱ PB
 πειθόμενοι οἱ (sic) T 9 τοῖς] om A 22 10 διδασκαλαὶ B δ] αἰ (sic) T:
 ἄς B 11 τὰ] om P: ('but this is education' sc) 12 ἢ³ om T (καὶ repeated)
 16 λοιπῶν T 17 θεὸν] PTAB[†]s; Χριστὸν B[†]c 18 σοφῶς T 6 ἢ ἔγνω]
 ἢ ἐπέγνω A³⁰; ἄπερ ἐπίσταται A³⁷ 47 δὲ] γὰρ B[†] ὀπότερον] + τούτων A 22 s
 19 εἰ δύναται] T 47 A³⁷ (δύνηται) s; om A³⁰BPc κόρος διδ. T 20 ὃν] ὧν T:
 + καὶ P καὶ ὑγίαινε] om A καὶ ἀνδρίζου] om B[†] 21 τὸ μεταδιώκειν] τὸ
 μέγα B (before χαρ.)

NOTE ON THE TITLE.

Owing to the variety of titles for the book found in the mss. the original title is irrecoverable. The evidence is here brought together from Titles, Explicits, Notes, Lists of Contents, &c.

(1) Τὸ Δαυσαϊκόν (or Λαυσαϊκόν) : at a later period this was apparently the title most in popular use. Meursius cites from the Liturgical Books two instances of the rubric : 'Ανάγνωσις εἰς τὸ λαυσαϊκόν (p. 169). The extracts contained in ms. 33 are described as Ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ τοῦ λαυσαϊκοῦ : the colophon of 6 runs Τέλος τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ λαυσαϊκοῦ : that of 9 Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τὸ λεγόμενον λαυσαϊκόν (similarly the title of the Προοίμιον in the A mss. and 13, 45-46, 47, see p. 3). In 1₂^b the book bears the title *Palladii Lausiaca*, and in 6 and 13 βιβλίον λαυσαϊκόν. Λαυσαϊκόν is the title in fifteen Athos mss. (Lambros' *Catalogue*).

(2) Παράδεισος : this was another popular name, and is attested by 1, in which the title is : "Liber qui appellatur Paradysus." In 13 and 20 the Explicit is Τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον (αὕτη ἢ βίβλος 20) λέγεται παράδεισος : and again in 20-21 Τέλος ἐν θεῷ τοῦ πρὸς Α. βιβλίον ἦτοι τοῦ νέου παραδείσου, and in 17 Ἡ ἐπιλεγομένη νέος παράδεισος. On the other hand T has Βίαι τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τὸ λεγόμενον παράδεισος τὸ παλαιόν (see p. 9). But "Paradise" was a generic name for all works on the Egyptian monks—e.g. the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, the *Απορηθηgmata*, Anan Isho's Syriac compilation, and others, were called "Paradise."

(3) Βίος τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων : this stands, in one way or another, in the title of most of the B and A mss., and in T (but βίαι). It is in P also, but in the Προοίμιον introduced from a B ms. : unfortunately the title-page is lost, so that P contains no other title or trace of title, except perhaps that the *Hist. Mon.*, which follows the *Hist. Laus.*, is said to be παράδεισος ἄλλος. Among the versions the title is found in 1₂^a, "Liber de conuersatione (al. uita) sanctorum Patrum"; c "The Life of holy men written for Lausius the praepositus"; s (add. 12173) "The book of the Egyptian Fathers of Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, the disciple of holy Evagrius, which he wrote for Lauso the praepositus, who persuaded him to tell of the conversation of the holy Fathers." (The other mss. of s, and of s₂, preserve no title.)

(4) Other titles :

Ἡ βίβλος ἢ πρὸς Λαῦσον and τὸ πρὸς Α. βιβλίον 20-21.

Ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Α. 50 (extracts).

Ἡ πρὸς Λαῦσον (Λαύσωνα 1) ἱστορία (τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων) 1, 5.

Ἡ πρὸς Α. ἱστορικὴ βίβλος pa.-Damascene (see *Prol.* 142, note).

Δαυσαϊκὴ ἱστορία Athos ms. 2031 (Lambros).

This last is the only instance that has as yet appeared of the name by which the work has so commonly come to be known—*Historia Lausiaca*.

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΥ ΛΑΥΣΙΑΚΟΝ

1001]

Πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς συγγράμματα τῷ βίῳ καταλελοιπότην, τῶν μὲν ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τῆς ἄνωθεν χάριτος θεοδότης εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῶν πιστῆ προθέσει ἐπομένων τοῖς δόγμασι τοῦ σωτῆρος, τῶν δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρωπαρέσκου καὶ διεφθαρμένης προθέσεως ὑλομανη- σάντων εἰς παραμυθίαν τῶν κενοδοξίαν κισσώντων, ἐτέρων δὲ ἐκ τινος μανίας καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ μισοκάλου δαίμονος τύφῳ καὶ μνηίδι ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν κουφογνωμόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ σπίλῳ τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπεισφρησάντων ταῖς διανοαῖς τῶν ἀνοήτων ἐπὶ ἐγκότῳ τῆς σεμνῆς πολιτείας· ἔδοξε ἰο κάμοι τῷ ταπεινῷ, αἰδεσθέντι τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τῆς σῆς μεγαλονοίας, φιλομαθέστατε, τὴν ἐπὶ προκοπῇ τῆς διανοίας, τριακοστὸν μὲν καὶ τρίτον ἔτος ἄγοντι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πολιτείᾳ δῆθεν

On the author of the work see Note 3.
Note 4.

1 On this Prologue see

Title: ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης Λαύσω πραιποσίτῳ παρὰ Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου Καππαδοκίας P 20, 22, 42^{μακ} 6 (om Καπ., + Διήγησις κ.τ.λ. cf. below)

T: βιοὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τὸ λεγόμενον παράδεισος τὸ παλαιὸν

AB (12—18) 47, 19: joined to preceding Letter without title or division (for Hervet cf. 42^{μακ} above)

B (1—6): Διήγησις τοῦ βίου τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων

10: Λαύσω πραιποσίτῳ τῷ δούλῳ Χριστοῦ

ll.^b: Prologus (l.^a apparently as A)

c: 'The Life of holy men written for Lausius the praepositus, the servant of Jesus Christ.'

PTh₂ (lines 1—4, 10—13) c

1 καιροῖς] om T	3 ἄνωθεν] + καὶ B1	4 πίσει καὶ T	4-10 τῶν δὲ.....
πολιτείας] om l ₂	6 κισσώντων PTh [†]	ἕτεροι T	3 μῆνη T
γνωμῶν (sic) TA ^b B [†]	ἀνθρώπων] om T	10 πολιτείας] + δὲ τὴν εἰς Χρ. ἐπιίδα PB	

(after ταπεινῷ)

καὶ τῷ μονήρει βίῳ, εἰκοστὸν δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, πεντηκοστὸν
 δὲ καὶ ἕκτον ἐν τῇ πάσῃ ζωῇ, ποθοῦντί σοι τὰ τῶν πατέρων
 διηγήματα, ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν, ὧν τε ἐώρακα καὶ περὶ
 ὧν ἀκήκοα, οἷς τε συνανεστράφην ἐν τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐρήμῳ
 5 καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Θηβαΐδι καὶ Σύνῃ, ὑφ' ἣν καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι
 Ταβερνησιῶται, ἔπειτα Μεσοποταμίᾳ Παλαιστίνῃ τε καὶ Συρίᾳ,
 καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς δύσεως Ῥώμῃ τε καὶ Καμπανίᾳ καὶ
 τῶν περὶ ταύτην, ἄνωθεν ἐκθέσθαι σοι ἐν διηγήματος εἶδει
 τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο· ὅπως σεμνὸν καὶ ψυχωφελὲς ὑπομνηστικὸν
 10 ἔχων ἀδιάλειπτόν τε φάρμακον λήθης πάντα μὲν νυσταγμῶν
 τὸν ἐξ ἀλόγου ἐπιθυμίας, πᾶσαν δὲ διψυχίαν καὶ κιμβικίαν
 τὴν ἐν ταῖς χρεαῖαις, πάντα τε ὄκνον καὶ μικροψυχίαν τῶν ἐν
 τῷ ἥθει, ὀξυθυμίαν τε καὶ τίραχον καὶ λύπην καὶ ἄλογον φόβον
 διὰ τούτου ἀποσκευαζόμενος καὶ τὸν μετεωρισμὸν τοῦ κόσμου,
 15 ἀδιαλείπτω πόθῳ προκόπτοις ἐν τῇ προθέσει τῆς εὐσεβείας,
 ὀδηγὸς καὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν μετὰ σοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σέ καὶ τῶν
 εὐσεβεστάτων γινόμενος βασιλέων· δι' ὧν κατορθωμάτων πάντες
 οἱ φιλόχριστοι ἐνωθῆναι θεῷ ἐπέιγονται· συνεκδεχόμενος καὶ
 τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καθ' ἡμέραν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον·
 20 Ἄγαθόν τὸ ἀναλῆσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι· καὶ τὸ ἑτοιμαζε εἰς
 τὴν ἔξοδον τὰ ἔργα σοῦ, καὶ παρασκευάζου εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν· ὁ γὰρ
 μνημονεύων αἰεὶ τοῦ θανάτου ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἤξει καὶ οὐ
 μελλήσει, οὐ πταίσει μεγάλα· μήτε παραλογιζόμενος τὴν ὑπο-
 θήκην τῶν ὑφηγήσεων μήτε διαπτύων τὴν ιδιωτείαν καὶ τὸ
 25 ἀκαλλῆς τῆς λέξεως. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ θεϊκῆς
 διδασκαλίας σεσοφισμένως φράζειν, ἀλλὰ πείθειν τὴν γνώμην

20 Phil. i. 23.

Prov. xxiv. 42 (al. 27).

PTII₂ (1—18) c

2 ἕκτον] PTLs^{aa}; τρία B; (l₂c om πεντηκοστὸν.....ζωῇ): (see App. v. ii) ζῳῇ]
 + ἀναγκαῖον ἠγησάμην BP (see Note 4) σοι] + cognoscere l; enarrari l₂
 3 διηγήματα] + ὠφελείας χάριν BP 4 οἷς τε] ὧν τε T 6 Ταβερνησ. T 7 καὶ
 τῶν περὶ ταύτην] PTL₂ (et eorum qui in his morantur); καὶ τοῖς περὶ ταύτας μέρεσι B;
 l et in ceteris circa ipsa loca; c paraphr. 9 τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο] PTLA^B; ἐν τῷ
 βιβλίῳ τούτῳ BII₂ 10 τε] om TBI λήθης] ἀληθείας B: (c paraphrases whole
 passage) νυσταγμῶν] + λήθης B 11—13 καὶ.....ἥθει] om l₂ 13 μικροτά-
 ραχον (sic) T (om τῶν...τίραχον) 14 τῶν] + μάταιον B 15 προκόπτεις P
 18 φιλόχριστοι] TBIl₂c; φιλόθεοι P συνεκδεχόμενος] PTLA^B; συνεκδεχόμενοι B1c:
 + δηλονότι TB (after ψυχῆς) l 18—24 συνεκδεχομ.....ὑφηγήσεων] om l₂
 19 ψυχῆς] + ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος B (c) 23 ὡς] ὅς P ἤξει] + πάντως B 23 μήτε]
 P1; μὴ TB 24 ἀφηγ. T; ἐξηγ. B 25 τῶν λέξεω B(II₂) τῷ] om TB

νοήμασιν ἀληθείας, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· Ἄνοιγε σὺν στόμα λόγῳ θεοῦ· καὶ πάλιν· Μὴ ἀστοχίης διηγήματος γερόντων, καὶ γὰρ καὶ αἱτοὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔμαθον. |

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, φιλομαθέστατε τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐκ μέρους ἐπόμενος ταύτῃ τῇ ῥήσει πολλοῖς τῶν ἁγίων συντετύχηκα, οὐ 5 περιέργῳ χρησάμενος λογισμῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν καὶ δις τοσούτων ὁδὸν ἐξανύσας, ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ πεζῇ τῇ πορείᾳ πατήσας πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Ῥωμαίων, ἡσμένισα τὴν κακουχίαν τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπὶ συντυχίᾳ ἀνδρὸς φιλοθέου, ἵνα κερδήσω ὅπερ οὐκ εἶχον. εἰ γὰρ ὁ πολλῷ κρείττων ἐμοῦ ὑπερβᾶς πολιτεία 10 καὶ γνώσει καὶ συνειδήσει καὶ πίστει Παῦλος τὴν ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐστειλάτο ἀποδημίαν ἐπὶ συντυχίᾳ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ ἐν εἶδει καυχήματος διηγείται, στηλιτευῶν ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πόνους εἰς παροξυσμὸν τῶν ὀκνῶ καὶ ἀργία συζώντων ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν· Ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι 15 Κηφᾶν, οὐκ ἀρκούμενος τῇ φήμῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' ἐπιποθῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ εἶδους αὐτοῦ συντυχίαν· πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐγὼ ὁ μυρίων ταλάντων χρεωφειλέτης ἄφειλον τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, οὐκ ἐκείνους εὐεργετῶν ἀλλ' ἑμαυτὸν ὠφελῶν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων ἀναγραφάμενοι βίους, Ἀβραάμ τε καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς, 20 Μωσῆος καὶ Ἡλίου καὶ Ἰωάννου, οὐχ ἵνα ἐκείνους δοξάσωσιν ἐξηγήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὠφελήσωσιν.

Ταῦτα οὖν εἰδὼς, πιστότατε δούλε Χριστοῦ Λαῦσε, καὶ σαυτὸν νουθητῶν, ἀνάσχου καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς γνώμης, ἢ διαφόροις κακίαις ὄραταῖς τε 25 καὶ ἄοράτοις κυμαίνεσθαι πέφυκε, μόνῃ προσευχῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ ἰδιοπραγμοσύνῃ δυναμένη ἡρεμεῖν. πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν

1 Prov. xxiv. 76 (nl. xxxi. 8).

2 Sir. viii. 9.

15 Gal. i. 18.

23 On LAUSUS see Note 5.

PTlc

1 νοήμασιν]+εὐσεβείας καὶ P 3 καὶ] P1; om TBL₂ 4-19 Ἐγὼ... ὠφε-
λῶν] om I₂ 4 τοῦ] om TB: +καὶ T 5 ἐπόμενος] om T 6 περιέρ-
γῳ; παρέργῳ BT (παρέργων sic) l 9 ἵνα]+τι TBl 10 ἐμοῦ... TI
13 καυχήματος]+αὐτὸ Bl 14 ἑαυτοῦ τοῦς] αὐτοῖς T*; αὐτοῦ T^{cor}
ὀκν. T 16 Κηφᾶν] PTA^{bc}; Πέτρον Bl φήμῃ]+μόνον Bl 17 :
εἶδοις] PT; προσώπου B; ultimum ac figuram l 19 καὶ γὰρ] I₂ rec
20 Ἀβραάμ]+Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ Bl 23 ὠφελήσωσιν] I₂^a adds: Explicit
and the rest is wanting; in I₂^b it breaks off at εὐσεβείας p. 10, l. 15 23 εὐσεβο-
τατε]+καὶ σεμνότατε THlc 24 ἀνάσχου] om P 26 προσευχῇ]+συν-
προσευχ. T(B) 27-6 (p. 12) πολλοὶ... ἰδιοπρ.] c demar. whereby from the Greek

καὶ πόνοις καὶ ἐλεημοσύναις κομῶντες, καὶ ἀγαμίαν ἢ παρ-
θενίαν αὐχούντες, καὶ μελέτη θείων λογίων καὶ σπουδάσμασι
θαρρήσαντες, ἡστόχησαν ἀπαθείας ἀδιακρίτῳ προσχήματι εὐ-
σεβείας τὰς φιλοπραγμοσύνας νοσήσαντες, ἐξ ὧν τίκονται
5 πολυπραγμοσύναι ἢ κακοπραγμοσύναι ἀπελαύνουσαι καλο-
πραγμοσύνην, τὴν μητέρα τῆς ἰδιοπραγμοσύνης.

Ἄνδρίζου τοίνυν, παρακαλῶ, μὴ πιαίνων τὸν πλοῦτον· ὁ
δὴ καὶ πεποίηκας, αὐτάρκως αὐτὸν σμικρύνας τῇ διαδόσει τῶν
χρείαν ἐχόντων διὰ τὴν ἐκ τούτου τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπηρεσίαν·
10 μήτε ὀρμῇ τιμὴ καὶ προλήψει ἀλόγῳ ἀνθρωπαρέσκως ὄρκῳ
πεδήσας τὴν προαίρεσιν, καθὼς πεπόνθασι τινες φιλονείκως
φιλοδοξία τοῦ μὴ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν δουλώσαντες τὸ αὐτεξούσιον
τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ ὄρκου, καὶ τούτῳ πάλιν ὑποπεσόντες οἰκτρῶς
φιλοζωῖα καὶ ἀκηδία καὶ ἡδονῇ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν ὠδίναντες. λόγῳ
15 τοίνυν μεταλαμβάνων καὶ λόγῳ ἀπεχόμενος οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεις
ποτέ. θεῖος γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν κινήματων, ἐξορίζων μὲν
τὰ βλαβερὰ, προσλαμβάνόμενος δὲ τὰ ἐπωφελῆ· δικαίῳ γὰρ
νόμος οὗ κείται. ἄμεινον γὰρ ἢ μετὰ λόγου οἰνοποσία τῆς μετὰ
τύφου ὑδροποσίας. καὶ βλέπε μοι τοὺς μετὰ λόγου οἶνον πίνοντας
20 ἄνδρας ἀγίους, καὶ τοὺς ἄνευ λόγου πίνοντας ὕδωρ ἀνθρώπους
βεβήλους, καὶ μηκέτι ψέξης τὴν ὕλην ἢ ἐπαινέσης, ἀλλὰ μακά-
ρισον ἢ ταλάνισον τὴν γνώμην τῶν καλῶς ἢ κακῶς χρωμένων
τῇ ὕλῃ. ἐπιέ ποτε καὶ Ἰωσήφ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις οἶνον, ἀλλ'
οὐκ ἐβλάβη τὴν φρένα, ἡσφαλίσατο γὰρ τὴν γνώμην. ὕδρο-
25 πότισε δὲ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Διογένης καὶ Πλάτων, ἐν οἷς καὶ
Μαιναχάιοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σύνταγμα τῶν ἐθελοφιλοσόφων, οἱ
καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν κουφοδοξίας ἀκολασίαν ὡς καὶ τὸν
θεὸν ἀγνοῆσαι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι εἰδώλοις. ἤψαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ
περὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Πέτρον τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ οἴνου, ὡς καὶ
30 αὐτὸν ὀνειδίξεσθαι τὸν διδύσκαλον τούτων τὸν σωτήρα ἐπὶ τῇ

3, 10 See Note 6. 17 1 Tim. i. 9.

PTlc

3 θαρσοῦντες TB ἀδιακρίτως T 4 τὰς] P; τινὰς T; τινὸς B1 5 ἢ] P;
μεθ' ὧν T; μεθ' ἃς ἀλλοτριπραγμοσύναι καὶ B1; ἀλλοτριοπρ. (om. ἢ κακοπρ.) A²
καλοπρ. and ἰδιοπρ. interchanged T 11 τινες] PTC; πολλοὶ B1 φιλοδοξία TB
12 φιλοδοξία] PT; κενοδοξία B1 16 θεῖος] PA²; θεός TB1c κινήματων] καὶ
νομμάτων (sic) T 19 λόγου] + τὸν TB πίνοντας TB† 20 ὑδροποσί-
σαν] TB 21 καὶ] + διεφθαρμένους B1 τὴν ὕλην after ἢ ἐπ. TB μακά-
ρισον, ταλάνισον P; -σεις TB†; -σας B† 22 τῇ ὕλῃ] αὐτῇ T καὶ] om TB1
26 σύνταγμα] K; σύστημα TB αἱ] Pc; om TB1 30 τὸν] καὶ T

μεταλήψει, λεγόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων· Ἴνα τί οἱ μαθηταὶ σοῦ οὐκ ἠντιθέουσι καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἰωάννου; καὶ πάλιν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπεμβαίνοντες ὀνειδισμοῖς ἔλεγον· Ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει. οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος ἐπελαμβάνοντο ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὄψων καὶ οἴνου δηλονότι· οἷς πάλιν ἀλόγως θαυμάζουσιν ὑδροποσίαν καὶ ψέγουσιν οἰνοποσίαν ἔλεγεν ὁ σωτήρ· Ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης ἐν ὕδῃ δικαιοσύνης, μήτε ἐσθίων μήτε πίνων—δηλαδὴ κρέα καὶ οἶνον, δίχα γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ζῆν οὐκ ἠδύνατο—καὶ λέγοι· Δαιμόνιον ἔχει. Ἦλθεν ὁ γιός τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, καὶ λέγοι· Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης, τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν, διὰ τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν. τί οὖν ἡμεῖς ποιήσωμεν; μήτε τοῖς ψέγουσι μήτε τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν ἀκολουθήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ μετὰ Ἰωάννου λόγῳ νηστεύσωμεν κἂν εἴπωσι· Δαιμόνιον ἔχουσιν· ἢ μετ' Ἰησοῦ ἐν σοφίᾳ οἰνοποτήσωμεν, εἰ χρήζει τὸ σῶμα, κἂν εἴπωσιν· Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωποι φίγοι καὶ οἰνοπόται. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ βρώσις ἐστὶ τι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν οὔτε ἡ ἀποχή, ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης τοῖς ἔργοις παρεκτεινομένη. ὅταν γὰρ πάση πράξει παρακολουθήσῃ ἡ πίστις, ἀκατάκριτος ὁ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων διὰ τὴν πίστιν· πᾶν γὰρ ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἁμαρτία ἐστίν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ τῶν πλημμελούντων πίστει μεταλαμβάνειν ἢ ἕτερόν τι πράττειν ἀλόγῳ πληροφορίᾳ καὶ διεφθαρμένῳ τῷ συνειδότι, ὁ σωτήρ διεστείλατο λέγων· Ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσασθε αὐτοῖς. ὅτι δὲ ὁ καρπὸς τῶν λόγῳ πολιτευομένων καὶ συνέσει κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον ἀγάπη ἐστὶ καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ 25 μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραΰτης, καὶ ἐγκράτεια, ὁμολογῆται. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔλεγε Παῦλος· Ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς τοῦ πνευματικῆς ἐστὶ τὰ καὶ τὰ. ὅτι δὲ ὁ σπουδαίων τοιοῦτους ἔχειν καρποὺς ἀλόγως ἢ ἀσκόπως ἢ ἀκαιρῶς οὐ βρώσεται κρέα οὐδὲ πίεται οἶνον, | οὐδὲ συνοικήσει τινὶ κακῷ συνειδότι, πάλιν ἔλεγεν 30

1 Mc. ii. 18. 3 Mt. ix. 11 (Lc. v. 30). 7 Mt. xxi. 32 and xi. 18, 19.
19 Rom. xiv. 23. 23 Mt. vii. 16. 25 Gal. v. 22.

PTlc

1 Ἰωα] P; εἰς T; διὰ B 2 τοῦ] om TB 3 τῶν] omi TB 5 ἀλλ']
P; εἰ μὴ TB 8 ἦλον T 6 ψέγ. μὲν οἰνοπ. θαυμ. δι' ὕδροπ. B1 8 κρέας
TB1 11 φιλ. τελ. TB 13 ἀλλ' ἢ] ἀλλὰ PA^B λόγῳ] λέγω P 15 σοφίας
(om ἰν) T χρήζει] PB¹; χρήζοι TB¹ 16 αἰδέ T 17 ἀλλ' ἢ TB¹
22 καὶ] P; ἢ B; om T 23, 25 συνειδότης ἦν (om ὁ σωτήρ) sic T 26 μακροθ.]
+ καὶ T πρᾶττης] om T 27 ὁμολογῆται TB¹ γάρ] δι TB

ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος ὅτι Πᾶς ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐκρατεῖται, ὑγιαίνουσας μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεχόμενος τῶν πιαινόντων, ἀρρωστούσης δὲ ἢ ὀδυνωμένης ἢ καὶ λύπαις καὶ περιστάσεσι κοινωνούσης χρήσεται μὲν βρώμασιν ἢ πόμασιν ὡς φαρμά-
 5 κοῖς εἰς ἴασιν τῶν λυπούντων, ἀφέξεται δὲ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν βλαβερῶν, ὀργῆς, φθόνου, κενοδοξίας, ἀκηδίας, καταλαλιᾶς καὶ ὑπονοίας ἀλόγου, εὐχαριστῶν ἐν κυρίῳ.

Αὐτάρκως τοίνυν περὶ τούτου διαλαβὼν πάλιν ἄλλην παράκλησιν προσάγω σου τῇ φιλομαθείᾳ. φεῦγε ὄση δύναμις
 10 συντυχίας ἀνδρῶν ὄφελος οὐδὲν ἔχόντων καὶ κοσμοούντων τὸ δέρμα ἀκαταλλῆως, κἂν ὀρθόδοξοι εἶεν, μὴ τί γε αἰρετικῶν, βλαπτόντων τῇ ὑποκρίσει, κἂν δόξωσι πολιαῖς ἢ ῥυτίσιν ἐπισύρεσθαι μήκος χρόνου. κἂν γὰρ μηδὲν βλαβῆς παρ' αὐτῶν δι' εὐγένειαν τρόπων, τὸ γοῦν ἔλαττον χαννωθήσῃ ἢ ἐπαρθῆσῃ
 15 καταγελῶν τούτων, ὕπερ ἐστὶ σοι βλάβη. ὑπὲρ δὲ θυρίδα φωτεινὴν μεταδώκε ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ὀσίας συντυχίας, ἵνα διὰ τούτων, καθάπερ †λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον†, δυναθῆς σαφῶς ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν σὴν καρδίαν, διὰ τῆς παραθέσεως τὴν ῥαθυμίαν ἢ τὴν ἀμέλειαν δυνάμενος τὴν σὴν δοκιμάζειν. ἢ τε γὰρ
 20 χροῖα τῶν προσώπων ἐπανθούσα τῇ πολιᾷ καὶ ὁ στολισμὸς τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ ἡ ἀτυφία τῶν λόγων καὶ ἡ εὐλάβεια τῶν λέξεων καὶ τὸ χαριεῖν τῶν νοημάτων ἐνδυναμώσει σε, κἂν ἐν ἀκηδίᾳ τυγχάνῃς. Στολισμὸς γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ βῆμα ποδὸς καὶ γέλως ὀδόντων ἀναγγελεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καθὼς ἡ σοφία
 25 λέγει.

1 1 Cor. ix. 25.

23 Sir. xix. 30.

PTlc

3 καί] om T 6 καὶ φθ. TB καὶ κεν. T καὶ ἀκ. TBl καταλ.] + τε T
 7 λόγου (sic) T ἐν] P; τῷ (om ἐν) TB κυρίῳ θεῷ B†(her)cs^m
 8 τούτου] τούτων B(c) 9 ὄση] + σοι B (T ὄσης ἢ sic) 11 ἀκαταλ.] om T
 11, 12 μὴ τί γε.....ὑποκρίσει] om T 12 δοξάσωσι T 16 μεταδοίω (sic) T
 17 λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον] Bl; λέγει τὸ γράφον βιβλίον P; λέγει τὸ γραφικὸν λόγων T:
 (probably λεπτογράφων βιβλίων) 18 καί] om T 19 ἀμέλειαν] PA^B; ἐμμέλειαν
 TB; (ἐπιμ. l) 20 προσώπων] + ἡ TB πολιᾷ] PTc; πολιτεία Bl 21 ῥυτί-
 ἐσθῆτος] om T ἐσθῆτος] + καὶ τὸ ἀπέρπερον ἦθος Bl (et inconfusa mens) 22 τῶν
 χαριεῖτων νοημ. (sic) T 23 ἀκηδίᾳ] + τε T 24 σημαίνει TB†: + τὰ TB
 σοφία] PT; παρομμία Bl

Ἀρξάμενος τοίνυν τῶν διηγήσεων οὐ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔτε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ἢ ἐρημίαις σοι καταλείψω ἀγνώστους τῷ λόγῳ. οὐ γὰρ ὁ τόπος ἐστὶν ὁ ζητούμενος ἔνθα κατῳκίσαν οὔτοι, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος τῆς προαιρέσεως.

(I) Πρώτως πατήσας τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλιν ἔν τῇ δευ- 5
τέρᾳ ὑπατίᾳ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ὃς νῦν ἐν
ἀγγέλοις ὑπάρχει διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πίστιν εἰς τὸν Χριστόν,
περιέτυχον ἐκείσε ἀνδρὶ θαυμασίῳ παντόθεν κεκοσμημένῳ ἐν
τε ἤθει καὶ γνώσει, Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ξηνοδόχῳ ὄντι τῆς
Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας· ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῆς νεότητος ἄθλα 10
ἐλέγετο ἠνυκέναι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· οὐ καὶ τὴν κέλλαν ἔθεα-
σάμην ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Νιτρίας. κατέλαβον δὲ τοῦτον ἔτων
ἑβδομήκοντα γέροντα, ὃς ἐπιζήσας πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη ἄλλα τε-
λευτᾷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ. οὗτος μέχρις αὐτῆς τελευτῆς οὐκ ὀθύνῃ
ἐφόρεσεν ἐκτὸς φακιολίου, οὐ λουτροῦ ἤψατο, οὐ κρεῶν μετέ- 15
λαβεν· ὃς ἔσχε τοιοῦτον τὸ σωματίον ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος συγκρο-
τούμενον, ὡς προσδοκῆσαι πάντας τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας αὐτοῦ τὴν
δαίαιταν ὅτι ἐν τρυφῇ διάγει. τούτου τὰς ἀρετὰς τῆς ψυχῆς
ἐὰν θέλω διηγήσασθαι κατὰ μέρος ἐπιλείψει μοι ὁ χρόνος· ὃς
τοσοῦτον ἦν φιλόφρων καὶ εἰρηνικός, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς 20
ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀπίστους αἰδεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν σκιάν διὰ
τὸ λίαν χρηστόν. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔσχε γνώσιν τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν
καὶ τῶν θείων δογμάτων, ὡς καὶ | παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμπόσια τῶν
ἀδελφῶν ἐξίστασθαι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἐνεάζειν· καὶ παρακα-
λούμενος διηγήσασθαι τὰ τῆς ἐκστάσεως, ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀπεδῆ- 25

6 A. D. 388 (see App. v. II.)

9 On Isidore see Note 7.

PT1ss₂c

1 οὐ.....πόλεσιν] om T 2 ἢ ἐρημίαις] om P

I (Περὶ Ἰσιδώρου): PT11₂ss₂

5 Πρώτως] P (TA^B πρώτος); πρώτον B; +τοίνυν B(ss₂) πόλιν] om s₂^{add} (in s₂^{vat})
5-7 ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ.....Χριστόν] BA^B1s(s₂^{vat}); om PT1₂(s₂^{add}) (see App. v. II.)
6 τοῦ μεγ. βασ.] om A^Bs₂^{vat} (s om βασ.) 6, 7 τοῦ νῦν ἐν ἀγγ. ὑπάρχοντος A^B
7 τὴν] + ὄρθην A^BBs 8 ἐκείσε] P s₂; ἐν τῇ πόλει TB1; om l₂; 'in the first place' s
παντόθεν] P; πανταχόθεν TB 8, 9 ἐν τε] + λόγῳ καὶ B l₂ (after ἤθει) s₂^{add} (om ἤθει)
9 τῷ] om TB πρεσβυτέρῳ] om T 12 ὄρει] + τῷ T Νιτρίας P 13 γέροντα]
om l₂ 14 αὐτῆς τῆς B; τῆς αὐτοῦ T 15 ἐκτὸς φακ. om l₂s₂ 16 σωματίον]
Pl (corpuscolum); σῶμα TB 19 διηγείσθαι T 20 καί²] om T 23 καί²] om T
24 τῇ διανοίᾳ T: +spiritualibus uisionibus l₂s ἐνεάζειν PTB† 24, 25 παρα-
καλούμενον and λέγειν TB

μησα τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀρπαγείς ὑπὸ θεωρίας τινός. ἔγνω κἀγὼ
 τοῦτον πολλάκις δακρύσαντα ἐπὶ τραπέζης, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν
 πυθόμενος τῶν δακρύων ἤκουσα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Αἰδοῦμαι
 μεταλαμβάνων ἀλόγου τροφῆς, λογικὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ ὀφείλων
 5 ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς διάγειν διὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν παρὰ
 Χριστοῦ ἐξουσίαν. οὗτος γνώριμος ὢν τῇ κατὰ Ῥώμην συγ-
 κλήτῳ πάσῃ καὶ ταῖς γυναίξιν τῶν μεγιστάνων, ὀπηνίκα σὺν
 Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀπεληλύθει τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα σὺν
 Δημητρίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ περισσεύων πλούτῳ καὶ ἀφθονίᾳ
 10 χρεῶν, οὐ διαθήκην ἔγραψε τελευτῶν, οὐ νόμισμα καταλέλοιπεν,
 οὐ πρᾶγμα ταῖς ἰδίαις αὐτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς παρθένοις οὐσῆσαι· ἀλλὰ
 παρέθετο αὐτὰς τῷ Χριστῷ λέγων· Ὁ κτίσας ὑμᾶς οἰκονομήσει
 ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν, ὡς κἀμέ. ἦν δὲ σὺν ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς αὐτοῦ
 σύστημα παρθένων ἑβδομήκοντα.

15 Οὗτος φοιτήσαντί μοι νέφ' ὄντι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλοῦντι
 στοιχειωθῆναι ἐν τῷ μονήρει βίῳ, σφριγώσης ἔτι τῆς ἡλικίας
 καὶ λόγου μὴ δεομένης ἀλλὰ πόνων τῶν κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς καλὸς
 πωλοδάμνης ἐξήγαγέ με ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα ἐρη-
 μικά ἀπὸ σημείων πέντε· | (II) καὶ παραδοῦς Δωροθέῳ τινὶ
 20 ἀσκητῇ Θηβαίῳ ἐξηκοστὸν ἄγοντι ἔτος ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, κε-
 λεύει μοι πληρῶσαι παρ' αὐτῷ τρία ἔτη πρὸς δαμασμὸν τῶν
 παθῶν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ τὸν γέροντα μεγάλης σκληραγωγίας
 συζῶντα· πάλιν ἐπανακάμπτειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντειλάμενος
 διδασκαλίας ἔνεκεν πνευματικῆς. μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ τρία ἔτη πλη-
 25 ρῶσαι, ἀρρωστία περιπεσών, οὕτως πρὸ τῶν τριῶν ἦρθεν ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ διαίτα ἀνυμώδης καὶ ξηροτάτη. διὰ

9 On Demetrius see Note 8. 19, 26—4 (p. 17) Soz. VI. 29 (4) Ὑπερφύως
 δὲ ἐν τούτοις διέπρεπε Δωρόθεος, Θηβαῖος τὸ γένος· φ' βίος ἦν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν ἀπὸ
 τῆς πέλας θαλάσσης λίθους συλλέγειν, καὶ ἔτους ἐκάστου οἰκίδιον κατασκευάζειν,
 καὶ δίδοναι τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις ἑαυτοῖς οἰκοδομεῖν.

PTII₂ss₂

4 ὑπάρχων] factus a domino 1; creatus a deo 1₂ 5 παρὰ]+τοῦ T
 6 Χριστοῦ] 'God' ss₂ 7 ταῖς τε TB (γε) 8, 9 Ἀθανασίῳ and Δημητρίῳ
 interchanged in P 8 ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ T 11 ἰδίαις αὐτοῦ] P; ἑαυτοῦ TB
 13 ὑμῶν TB (+ καὶ τὰ πρὸς); uestram 1₂ κἀμέ] PA^BB†; κἀμοὶ B†; κἀμοῦ TB†;
 meam 1₂ 14 παρθένων]+ὡς Ts₂ 19 πέντε]+τῆς πόλεως P herv (see Note 9)

II (περὶ Δωροθέου): PTII₂ss₂

19 καὶ] om T παραδοῦς] PA^B (1₂); παραδίδωσι B; παρέδωκε δὲ T: + με TB
 20 σπηλαίῳ]+καὶ TB 21 με TB 22 μεγάλη σκληραγωγίας (sic) T 24 πλη-
 ρῶσαι]+κραταιῶ B₂ 25 ἀπ'] παρ' T 26 αὐτοῦ ἢ δ.] TBI₂ss₂; ἡ τοῦ γέροντος δ. P

πάσης μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ καύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ
 παρὰ θάλασσαν συνῆγε λίθους, καὶ τούτους αἰεὶ οἰκοδομῶν καὶ
 κέλλας ποιῶν παρεχῶρει τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις οἰκοδομεῖν, κατ'
 ἔτος τελειῶν κέλλαν μίαν. ἐμοῦ δέ ποτε εἰρηκότος αὐτῷ· Τί
 ποιεῖς, πάτερ, ἐν γῆρᾳ τοσοῦτῳ ἀποκτείνων σοῦ τὸ σῶματιον 5
 ἐν τοῖς καύμασι τούτοις; ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· Ἀποκτείνει με,
 ἀποκτείνω αὐτό. ἦσθιε μὲν γὰρ οὐγγίας ἐξ ἄρτου καὶ λεπτο-
 λαχάνων δέμα, ἔπινε δὲ ὕδατος τὸ ὅσον. ἐπὶ θεῷ μάρτυρι οὐκ
 ἔργων αὐτὸν ἀπλώσαντα πόδας, οὐ καθευδήσαντα ἐπὶ ψιαθίου,
 οὐκ ἐπὶ κλίνης· ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς καθήμενος ἔπλεκε 10
 σειρῶν τὴν ἐκ θαλλῶν φοινίκων εἰς λόγον τροφῆς. προσ-
 δοκήσας δὲ ὅτι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦτο ἐποίει, ἐφιλοπεύστησα καὶ παρὰ
 ἄλλων τῶν τούτου μαθητῶν ἀκριβῶσας, οὔτινες ἔμενον κατ' ἰδίαν,
 λέγοντες ὅτι ἀπὸ νεότητος ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν πολιτείαν, μηδέ 15
 ποτε κοιμηθεὶς ἐξεπίτηδες, εἰ μὴ τι ἐργαζόμενος ἢ ἐσθίῳν ἐκάμ-
 μυσε τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κατενεχθεὶς ὕπνῳ, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ τὸν
 ψωμὸν ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν
 τοῦ φαγεῖν ὑπερβολῇ νυσταγμοῦ. ἀναγκάζοντος δέ μου αὐτὸν
 ποτε μικρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ψιάθου ἀναπεσεῖν, ὑπολυπούμενος ἔλεγεν·

4—6 Soz. (6) Ὡδε δὲ αὐτῷ μοχθοῦντι προσελθὼν τις ἔφη· Τί τὸ σῶμα τὸ
 σὸν ἀποκτείνεις τοσοῦτον; Ὅτι με ἀποκτείνει, ἀπεκρίνατο. 7, 8 (5) Τροφή
 δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἄρτου οὐγγίαι ἐξ καὶ λεπτῶν λαχάνων δέμα, καὶ ὕδωρ ποτόν.
 9, 10 (5) Οὐδέ ποτε ὠράθη ἐπὶ ῥίπῳς ἢ κλίνης καθευδήσας, ἢ τοὺς πόδας
 ἐκτείναις ἀνέσει. 10, 11 (4) Νύκτωρ δὲ εἰς αὐτοῦ διατροφὴν ἐκ φοινίκων φύλλων
 σειρῶν πλέκων σπυρίδας ἐργάζετο. 14 (5) Ἐκ νέου δὲ οὕτως ἀσκήσας, οὐ
 διέλιπε καὶ γέρον ὢν. 15—2 (p. 18) (5, 6) (Οὐδέ) ἐκὼν ὕπνῳ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοῦς,
 πλην ὅσον ἐργαζόμενος ἢ ἐσθίῳν, βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἔμυσε τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
 μούς· ὡς πολλάκις νυστάζοντος ἐν τῷ ἐσθίῳν ἐκπεσεῖν τοῦ στόματος τὴν
 τροφήν· ποτὲ γοῦν εἰς ἄκρον κρατηθεὶς τῷ ὕπνῳ, ἔλαθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥίπῳς πεσῶν·
 καὶ περιλυπὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γεγονὼς ἠρέμα ἔφη· Εἰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους πείσεις καθευδεῖν,
 πείσεις καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον· ὑπεδήλου δὲ ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸν ὕπνον ἴσως ἀποτε-
 ριόμενος ἢ τὸν δαίμονα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γενόμενον ταῖς σπουδαίαις πράξεσιν.

PTh₂ss₂

3 ποιῶν] om ss₂ οἰκοδομεῖν] P Soz; οἰκοδομήσαι TB κατ' ἔτος] καθ' ἕκαστον
 (om ἔτος) T 4 τελῶσκων TB κέλλαν μίαν] om T αὐτῷ before ποτε T
 5 ἀποκτείνων (sic) PA^B (T ἀπεκτένων) 6 ἀποκτείνει PTA^B 7 ἀποκτείνω] ll₂ss₂;
 ἀποκτενῶ PT (but cf. ἀποκτένων and ἀποκτείνει sup.) B μὲν] om T οὐγγίας]
 P (Soz); οὐγγίας TB ἄρτου] + καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν Bss₂ 8 ἔπιε T ἐπὶ
 θεοῦ μάρτυρος TB 11 σειρῶν] σπυρίδας ll₂ss₂ (cf. Soz) 12 ποιεῖ T 13 τῶν
 ταύτου] αὐτοῦ TB 14 λέγοντες] om T 15 ἐσθίῳν] + εἰ T 17 ἐκ] PTA^B:
 om B Soz τοῦ] om T 19 πεσεῖν TP

Ἐὰν πείσης τοὺς ἀγγέλους κοιμηθῆναι, πείσεις καὶ τὸν σπου-
δαῖον. ἐν τῷ φρέατι αὐτοῦ περὶ ὥραν ἐννάτην ἀπέστειλέ μέ
ποτε πληρῶσαι τὸν κάδον εἰς λόγον μεταλήψεως. ἔτυχε δέ
με ἀπελθόντα ἀσπίδα ἔν τῷ φρέατι κάτω ἰδεῖν, καὶ μηκέτι
5 ἀντλήσαι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντα εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ· Ἀπεθάνομεν,
ἀββᾶ· ἀσπίδα γὰρ εἶδον ἐν τῷ φρέατι. ὁ δὲ ὑπομειδιάσας
σεμνὸν ἐπὶ πολὺ μοι προσέσχε, καὶ σείσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔλεγεν·
Ἐὰν δόξη τῷ διαβόλῳ κατὰ πᾶν φρέαρ γενέσθαι ὄφιν ἢ χελώνην
καὶ ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, σὺ μένεις μηδέποτε πί-
10 νων; καὶ ἐξελθὼν καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀντλήσας, νῆστις πρῶτος | ἀπερ-
ρόφησεν εἰπών· Ὅπου σταυρὸς ἐπιφοιτᾷ οὐκ ἰσχύει κακία τινός.

(III) Ὁ μακάριος οὗτος Ἰσίδωρος συντετυχηκῶς Ἀντωνίῳ
τῷ μακαρίτῃ γραφῆς ἄξιον διηγήσατό μοι πρᾶγμα, ἀκηκῶς
παρ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ποταμιαῖνα τις οὕτω καλουμένη κατὰ τὸν
15 καιρὸν Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ διώκτου ὠραιότατῃ κόρῃ ὑπῆρχε παι-
δίσκη τινός· ἦν πολλαῖς λιπαρήσας ὑποσχέσεσιν ὁ ταύτης
δεσπότης ἀναπέσαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη· τελευταῖον δὲ μανεῖς παρα-
δίδωσιν αὐτὴν τῷ τότε ἐπάρχῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἔκδοτον
αὐτὴν δοὺς ὡς χριστιανὴν καὶ βλασφημοῦσαν τοὺς καιροὺς
20 καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς διωγμοῖς, ὑποθέμενος αὐτῷ μετὰ
χρημάτων ὅτι Ἐὰν συνθῆταί μοι τῷ σκόπῳ, ἀτιμώρητον αὐτὴν
φύλαξον· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμένῃ τῇ ἀυστηρίᾳ, παρακαλῶ σε τιμωρηθῆναι

14 On Potamiaena see Note 10.

PTII₂ss₂

1 τὸν σπουδαῖον] με ss₂ 3 ἀποπληρῶσαι T κάδον P μεταλήψεως] + τῆς
ἐνάτης ὥρας T (l nonae ut solebat horae usibus profuturum) 4 ἐν τῷ φρέατι]
BII₂s; om PT: (s₂ 'there') κάτω] om ss₂ μηκέτι] + φόβῳ B_s (l perhorruissem)
5 τὸ] om T αὐτῷ] + ὅτι TB 6 ὁ δὲ] om T: (B ἐκείνος) ὑπομειδ.] + δὲ TB
7 σεμνὸν] P B_s; μόνον II₂; om s₂: (cf. γελᾶσας σεμνὸν c. xxii. init.) 8 πᾶν]
BII₂ss₂; om PT 9 ἐμπροσθεν T 10 καὶ²] om T νῆστις] om ss₂ (νῆστις TB[†])
11 τινός] P TI (alterius sess, ulterius cass); τοῦ Σατανᾶ B_s (l₂ diaboli); om s

III (Περὶ Ποταμιαίνης): PTII₂s₂

12, 13 τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἀντ. TB 13 μοι διηγ. T 14 Ποταμιαῖνα] PBI; om TI₂s₂
οὕτω καλουμένη] P I (nomine); om TBI₂s₂ τὸν] om T 15 Μαξιμιανῷ]
PTvenII₂; Μαξιμίῳ B; (s₂ unpointed) 16 τινός] + ἀκολάστου B ('a worldling' s₂)
πολλὰ TB ὑποσχέσεσιν] + διαφόροις BI 17 ἀπατήσαι TB ἠδυνήθη] + καὶ
τὸ (om δὲ) TB 18 αὐτὴν τῷ] om T 19 καὶ] om T βλασφ.] + καὶ TBI₂
καιροῦς] BII₂s₂^{vat} (om s₂^{add}); θεοῦ PT: (see Note 11) 22 διαφύλαξον T
ἐμμίειν TB ἀυστηρίᾳ] + τῶν νόμων P παρακαλῶ σε] PA^B; παρακάλεσε TB;
(II₂s₂ altered) τιμωρηθῆναι] PTs₂ (+ 'with all tortures'); τιμωρομένην αὐτὴν ἀπο-
θανεῖν B; ut in tormentis deficeret I; ut torquet usque ad mortem I₂

1012 B]
1017 A]

αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ ζῶσα καταγελάσῃ τῆς ἀσωτίας μου. ἀχθεῖσα δὲ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος διαφόροις ὀργάνοις τιμωρητικοῖς ἐπυργομαχεῖτο τὴν γνώμην. ἐν οἷς ὀργάνοις καὶ λέβητα μέγαν πλήσας πίσεως ἐκέλευσεν ὑποκαίεσθαι ὁ δικαστής. βραζούσης οὖν τῆς πίσεως καὶ σφοδρῶς ἐκκαιομένης, προέτεινεν αὐτῇ· Ἡ ἀπελθε, 5 ὑποτάγηθι τοῖς θελήμασι τοῦ δεσπότου σου· ἢ ἵνα εἰδῆς ὅτι ἐν τῷ λέβητί σε καταβιβασθῆναι κελεύω. ἢ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο λέγουσα· Μὴ γένοιτό ποτε τοιοῦτος δικαστής ὃς κελεύει ἀσωτία ὑποτάσσεσθαι. μανεῖς οὖν ἐκείνος κελεύει ἐκδυθεῖσαν αὐτὴν βληθῆναι ἐν τῷ λέβητι. ἢ δὲ φωνὴν ἀφήσιν εἰπούσα· Τὴν 10 κεφαλὴν σοι τοῦ βασιλέως σου ὃν σὺ φοβῆ, εἰ κέκριταί σοι τιμωρήσασθαι με οὕτω, κατὰ μικρὸν κέλευσον χαλασθῆναι με ἐν τῷ λέβητι, ἵνα εἰδῆς πόσῃ μοι χαρίζεται ὑπομονὴν ὁ Χριστὸς ὃν σὺ ἀγνοεῖς. καὶ χαλωμένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπὶ παράτασιν ὥρας ἐξέψυξε, φθασάσης τῆς πίσεως περὶ τὸν τράχηλον 15 αὐτῆς.

(IV) Πλείστοι μὲν οὖν ὅσοι καὶ ὅσαι ἐτελειώθησαν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄξιοι τῆς γῆς τῶν πραέων. ἐν οἷς καὶ Δίδυμος ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὁ ἀπὸ ὀμμάτων γενόμενος· οὐ καὶ συντυχίας ἔσχηκα τέσσαρας ἐκ διαλειμμάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν 20 ἀπερχόμενος ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη. τελειοῦται γὰρ ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε. οὗτος ἀπὸ ὀμμάτων ὑπῆρχεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μοι διηγήσατο, τετραέτης τὰς ὄψεις ἀποβαλὼν, μῆτε γράμματα μεμαθηκώς μῆτε διδασκίλοις φοιτήσας· εἶχε γὰρ τὸν κατὰ φύσιν διδάσκαλον ἐρρωμένον, τὸ ἴδιον συνειδός· ὃς τοσαύτη χάριτι 25 ἐκεκόσμητο γνώσεως ὡς καθ' ἰστορίαν πληροῦσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ

19 On Didymus see Note 12.

PTh₂²

1 ζῶσα] | λέγων B καταγελάσται T μου] αὐτοῦ T 3, 4 πρ. πλ. TB
4 ὑποκαίεσθαι] + λαμπροτάτῃ περὶ B₁² α¹ οὖν] δὲ T 5 προέτεινεν] + ὁ ἄρχων
B₁(L₂², α¹) αὐτῇ] + ὅτι TB ἦ] om T 6 οἶδας T 7 καταγγίλσθαι TB
8 πῶποτε (αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος) TB ὁ κελεύων TB 8, 9 ὑπ. ἀσωτία TB 9 ἀπο-
μανεῖς TB ἐκείνος] om T αὐτὴν ἐκδ. TB 10 εἰς τὸν λέβητα T ἀφ. φωνῆν
TB εἰπούσα] + ὅτι T 11 σοι'] om B σου] om PA¹¹ φοβῆ] σέβη T
12 με after κ. μικρὸν TB 13 ἴδης TB ὑπομ. μοι ἐχαρίσατο TB 14 χαλα-
σθαισα TB: (-μένης P) 15 ἐξέψυξε] om P 16 αὐτῆς] PA¹¹L₂²; om TB: + παρέ-
δωκε τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ θεῷ P

IV (Περὶ Διδύμου): PTh₂²

17 οὖν] om T 19 α²] om T 20 -... ἴδης] om T 21 τελευτῶ T
26 γνώσεως] + πνευματικῆς B₁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ] om L. (L₂ vac)

τὸ γεγραμμένον· Κύριος σοφοὶ τυφλοῦς. παλαιὰν γὰρ καὶ καινὴν
 διαθήκην ἡρμήνευσε κατὰ λέξιν· τῶν δὲ δογμάτων οὕτως ἐπε-
 μελήθη, λεπτῶς καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκθέμενος τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον,
 ὡς πάντα ὑπερβάλλειν τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἐν γνώσει. ἀναγκά-
 5 ζουτος δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε ποιησαί με ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ αὐτοῦ εὐχὴν,
 καὶ μὴ βουλομένου μου, ἔλεγε διηγούμενος ὅτι Εἰς τὴν κέλλαν
 ταύτην τρίτον εἰσῆλθεν ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος ἐπισκεψάμενός
 με· καὶ παρακληθεὶς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἵποιεν εὐχὴν εὐθύς ἔκλιπε
 γόνυ ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ, καὶ οὐ παρεσκεύασέ με δευτερώσαι τὸν
 10 λόγον, ἔργω με παιδεύσας ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ. ὥστε εἰ κατ' ἴχνος
 βαίνεις τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας, ἄτε μονάζων καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν ξενι-
 τεύων, ἀπόθου τὴν φιλονεικίαν. διηγῆσατο δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο,
 ὅτι Φροντίζουτός μου περὶ τῆς ζωῆς Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀθλίου
 βασιλέως ὡς διώκτου, καὶ ἀδημονοῦντος, μᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἤμην
 15 μέχρι ἐσπέρας βαθείας μὴ γευσάμενος ἄρτου ἕνεκεν τῆς φρον-
 τίδος ταύτης, ἔτυχεν ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ καθήμενόν με κατενεχθῆναι
 εἰς ὕπνον, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἔκστασιν ἵππους λευκοὺς διατρέχοντας
 μετὰ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν κηρυττόντων· Εἶπατε Διδύμω, σήμερον
 ἐβδόμην ὥραν ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰουλιανός· ἀναστὰς οὖν φάγε, καὶ
 20 ἐπίστειλον, φασί, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀθανασίῳ, ἵνα ἀκείνους γνῶ.

1 Ps. cxlv. 8. 12—20 Soz. VI. 2 (6, 7) Κατ' ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ
 Δίδυμος ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διατρίβων, οἶά γε τοῦ
 βασιλέως εἰς τὴν θρησκίαν διασφαλέντος περιλύπος ὦν διὰ τε αὐτὸν ὡς πεπλα-
 νημένον καὶ διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐνήστευέ τε καὶ τὸν θεὸν περὶ
 τούτου ἰκέτευεν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μερίμνης οὐδὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης μεταλαβὼν
 τροφῆς, ἐπὶ θρόνου καθεζόμενος εἰς ὕπνον ἠνέχθη· καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει γενοὺς
 ἔδοξεν ὄραν ἵππους λευκοὺς ἐν τῷ αἴρι διατρέχοντας· τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄχου-
 μένους κηρύττειν· Ἀγγεῖλατε Διδύμω, σήμερον περὶ τήνδε τὴν ὥραν Ἰουλιανὸν
 ἀνηρῆσθαι· καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο μηνυσάτω· καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐσθιέτω.

PTII₂s₂

1 παλαιὰν] + μὲν TB 2 διαθ.] om T 3 , καὶ οὕτως ἰσχ. ἐξέθετο P
 ὄχμῶς T 4 ὑπερβάλλει T 5 ποιῆσαι after εὐχὴν T κελλίῳ PA^B(II₂);
 αὐτῷ] om T 6 ἔλεγε] + μοι B1₂ 8 ποιῆσαι εὐχὴν
 εὐθύς] BII₂s₂; om PT: (s₂TM om εὐθύς) 9 παρεσκεύαζε T 10 ὥστε] + οὖν TB
 11 βαίνειν T πολλ.] + θέλει T ὡς ἄτε TA^B; ὅσα τε B 12 τὴν om T
 13 ὅτι] + Καθημένου καὶ P 14 ὡς διώκτου] om I₂s₂ ἡμην] P; καὶ (om ἡμην)
 T; (B alters) 15 γευσάμενός μου ἄρτου T 16 ταύτης] om T καθήμενον]
 PT; καθεζόμενον B Soz 17 εἰς ὕπνον] P Soz; ὕπνῳ TB ἐκστασιν PT(I); ἐν
 ἐκστάσει B Soz I₂(s₂) 18 καὶ κηρύττωντας TB 19 φάγε] + καὶ T: + σὺ TB
 20 ἀπόστειλον TB φασί· Ἀποστ. T Ἀθ.] + ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ B1 γνῶ] + περὶ
 τούτου B1

καὶ ἐσημειωσίμην, φησί, καὶ τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὸν μῆνα καὶ τὴν ἑβδομάδα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ εὔρηται οὕτως.

(V) Διηγῆσατο δέ μοι καὶ περὶ παιδίσκης τινὸς ὀνόματι Ἀλεξάνδρας, ἣτις καταλείψασα τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐν μνήματι ἑαυτὴν καθείρξασα δι' ὀπῆς ἐλάμβανε τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, μήτε 5 γυναιξὶ μήτε ἀνδράσι συντυγχάνουσα κατ' ὄψιν ἐπὶ ἔτη δέκα. τῷ δὲ δεκάτῳ ἔτει ἐκοιμήθη σχηματίσασα ἑαυτὴν, ὡς τὴν ἐν συνηθείᾳ ἀπελθούσαν καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσαν ἀποκρίσεως ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἡμῖν. ἀποχρίσαντες οὖν τὴν θύραν καὶ εἰσελθόντες εὔραμεν αὐτὴν κοιμηθεῖσαν. ἔλεγε δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ τρισμακαρία 10 Μελαρία, περὶ ἧς ὕστερον λέξω, ὅτι Κατ' ὄψιν μὲν αὐτὴν οὐκ εἶδον, περὶ δὲ τὴν ὀπὴν στᾶσα παρεκάλεσα εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἔκλεισεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ μνήμα. ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς ἐφθέγγαστό μοι λέγουσα ὅτι Ἐβλάβη τις τὸν νοῦν εἰς ἐμέ· καὶ ἵνα μὴ δόξω λυπεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ διαβάλλειν, ἤρησάμην ζῶσαν ἑμαυτὴν εἰς τὸ 15 μνήμα εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἢ σκανδαλίσαι ψυχὴν κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γενομένην. ἐμοῦ δέ, φησί, εἰπούσης· Πῶς οὖν καρτερεῖς μὴ συντυγχάνουσα μηδενί, ἀλλὰ πυκτεύουσα τῇ ἀκηδία; εἶπεν ὅτι Ἀπὸ πρωῒ μέχρις ἐνάτης ὥρας εὔχομαι καθ' ὥραν, νήθουσα τὸ λίνον· τὰς δὲ διαλοίπους ὥρας περιέρχομαι τῷ νῷ τοὺς ἀγίους 20 πατριάρχας καὶ | προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους καὶ μάρτυρας· καὶ

2 For a similar story see Note 13.

PTII, s₂

1 καί²] om P 1, 2 τὴν ὥραν.....τὴν ἡμέραν] PTI, s₂; interchange μῆνα and ἡμέραν B; ὥραν last l 2 εὔρον PA^B

V (Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρας): PTII, s₂

5 τὰ τῆς χρείας TB 6 BII₂ interchange ἀνδράσι and γυναιξί; s₂ supports PT ('she saw neither woman nor man, and no human being saw her face, and she saw no one's face') δέκα] PBI; + καὶ δύο TA^B_{1,2} s₂ 7 δεκάτῳ] PBI; δωδεκάτῳ TA^B_{1,2} (om s₂) κοιμηθεῖσα ἐσχημάτισεν TB 8 ἀπαγγεῖλαι TB 9 ἀποχρίσαντες] PTBI^A B¹; ἀποκροῦσαντες B¹₂; (I illisum (illitum¹⁰⁰) ostium clausumque rati fecimus; s₂ 'opening') εὔρον P 10 μακαρία T 11 Μελαρία] A^{B27}_{1,2}; Μελάνη P¹; A^{B28}; Μελάριον T; Melanion l (cf. Note on c. xlvii.) ἧς] + εἰς T 12 εἶδον] ἠδὲ νήθην θεάσασθαι BI εἰπεῖν] + μοι BII, s₂ 13 δι' ἣν] + ἀνεχώρησε μὲν τῆς πόλεως BI₂ ἐκλεισεν ἑαυτὴν] ἀνεχώρησεν T μνήμα] + τοῦτο TI 14 λέγοισά μοι T 17 ποιηθεῖσαν TB φησιν] om TB εἰρηκίας TB 18 μηδεὶ σιντ. (om μὴ) TB ἀλλά] + μόνη BI 19, 20 εὔχομαι..... ὥρας] om P (homoeoteleuton); (s₂ 'I spin and recite psalms') 20 διαλοίπους (sic) T; ὑπολοίπους B 21 μάρτυρας] + τῆς δὲ ἑσπέρας καταλαβούσης BI καί⁴] + τὰς λοιπὰς ὥρας T s₂ (l₂ hora competentii)

φαγοῦσα τὸν ψωμὸν τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας περιμένω προσκαρτεροῦσα καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐκδεχομένη μετ' ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς.

(VI) Οὐ παραλείψω δὲ ἐν τῷ διηγήματι καὶ τοὺς ἐν καταφρονήσει βεβιωκότας, εἰς ἔπαινον τῶν κατωρθοκῶτων ἀσφάλειαν δὲ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων. Παρθένος τις γέγονεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῷ μὲν σχήματι ταπεινῇ τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει σοβαρά, πλουσία ἐν χρήμασιν εἰς ἄγαν, μηδέποτε †προέκασα† ξένῳ μηδὲ παρθένῳ, μὴ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μὴ πένητι ὀβολόν. αὕτη πολλαῖς νοουθεσίαις τῶν πατέρων οὐκ ἀπεσκευάζετο τὴν ὕλην. ὑπῆρχε δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ γένος ἐν οἷς τεκνοποιεῖται θυγατέρα ἀδελφῆς ἰδίας, ἣ ὑκτώρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπηγγέλλετο τὰ αὐτῆς, τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πόθου ἐκπεσοῦσα. εἶδος γὰρ καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι πλάνης τοῦ διαβόλου, ἐν προσχήματι φιλοσυγγενείας εἰς πλεονεξίαν ὠδίνειν παρασκευάζοντος· ὅτι γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐ μέλει περὶ γένους, ἀδελφοκτονεῖν καὶ μητροκτονεῖν καὶ πατροκτονεῖν ἐκδιδάσκοντος, ὡμολόγηται. ἀλλὰ κὰν δόξη συγγενῶν κηδεμονίαν ἐντιθέσθαι, οὐκ εἰς εὐνοίαν ἐκείνων τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀδικῶν ἐξασκῆσαι, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅτι Ἰαδικοὶ βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι. δύναται δὲ τις φρονησεῖ κινούμενος θεϊκῇ μῆτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς καταφρονεῖν, καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσιν αὐτοῦ, εἴ γε λείπονται, δίδόναι παραμυθίαν. ὅταν δὲ τις ὄλην τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ καθυποτάξῃ κηδεμονίᾳ συγγενῶν, ὑποπίπτει τῷ νόμῳ, ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν λογιζόμενος. ἄδει δὲ ὁ ἱεροψάλτης περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς

3 This cap. of l is printed in *Bibl. Casin. III. Florileg.* 314, from cod. Cass. 143 (cf. *Prol.* 62). It is cap. 13 in printed l₂. 18 1 Cor. vi. 9.

PTll₂s₂

1 φαγοῦσα] + μουν TBl₂s₂ περιμένω] ἔχω ἀναστάς sic T (B quite altered)

VI (Περὶ τῆς πλουσίας Παρθένου): PTll₂s (5—12) s₂

4 κατωρθ.] + καὶ (om δὲ) T 7 †προέκασα†] sic P; προέκασα T; προεμένη (παρασχομένη ἐκ A^B) τῶν ἑαυτῆς τι B; 'she never gave' s₂; nusquam procedere solens l; numquam procedens l₂; 'she never helped' s. Probably we should read προέκασα, which the metaphrast and the translators of ll₂s connected with the roots of ἦκα, ἦκω, or ἔκω 7, 8 μὴ ξ. μὴ π. T(B) 8 ὀβολόν] + ἐπιθεωκῶ T(1l₂s) 9 τῶν + ἀγίων Bl(s) ὄλην] + τοῦ πλοῦτου Bl₂ 10 ἀδῆ T 11 ἣ P ἐπηγγέλ- T ἀ αὐτῆς] om T 12-6 (p. 23) εἶδος.....συνδιαλέσθαι] om s in add [7177 12 ἐπιθεωκῶ TBl 13 τοῦ] om T προσχήματι] + τῆς T εἰς] τὴν T 14 ἀλλοι (sic) P περὶ γένους] ἣς (sic) T 15 πατρ. καὶ ἡγρ. 16 ἐπιθεωκῶ T 17 τὸν Bl τοῦτο] ἣ T 20 θεϊκῇ κιν. T ψυχ. ἀδικῶν] ἣ T 21 ἱεροψάλτης] ἣ A^B Bl₂

φροντιζόντων ἐν φόβῳ, ὅτι τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου; ἀντὶ τοῦ, σπανίως· ἢ τίς στήσεται ἐν τύπῳ ἀγίῳ αἰτοῦ; δάφoc χειρὶ καὶ καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅς οὔκ ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὴν ψυχὴν αἰτοῦ. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ματαίῳ αὐτὴν λαμβάνουσιν ὅσοι τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀμελοῦσι, νομίζοντες αὐτὴν τῷ σαρκίῳ συνδια- 5 λύεσθαι.

Ταύτην τὴν παρθένον, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, θελήσας ὁ ἀγιώτατος Μακάριος, ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀφηγούμενος τοῦ πτωχείου τῶν λελωβημένων, φλεβοτομήσαι εἰς κουφισμὸν τῆς πλεονεξίας, σοφίζεται πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον· ἦν γὰρ ἐν νεότητι λιθουργὸς ὃν 10 λέγουσι καβιδάριον. καὶ ἀπελθὼν λέγει αὐτῇ· Λίθοι ἀναγκαῖοι σμάρραγοι καὶ ὑάκινθοι ἐμπεπτώκασί μοι, καὶ εἴτε εὐρεσιμαῖοί εἰσιν εἴτε κλεψιμαῖοι οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. τιμῇ οὐχ ὑποβάλλονται, ὑπὲρ διατίμησιν ὄντες· πιπράσκει δὲ αὐτοὺς πεντακόσιων νομισμάτων ὁ ἔχων. | εἰ δοκεῖ σοι αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν, 15 ἀπὸ ἐνὸς λίθου δύνασαι σῶσαι τὰ πεντεκόσια νομίσματα, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς εἰς κόσμον τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς σου συγχρήσασθαι. ἐκκρεμαμένη ἡ παρθένος δελεάζεται καὶ πίπτει αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς πόδας, τῶν ποδῶν σου, λέγουσα, ἐφίπτομαι, μὴ τις ἄλλος αὐτοὺς λάβῃ. προτρέπεται οὖν αὐτὴν ὅτι Παραγένου ἕως τῆς οἰκίας 20 μου καὶ βλέπε αὐτοὺς. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλὰ προσρίπτει αὐτῷ τὰ πεντακόσια νομίσματα λέγουσα· Ὡς θέλεις, λάβε αὐτούς· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ θέλω ἰδεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν πιπράσκοντα. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὰ πεντακόσια νομίσματα δίδωσιν εἰς τὰς χρεῖας τοῦ πτωχείου. χρόνου δὲ παριππεύσαντος, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλην 25 ὑπόληψιν ἐδόκει ἔχειν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φιλόθεος ὢν καὶ

1—4 Ps. xxiii. 3, 4.

8 On this Macarius see Note 26.

PTII₂ (7—26) ε₂

1 ὄρος] + τοῦ TB 2 σπάνιος P 4, 5 ὅσοι.....ἀμελοῦσι after συνδιαλ. TBI₂ (om l) 5 αὐτὴν] om T σαρκίῳ T 7 ταύτην] s recompones: + οὗν T θελήσας before τὸ δὴ λέγ. P 9 φλεβοτομήσαι...πλεονεξίας before ὁ ἀγιώτατος TBI₂ 10 δράμα TB νεότητι] + αὐτοῦ B(II₂) δν] δε P^o 12 εὐρεμαῖοι T 16 σῶσαι] λαβεῖν T 17 χρήσασθαι T 17, 18 ἐκκρεμ. ἡ παρθ.] ἡ δὲ ἠττημένη ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας P 18 πίπτει.....πόδας] om l 19 τῶν ποδῶν.....ἐφίπτομαι] PT (om ἐφίπτομαι) l (complexa pedes ipsius orat et petit) s ('I beg from your feet'); B om and reads: καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Δέομαι σου; so ε₂; (l₂ per sanctitatem tuam) 20, 21 P om ὅτι and reads: παραγέσθαι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτούς (others txt) 21 βλέπει] B; βλέπει T 22 λέγουσα] om T, + ὅτι λάβε] + μοι P 23 γὰρ] om T 24 λαβὼν οὗν (om ὁ δὲ) TB 26 ἐδόκει ἔχειν] P; ἔχω T (before ὄντω.) B

ἐλεήμων, ἤκμασε γὰρ μέχρι τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, φ̄ συνεχρονίσαμεν
καὶ ἡμεῖς, εὐλαβεῖτο αὐτὸν ὑπομνήσαι. τέλος εὐροῦσα αὐτὸν ἐν
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λέγει αὐτῷ· Δέομαί σου, τί κελεύεις περὶ τῶν λίθων
ἐκείνων δι' οὓς δεδώκαμεν τὰ πεντακόσια νομίσματα; ὁ δὲ ἀπε-
5 κρίνατο λέγων· Ἔκτοτε ἀφ' οὗ δέδωκάς μοι τὸν χρυσόν, κατέ-
βαλον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῶν λίθων· καὶ εἰ βούλει ἔλθειν καὶ
ιδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀσπιτίῳ, ἐκεῖ γὰρ κείνται, ἔλθε καὶ βλέπε,
ἐάν σοι ἤρεσαν, ἐπεὶ λάβε σου τὸ χρυσίον. ἡ δὲ ἦλθεν
ἀσμενέστατα. ἦν δὲ τὸ πτωχεῖον εἰς μὲν τὰ ἀνώγεα ἔχον
10 γυναικας, εἰς δὲ τὰ κατώγεα ἄνδρας. καὶ ἀγαγὼν αὐτὴν εἰς-
άγει εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· Τί θέλεις πρῶτον ιδεῖν;
τοὺς ὑακίνθους, ἢ τοὺς σμαράγδους; λέγει αὐτῷ· Ὁ δοκεῖ σοι.
ἀνάγει αὐτὴν εἰς τὰ ἀνώγεα καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῇ ἡκρωτηριασμένας
γυναικας λελωβημένας ὄψεις ἐχούσας· καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· Ἴδου οἱ
15 ὑακίνθοι. καὶ κατὰγει αὐτὴν πάλιν κάτω καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ, δείξας
αὐτῇ τοὺς ἄνδρας· Ἴδου οἱ σμάραργοι, ἐάν σοι ἀρέσκωσιν, ἐπεὶ
λάβε σου τὸ χρυσίον. οὕτω διατραπεῖσα ἐκείνη ἐξῆλθε, καὶ
ἀπελθοῦσα ἀπὸ πολλῆς λύπης, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ θεὸν πεποίηκε τὸ
πρᾶγμα, ἐνόσησεν· ἐς ὕστερον εὐχαριστήσασα τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ,
20 τῆς κόρης ἧς ἐφρόντιζε μετὰ γάμον ἀτέκνου ἀποθανούσης.

(VII) Συντυχῶν οὖν καὶ συνδιατρίψας τοῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάν-
δρειαν μοναστηρίοις ἔτη τρία, καλλίστοις καὶ σπουδαιοτάτοις
ἀνδράσιιν ὡς δισχιλίοις, ἀναχωρήσας ἐκείθεν ἦλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος
τῆς Νιτρίας. μετὰξὺ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας

21—23 Soz. VI. 29 (3) Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ σπουδαίως ἐφιλο-
σόφουν ἀνά τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν, ἀμφὶ δισχιλίοι ὄντες. 24 On Nitria and Scete
see Note 14 (compare *Hist. Mon.* cited *Prol.* 270—5).

PTll₂ss₂

2 αὐτὸν] αὐτὴν P* 3 λέγει αὐτῷ before εὐροῦσα T δέομαί σου] I beg
from your feet' s₂ κελεύεις] λέγεις B_s 4 δι' οὓς] P; ὦν TB δεδώκαμεν]
TBll₂s; δέδωκά σοι Ps₂ 5 λέγων] + αὐτῇ B (ll₂s) ἀφ' οὗ] οὖν T κατεβα-
λόμην T 6 τῆν] om T 8 ἤρεσαν] P; ἀρέσκουσι TB (-ωσι Bt) ἐπεὶ] here
and 16 the versions render ἐπεὶ as if εἰ δὲ μὴ λάβε] P (of. 17); αἶρεις TB (-ης Bt)
ἢ δὲ] om T ἦλθεν] + ad domum l; ad cellam l₂ 9, 13 ἀνώγεα] PA^B; ἀνώγεα
(sic) T; ἀνάγια Bt 10 κατώγεα] PA^B; κατὰγια T; κατὰγια Bt ἀπαγαγὼν
δὲ TB; παραγενομένης δὲ αὐτῆς A^B 12 δ] ὡς T 14 λελωβισμένας T; the form
λωβάξω exists 16 ἀρέσκουσιν T 17 ἐκείνη] om T 17, 18 ἀπῆλθεν ἐξελθοῦσα T
19 ἐς] om T πρεσβυτέρῳ] + δοῦσα δέξαν τῷ θεῷ P

VII (Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Νιτρίᾳ): PTll₂

24 Νιτηρίας PA^B μετὰξὺ.....'Αλεξανδρείας] om T

λίμνη κείται ἢ καλουμένη Μαρία, σημείων ἑβδομήκοντα· ἦν διαπλεύσας διὰ μιᾶς καὶ ἡμισείας ἡμέρας, ἦλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς μεσημβρίας· | ᾧ ὄρει παράκειται ἢ πανέρημος παρατείνουσα ἕως Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τῶν Μαζίκων καὶ τῆς Μαυριτανίας. ἐν ᾧ ὄρει οἰκοῦσιν ἄνδρες ὡς πεντακισχίλιοι διαφόρους 5 ἔχοντες πολιτείας, ἕκαστος ὡς δύναται καὶ ὡς βούλεται· ὡς ἐξεῖναι καὶ μόνον μένειν, καὶ δεύτερον, καὶ πολλοστόν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει ἀρτοκοπεῖά εἰσιν ἑπτὰ ὑπηρετούμενα κἀκείνοις καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν πανέρημον ἀναχωρηταῖς, ἀνδράσιν ἑξακοσίους. παροικήσας οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ πολλὰ ὠφε- 10 ληθεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μακαρίων πατέρων Ἀρσισίου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ Πουτουβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀσίωνος καὶ Κρονίου καὶ Σαραπίωνος, καὶ πολλοῖς διηγῆμασι πατέρων παρ' αὐτῶν κεντρωθεῖς, εἰσηλθον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν ἐνδοτάτω. ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ τῆς Νιτρίας ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ μεγάλη, ἐν ἣ ἴστανται φοῖνικες τρεῖς, 15 ἕκαστος ἔχων μάλιστα κρεμαμένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν εἰς λόγον μοναζόντων πταιόντων, ὁ δὲ ληστῶν, εἰάν γε ἐμπέσωσιν, ὁ δὲ τῶν περιτυχόντων· ὡς πάντας πταίοντας καὶ διελεγχομένους ὡς ἀξίους πληγῶν περιλαμβάνειν τὸν φοῖνικα, καὶ λαμβάνοντας ἐπὶ νώτου ρητᾶς οὕτως ἀπολύεσθαι. πρόσκειται δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 20 ξενοδοχεῖον, εἰς ὃ τὸν ἀπελθόντα ξένοι, μέχρις οὐ ἐξέλθη αὐθαιρέτως, δεξιοῦνται πάντα τὸν χρόνον, κἂν ἐπὶ διαιτίαν ἢ τριαιτίαν μείνη· συγχωρήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ ἑβδομάδα μίαν ἐν ἀργίᾳ, τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας περισπῶσιν ἐν ἔργοις, ἢ ἐν κήπῳ ἢ ἐν ἀρτο-

11, 12 On the monks here named see Note 15. 11—13 Soz. III. 14 (4)

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον ἐφιλοσόφουν Παμβώ τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Κρόνιος καὶ Παφνούτιος καὶ Πουτουβαστῆς καὶ Ἀρσισίος καὶ Σαραπίων ὁ μέγας καὶ Πιτυρίων. VI. 30 (1) (Διέπρεπον) καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀρσισίος (al. Ὅρος.) καὶ Πουτουβαστῆς καὶ Ἀρσιῶν καὶ Σαραπίων,

PTI₈

2 ἡμισέως T 8 ὑπηρετοῦντα T 10 τούτῳ after τῷ ὄρει TB ἐνιαυτὸν] + ὄλον B1 11 Ἀρσισίου] Ἀρσισίου A^B (here only); Arsenius s₂⁷⁸⁴ 12 Πουτουβαστοῦ T (Qutifdustus s₂⁷⁸⁵) Ἀσίωνος] PT (Ἀσίωνος) I; Ἀρσιῶν Soz; Ἀγίωνος B (Argenius s₂⁷⁸⁶) Κρονίου] PTA^B Soz; Χρονίου B1 Σαραπίωνος] PTB¹ (8—11) A^{BCT} Soz (title); Σαραπίωνος B (rest) A^{B38} I Soz (text) 13 διηγῆμασι] + ἀρχαιοτέρων B1 (qui ante ipsos fuerant) 15 Νητρίας P ἐκκλ.] + μία B1 μεγίστη TB1 18 πάντας] B1; πάντως P; πάντα T; om s₂ 19 ὡς] om TB περιλαμβάνει (sic) T καὶ] om T λαμβάνοντας] P (λαμβάνων τὰς) I; λαμβάνοντα TB 20 ἐπι] P; κατὰ B; om T (+ τοῦ) 22 δεξιῶνται P 23 μένη T; μίαια θελήση B1 24 περισπ.] + αὐτὸν TB

κοπεῖψ ἢ ἐν μαγειρείψ. εἰ δὲ ἀξιόλογος εἶη, διδόασιν αὐτῷ βιβλίον, μὴ συγχωρήσαντες αὐτῷ ἕως ἕκτης ὥρας μηδενὶ συντυχεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἰατροὶ διάγουσι καὶ πλακουντάριοι. κέχρηται δὲ καὶ οἴνῳ, καὶ πιπράσκειται οἶνος. πάντες δὲ οὗτοι ὀθύνῃ ἐργάζονται ταῖς χερσίν, ὡς εἶναι πάντες ἀνευδεεῖς. καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ ὥραν ἐννάτην ἔστι στάντα ἀκοῦσαι πῶς ἀφ' ἐκάστης μονῆς ψαλμῳδίαὶ ἐξέρχονται, ὡς προσδοκῆσαι μετάρσιον εἶναι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. τὴν δὲ ἐκκλησίαν σαββάτῳ καταλαμβάνουσι μόνῳ καὶ κυριακῇ. ὁκτῶ δὲ ἀφηγούμενοι 10 πρεσβύτεροι ταύτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσίν, ἐν ἧ μέχρι οὗ ζῆ ὁ πρῶτος πρεσβύτερος ἄλλος οὐδεὶς προσφέρει, οὐχ ὀμιλεῖ, οὐ δικάζει, ἀλλ' ἡσύχως αὐτῷ προσκαθέζονται μόνον.

Οὗτος ὁ Ἀρσίσιος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γέροντες, οὓς ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν, σύγχρονοι ἦσαν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀντωνίου. ἐν 15 οἷς διηγούντο καὶ τὸν Ἀμοῦν εἶδέναι τὸν Νιτριώτην, οὗ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶδεν ἀναλαμβανομένην ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ὀδηγούμενην. οὗτος ἔλεγε καὶ Παχώμιον εἶδέναι τὸν Ταβεννησιώτην, ἄνδρα προφήτην, ἀρχιμανδρίτην ἀνδρῶν τρισχιλίων, περὶ οὗ ἐς ὕστερον διηγῆσομαι. |

20 (VIII) Ἐλεγε δὲ τὸν Ἀμοῦν βεβιωκέναι τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ὄτι ὀρφανὸς ὑπάρχων, νεανίσκος ὡς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι δύο βία παρὰ

13 (Soz.) οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ σύγχρονοι Ἀντωνίου ἦσαν. 20 On Amoun see Note 16.

20—18 (p. 28) Soz. I. 14 (1-3) Περί Socr. IV. 23 (Ἀμοῦν) νέος ὢν παρητοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Ἀμοῦν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος τείτο τὸν γάμον· ὡς δὲ τινας τῶν προσφιλοσόφει· ὃν δὴ λόγος βιασαμένων τῶν ηκόντων παρῆνον μὴ καθυβρίζειν τὸν

PTIs₂

1 ἀξιολ.] + τις B1 2 βιβλίον] + ἀναγινώσκειν B1 συγχωροῦντες T ἕκτη] BIs₂; τῆς PT 3 πλακουντάριοι P 6 καὶ δὴ] om T περὶ ὥραν ἐν.] PTA^B; circa uespertinas horas Is₂; τῆς ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης B ἔστι] altered to ἐπι in P; before περὶ T στάντα] T; πάντα P; ἐστάναι καὶ B 7 ὡς] καὶ T 9 μόνον TB 11, 12 οὐ δικ. before οὐχ ὄμ. TB 13 συγκαθέζονται BT (συγκα, om θεζονται μόνον)

PTAIs₂

13 δ] om T; + μέγας AB Ὀρσίσιος P (here only) B¹ (cf. one Soz ms) πολλοί] om A γερ. σὺν αὐτῷ TB 14 ἄγιον A 15 διηγούντο] PA (+ μοι); διηγείτο TBI Ἀμοῦν] TBAI^{om} Is₂; Ἀμοῦν P (B²³) I^{om} (see Note 16) Νητρ. P 16 δ] om T ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων] om Is₂; + εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς BIs₂ 17 οὗτοι (originally οὗτοι) ἔλεγον P Ταβεννησιώτην PA 18 προφήτην] PTA; προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐσχηκότα B1; om Is₂; + καὶ T τρισχιλίων] om T

VIII (Περὶ Ἀμοῦν τοῦ Νιτριώτου): PTIs₂

20 Ἀμοῦν] TBAI^{om} Is₂ Soz; Ἀμοῦν P I^{om} (see Note 16) (P has Ἀμοῦν throughout)

ἰδίου θείου ἐξεύχθη γυναικί· καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀντισχεῖν
 τοῦ θείου ἀνάγκῃ, ἔδοξε καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι καὶ καθέζεσθαι
 παστῶ, καὶ πάντα ὑπομεμενηκέναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν γάμον.
 τὰ δὲ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν πάντα κοιμήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ παστῶ
 τῇ κλίνῃ, ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἀμοῦν ἀποκλείει τὴν θύραν, καὶ καθί- 5
 προσκαλεῖται τὴν μακαρίαν αὐτοῦ σύμβιον καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ·
 λεῦρο κυρία, λοιπὸν διηγῆσομαί σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα· ὁ γάμος ὃν
 ἐγαμήσαμεν οὗτός ἐστι περισσὸν ἔχων οὐδέν. καλῶς οὖν ποιή-
 σωμεν ἐὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν κατ' ἰδίαν καθευδήσῃ, ἵνα
 καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἰρέσωμεν φυλάξαντες ἄθικτον τὴν παρθενίαν. καὶ 10
 ἐξενεγκῶν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ βιβλιδάριον ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ
 σου καὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἀνεγίνωσκε τῇ κόρῃ ἀπείρω οὔσῃ
 καὶ τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει πάντα προστιθεὶς τῇ ἰδίᾳ δια-
 ῶν περὶ παρθενίας καὶ ἀγνείας εἰσηγεῖτο λόγον· ὡς ἐκείνην
 γάρ χαρίτι τοῦ θεοῦ πληροφορηθεῖσαν εἶπεν· Κάγω πεπληρο- 15
 P^{reuss} φόρημαι, κύριε· καὶ τί κελεύεις λοιπὸν; Κελεύω, φησίν, ἵνα
 22 ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κατ' ἰδίαν μένῃ. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἠέσχετο,
 ἐγένετο, ἡποῦσα· Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ οἴκῳ μένωμεν, ἐν διαφοροῖς δὲ κλίμαις.
 δὲ παρ' ἄλλας οὖν ἔτη δεκαοκτὼ μετ' αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ οἴκῳ, διὰ πάσης
 P^r... ἡμέρας ἐσχόλαζε τῆ κήπῳ καὶ τῇ βαλσάμῳ· βαλσαμουργὸς 20
 γὰρ ἦν. ἦτις βάλσαμος ἀμπέλου δίκην φυτεύεται, γεωργουμένη

οἰκίῳ γυναῖκα ἀγαγεῖσθαι, μὴ πειρα-
 θῆναι δὲ αὐτῆς, ἢ θέμις ἀνδράσι· ὡς γὰρ
 ἀρχὴν εἶχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ γάμος, καὶ νύμφην
 οὐσαν οἷα νυμφίος εἰς τὸν θάλαμον λαβῶν
 ἐμονώθη· Ὁ μὲν δὴ γάμος ἡμῖν οὗτος,
 ἔφη, ὦ γυναῖκα, μέχρι τούτων τετέλεσται·
 ἡλικίον δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ δυνηθῆναι παρ-
 θένον διαμείναι ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν
 ὑψηγεῖτο, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 οἰκεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς περὶ παρθενίας
 λόγους ἐπῆνει ἡ γυνή, χωρισθῆναι δὲ
 αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν, ἰδίᾳ καθεύδων
 ἐπὶ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτεσι συνῆν αὐτῇ,

γάμον, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκα ἀγεσθαι, πείθεται
 μὲν καὶ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ γάμον· εὐθύς δὲ
 ἀπὸ τῆς παστάδος παραλαβῶν τὴν παρ-
 θένον, καὶ ἀγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα μετὰ
 τῆς εἰωθίας πομπῆς, τέλος ἀναχωρη-
 σάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, αὐτὸς βιβλίον
 λαβῶν ἀποστολικόν, τὴν πρὸς Κοριν-
 θίους Παύλου ἐπιστολὴν ἀνεγίνωσκε,
 κ.τ.λ.

[The rest of Socr.'s version of the story differs widely in the details from Pall. and Soz.]

PT18₂

2, 3 ἐν παστῶ καθ. TB 4 κοιμήσαντες P*TA^B 5 ὁ] + μακρότος B1(8₂)
 6 σύμβιον] καὶ γυναικῶν σύζυγον B (cf. Phil. iv. 3); et uere unanimem coniugem suam I
 7 κυρία] + μου T: + καὶ ἀδελφῆ B8₂ 10 θεῶ] PTA^B; Χριστῶ B18₂ ἐκτελέσαντες
 TB 11 αὐτοῦ] PA^B; om TBI 17 μένῃ T 18 μένωμεν TB 20 τῇ] P^{cor};
 τῷ P*TB βαλσάμῳ] P; βαλσαμῶν TB

καὶ κλαδευομένη, πολλὴν ἔχουσα πόνον. ἐσπέρας οὖν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐποίησε εὐχὰς καὶ ἤσθιε μετ' αὐτῆς· καὶ νυκτερινὴν πάλιν ποιῶν εὐχὴν ἐξήρχετο. τούτων οὕτως ἐπιτελουμένων, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ἀπάθειαν ἐληλακότων, ἐνήρησαν αἱ εὐχαὶ τοῦ Ἀμοῦν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ τελευταίου ἐκείνη· Ἐχω σοί τι εἰπεῖν, κύριέ μου· ἴνα, εἰάν μου ἀκούσης, πληροφορηθῶ ὅτι κατὰ θεόν με ἀγαπᾷς. λέγει αὐτῇ· Εἶπέ δ βούλει. ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Δίκαιον πρᾶγμα ἐστὶ ἄνδρα σε ὄντα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀσκούντα, ὁμοίως καμὲ ἐξηλωκυῖαν τὴν
10 αὐτὴν σοὶ ὁδόν, κατ' ἰδίαν μένειν. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐστὶ κρύπτεσθαί σου τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετὴν συνοικοῦντί μοι ἐν ἰγνεῖα. ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ, λέγει αὐτῇ· Οὐκοῦν ἔχε σὺ τούτον τὸν οἶκον· ἐγὼ δὲ ποιήσω ἐμαυτῷ ἕτερον οἶκον. καὶ ἐξεληθὼν κατέλαβε τὸ ἐνδότερον τοῦ τῆς Νιτρίας ὄρους· οὕτω γὰρ ἦν τότε
15 μοναστήρια· καὶ ποιεῖ ἑαυτῷ δύο θόλους κελλίων. καὶ βιώσας ἄλλα εἴκοσι δύο ἔτη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐτελεύτησε, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκοιμήθη, δις τοῦ ἔτους ὄρων τὴν μακαρίαν σύμβιον αὐτοῦ. |

Τούτου θαῦμα διηγήσατο ὁ μακάριος Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸν περὶ Ἀυτωνίου βίον, ὅτι παρερχόμενος τὸν Λύκον

μηδὲ οὕτω μοναχικῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀμελῶν· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ χρόνῳ (ἠλώσασα τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡ γυνή, ἐλογίσαστο μὴ δίκαιον εἶναι τηλικούτον ὄντα οἶκοι κρύπτεσθαι δι' αὐτὴν, καὶ χρῆναι ἐκάτερον κεχωρισμένως οἰκοῦντα φιλοσοφεῖν· καὶ περὶ τούτου ἐδεήθη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς. ὁ δὲ χάριν ὁμολόγησας τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν βεβουλευμένων τῇ γυναϊκί· Σὺ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη, τούτον τὸν οἶκον ἔχε· ἐγὼ δὲ ἕτερον ἐμαυτῷ ποιήσω. καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς Μαρείας λίμνης καταλαβὼν ἔρτύπων, ἀμφὶ τὴν Σκῆτιν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τῆς Νητρίας ὄρος, δύο καὶ εἴκοσ ἐνθαυτε ἐφιλοσόφησε, δις ἐκάστου ἔτους τὴν γυναῖκα θεώμενος. [The rest of | account is based not on Pall. but on *Vita Ant.* and *Hist. Mon.*]

19—5 (p. 29) *Vita Ant.* § 60. Ποτὲ χρειὰς γενομένης παρελθεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν ποιμὸν τὸν λεγόμενον Λύκον· ἦν δὲ τότε πλήμμυρα τῶν ὑδάτων· ἤξιώσε τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ

PTL₂

2 ἐποίη] P καὶ ποιῶν TB ἤσθιε] PB (om καὶ¹); ἠσθίων (sic) T καὶ²] om T
3 πάλιν νυκτ. TB ποιήσας T εὐχὴν] P; συναξιν T; εὐχὰς καὶ συναξεις B;
nocturnis precibus ex more celebratis l; om ε₂ ἐξήρχετο] PT; ὑπὸ βαθὴν ὄρορον
ἀπτεῖ εἰς τὸν κῆπον B; ad opus solitum mane pergebat l; 'he went forth in the
morning' ε₂ 6 ἀκούσης μου T 8 αὐτῷ] σὺ inserted m. 2 in P πρᾶγμα]
om T ἀνδρα] + γε ?] ὄντα] + θεοσεβῆ B₂ ('who fearest God') 11 συνοι-
κοῦντα TB 12 κυρίε ?] ἔχε σὺ] ἔχει (sic) T τῷ] om T 13 ἐπὶ.....οἶκον]
om ε₂ (homoeotel. T
om T Νητρ. l
18 ...

ποταμὸν δούριος

ἀποδύσασα κοιμᾶμα Θεοδώρῳ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐλαβούμενος
 δίχα πε τὴν εἶναι ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸν αὐτὸν ἴδῃ, εἰς τὸ πέραν εὐρέθη
 Ἄμοῦν λάμβρθμείου μετενεχθεῖς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου. οὗτος τοῖνυν ὁ
 Ἄπταιν ὄντιοῦτως ἐβίωσε καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθη ὡς τὸν μακάριον
 τοῦτο· ἐκ.ον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἀναγομένην. 5
 διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν μετὰ δειλίας ἐγὼ πορθμείῳ παρήλθον·
 ...ρυξ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Νείλου.

(IX) Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ τῆς Νιτρίας γέγονεν ἀνὴρ ἀσκητῆς
 Ἄρ ὀνόματι, ᾧ πολλὴν προσεμαρτύρει ἀρετὴν καὶ πᾶσα μὲν
 ἢ ἀδελφότης ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἢ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ Μελανία, πρὸ 10
 ἐμοῦ εἰσελθοῦσα εἰς τούτο· τὸ ὄρος· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ κατεί-
 11 ληφα ζῶντα. καὶ τοῦτο ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασιν ὅτι οὔτε
 γὰρ ψεύσατό ποτε, οὔτε ὤμοσεν, οὔτε κατηρήσατό τινα, οὔτε ἐκτός
 12 χρείας ἐλάλησεν.

22—X) Τούτου τοῦ ὄρους γέγονε καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παμβώ, 15
 γένετο, ἢ καλὸς Διοσκόρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Εὐ-
 16 παρ' ἄλλο· καὶ Εὐθυμίου τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ Ὀριγένους τοῦ ἀδελ-
 17

Θεόδωρον μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀλλήλους ἴδωσι γυμνοὺς ἐν τῷ
 διανήχασθαι τὸ ὕδωρ. εἴτα ἀπελθόντος τοῦ Θεοδώρου, ἤσχυνετο πάλιν καὶ ἑαυτὸν
 ἰδεῖν γυμνόν. ἕως τοῖνυν ἤσχυνετο καὶ ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐξαίφνης ἀπηνέχθη εἰς τὸ
 πέραν κ.τ.λ. *Ibid.* Καὶ γὰρ ποτε πάλιν καθήμενος ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἀναβλέψας,
 εἶδεν ἐν τῷ αἼρι (αἰ. ὄρει) ἀναγόμενόν τινα, πολλὴν τε τῶν ἀπαντῶντων γινομένην
 τὴν χαρὰν.....ταύτην εἶναι τοῦ Ἄμοῦν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἐν τῇ Νιτρίῳ μοναχοῦ.

9 On Or see Note 17. 15 On Pambo see Note 18. (This is one of
 the *enphs.* edited by Preuschen, *Pall. u. Ruf.* 119—123. On c see *Prof.* 128.
 On the variations in the proper names throughout the cap. see *Introd.* § 8.)

1 τῷ] om TB 2 ἰδη] + ποτέ B1 εὐρέθη] ἀπηνέχθη T (l translatus est)
 3, 4 οὗτος..... ἐτελειώθη] P1 (iste igitur A. ita uixit atque ita obiit); οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ Ἄ.
 ὁ οὕτως βίωσας καὶ οὕτως τελευτήσας TB; om κ₂ 5 αὐτοῦ ψυχ. T ὑπὸ ἐπ' T
 ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων] om κ₂ ἀναγομένην] + εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν B1κ₂ 6 τὸν] + Λύκον TBκ₂

IX (Περὶ Ἄρ): PΓ arophth (12—14, cf. *Introd.* § 4) Π₂κ₂
 8 τούτῳ] om T Νηρίας P 9 Hor 1₂κ₂ φ] c begins here καὶ] om T
 μὲν] om T 10, 11 ἐξαιρέτως..... ὄρος] om T₂c 10 Μελάνη P 11 τούτο] om P;
 txt B1κ₂ αὐτὸν after κατ. T 12 καὶ] om Bκ(c) τούτο] + δὲ TB: arophth
 begins here λέγον] ἔλεγον B1 ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασιν] om arophth κ₂ 13 τινα]
 P B1κ₂; ἄνθρωπον arophth (gr and lat); om T₂cκ₂ 14 τῆς χρείας] ἀνάγκης arophth

X (Περὶ Παμβώ): P T Π₂κ₂
 15 γέγονε] + πάροικος B1 16 Διοσκ. τοῦ ἐπ.] + 'he it was who made me a
 presbyter' κ₂ Ἀμμωνίου] Ἀμμῶνος and om καὶ Εὐσεβ..... ἀδελφῶν T ven A¹ B₂
 (Ammonius) c; txt P B1κ₂ 17 τῶν ἀδελφῶν] om κ₂ Ὀριγένους] P B1κ₂; Ἰωάννου
 T ven A¹ c ἀδελφοῦ T ven (1₂ fratres)

καὶ κλαδευομένη, πολλὸν ἔχουσα πόνον. ἑσπέρας οὖν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐποίει εὐχὰς καὶ ἤσθιε μετ' αὐτῆς· καὶ νυκτερινὴν πάλιν ποιῶν εὐχὴν ἐξήρχετο. τούτων οὕτως ἐπιτελουμένων, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ἀπάθειαν ἐηλακότων, ἐνήρησαν αἱ εὐχαὶ τοῦ Ἀμοῦν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ τελευταίου ἐκείνη· Ἐχω σοί τι εἰπεῖν, κύριέ μου· ἵνα, εἴαν μου ἀκούσης, πληροφορηθῶ ὅτι κατὰ θεὸν με ἀγαπᾷς. λέγει αὐτῇ· Εἶπέ δ' βούλει. ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Δίκαιον πρᾶγμα ἔστι ἄνδρα σε ὄντα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀσκούντα, ὁμοίως καμὲ ἐξηλωκυῖαν τὴν
10 αὐτὴν σοι ὁδόν, κατ' ἰδίαν μένειν. ἄτοπον γάρ ἐστι κρύπτεσθαί σου τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετὴν συνοικοῦντί μοι ἐν ἰγνείᾳ. ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ, λέγει αὐτῇ· Οὐκοῦν ἔχε σὺ τοῦτον τὸν οἶκον· ἐγὼ δὲ ποιήσω ἐμαυτῷ ἕτερον οἶκον. καὶ ἐξελθὼν κατέλαβε τὸ ἐνδότερον τοῦ τῆς Νιτρίας ὄρους· οὐπω γὰρ ἦν τότε
15 μοναστήρια· καὶ ποιεῖ ἑαυτῷ δύο θόλους κελλίων. καὶ βιώσας ἄλλα εἴκοσι δύο ἔτη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐτελεύτησε, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκοιμήθη, δις τοῦ ἔτους ὄρων τὴν μακαρίαν σύμβιον αὐτοῦ. |

Τούτου θαῦμα διηγήσατο ὁ μακάριος Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸν περὶ Ἀυτωνίου βίον, ὅτι παρερχόμενος τὸν Λύκον μηδὲ οὕτω μοναχικῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀμελῶν· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ χρόνῳ (ἠλώσασα τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός ἀρετὴν ἡ γυνή, ἐλογίσαστο μὴ δίκαιον εἶναι τηλικούτον ὄντα οἶκοι κρύπτεσθαι δι' αὐτὴν, καὶ χρῆναι ἐκάτερον κειχωρισμένους οἰκοῦντα φιλοσοφεῖν· καὶ περὶ τούτου ἐδείξθη τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὁ δὲ χάριν ὁμολογήσας τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν βεβουλεμένων τῇ γυναικί· Σὺ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη, τοῦτον τὸν οἶκον ἔχε· ἐγὼ δὲ ἕτερον ἐμαυτῷ ποιήσω. καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς Μαρείας λίμνης καταλαβὼν ἔρημον τόπον, ἀμφὶ τὴν Σκητὴν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τῆς Νητρίας ὄρος, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη ἐνθυθεῖ ἐφιλοσόφησε, δις ἐκάστου ἔτους τὴν γυναῖκα θεώμενος. [The rest of Soz. account is based not on Pall. but on *Vita Ant.* and *Hist. Mon.*]

19—5 (p. 29) *Vita Ant.* § 60. Ποτὲ χρειὰς γενομένης παρελθεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν λεγόμενον Λύκον· ἦν δὲ τότε πλήμμυρα τῶν ὑδάτων· ἠξίωσε τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ

PTI₂

2 ἐποίει] P καὶ ποιῶν TB ἤσθιε] PB (om καὶ¹); ἤσθιον (sic) T καὶ²] om T
3 πάλιν νυκτ. TB ποιήσας T εὐχὴν] P; συναξιν T; εὐχὰς καὶ συναξεις B;
nocturnis precibus ex more celebratis l; om ε₂ ἐξήρχετο] PT; ὑπὸ βαθὺν ὄρθρον
ἀπτεῖ εἰς τὸν κῆπον B; ad opus solitum mane pergebat l; 'he went forth in the
morning' ε₂ 8 ἀκούσης μου T 8 αὐτῷ] σὲ inserted m. 2 in P πρὸ α] om T
ἀνδρα] + γε T 9 ὄντα] + θεος ε₂ ('who fearest God') 11 σὺ
κοῦντα TB 12 κυρίῳ P ἔχε σὺ] (α Γ τὸν] Γ τ

1/2 total.) ποιῶ T f :

f

ποταμὸν ἵμα Θεοδώρῳ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐλαβούμενος ἀποδύσασθαι ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸν αὐτὸν ἴδῃ, εἰς τὸ πέραν εὐρέθη δίχα πρῶμειου μετενεχθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου. οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Ἄμουν οὕτως ἐβίωσε καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθη ὡς τὸν μακάριον Ἀντώνιον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἀναγομένην. 5 τούτων τὸν ποταμὸν μετὰ δειλίας ἐγὼ πρῶμειφ παρήλθον· δῶρυξ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ μεγάλου Νείλου.

(IX) Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ τῆς Νιτριᾶς γέγονεν ἀνὴρ ἀσκητῆς Ὄρ ὄνοματι, | ᾧ πολλὴν προσεμαρτύρει ἀρετὴν καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ἢ ἀδελφότης ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἢ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ Μελανία, πρὸ 10 ἐμοῦ εἰσελθοῦσα εἰς τούτο τὸ ὄρος· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ κατείληφα ζῶντα. καὶ τούτο ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασιν ὅτι οὔτε ἐψεύσατό ποτε, οὔτε ἄμωσει, οὔτε κατηρήσατό τινα, οὔτε ἐκτὸς τῆς χρείας ἐλάλησεν.

(X) Τούτου τοῦ ὄρους γέγονε καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παμβῶ, 15 διδάσκαλος Διοσκόρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Εὐσεβίου καὶ Εὐθυμίου τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ Ὀριγένους τοῦ ἀδελ-

θεώδωρον μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀλλήλους ἴδωσι γυμνοὺς ἐν τῷ διανήχεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ. εἶτα ἀπελθόντος τοῦ Θεοδώρου, ἠσχύνετο πάλιν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἰδεῖν γυμνόν. ἕως τοίνυν ἠσχύνετο καὶ ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐξαίφνης ἀπηνέχθη εἰς τὸ πέραν κ.τ.λ. *Ibid.* Καὶ γὰρ ποτε πάλιν καθήμενος ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἀναβλέψας, εἶδεν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι (αἰ. ὄρει) ἀναγομένον τινα, πολλὴν τε τῶν ἀπαντῶντων γινομένην τὴν χαρὰν.....ταύτην εἶναι τοῦ Ἄμουν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἐν τῇ Νιτριῷ μοναχοῦ.

9 On Or see Note 17. 15 On Pambo see Note 18. (This is one of the caps. edited by Preuschen, *Pall. u. Ruf.* 119—123. On c see *Procl.* 128. On the variations in the proper names throughout the cap. see *Introd.* § 8.)

1 τῷ] om TB 2 ἴδῃ]+ ποτέ B1 εὐρέθη] ἀπηνέχθη T (l translatus est) 3, 4 οὗτος..... ἐτελειώθη] Pl (iste igitur A. ita uixit atque ita obiit); οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄ. ὁ οὕτως βίωσας καὶ οὕτως τελευτήσας TB; om s₂ 5 αὐτοῦ ψυχ. T ὑπὸ] ἐπ' T ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων] om s₂ ἀναγομένην]+ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν B1s₂ 6 τὸν]+ Λύκον TBs₂

IX (Περὶ Ὄρ): PT arophth (12—14, cf. *Introd.* § 4) ll₂cs₂ 8 τούτῳ] om T Νητριᾶς P 9 Hor l₂s₂ 9] c begins here καὶ] om T μὲν] om T 10, 11 ἐξαιρέτως..... ὄρος] om Tl₂c 10 Μελανίη P 11 τούτο] om P; txt B1s αὐτὸν after κατ. T 12 καὶ] om B1(c) τούτο]+ δὲ TB: arophth begins here 13 ἐλεγον] ἔλεγεν B1l ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασιν] om arophth s₂ 13 τινα] PBl₂s₂; ἀνθρωπον arophth (gr and lat); om Tl₂cs 14 τῆς χρείας] ἀνάγκης arophth

X (Περὶ Παμβῶ): P'Tll₂cs₂

15 γέγονε]+ πάροικος B1 16 Διοσκ. τοῦ ἐπ.] + 'he it was who made me a presbyter' s₂ Ἀμμωνίου] Ἀμμῶνος and om καὶ Εὐσεβ..... ἀδελφῶν TvenA^B1₂ (Ammonius) c; txt PBl₂s₂ 17 τῶν ἀδελφῶν] om s₂ Ὀριγένους] PBl₂s₂; Ἰωάννου TvenA^B1₂c ἀδελφοῦ Tven (l₂ fratres)

φιδού Δρακοντίου ἀνδρὸς θαυμαστοῦ. ὃς Παμβα, εἶχε μὲν ἀνδριμαθήματα καὶ προτερήματα πλείστα, ἐν οἷς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· τοσαύτων ἦν ὑπερόπτης χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου, ὡς ἀταίτεϊ ὁ λόγος. διηγέτω γάρ μοι ἡ μακαρία Μελανία ὅτι Ἐιχαρίαις παροικουμένη εἶς ἄλλο ἄνω μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ ἀκ^γ. τα
 ... μου τοῦ μακαρίου διη...
 ... αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, πρ...
 ... πειρασίου λιτρῶν ἀργυρίου, πα...
 ... πραγμάτων μου μετασχεῖν. ὁ δὲ...
 ... θάλλου... ἤσέ με φωνῇ μόνῃ καὶ...
 ... σοι τὸν... καὶ λέγει τῷ οἰκονόμῳ...
 ... Δέξαι... ἡμῶν αὐτὸ πάσῃ τῇ...
 ... ταῶν... ἀδελφότητι· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ...
 ... εἶται πλ... γείλας αὐτῷ μηδεὶ τῶν ἐν...
 ... αἶ, διὰ... ἦσαν εἶναι τὴν χώραν. ἐγὼ...
 ... ὅσα... ἡ τιμηθῆναι ἢ δοξασθῆναι...
 ... τῇ... παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀκούσασα, εἶπον...
 ... ὅτι καὶ... τριακόσια λίτραι εἰσίν. ὁ...
 ... ἀντὶ... κρίνατό μοι· Ὡι ἦνεγκας αὐτά,
 ... ἡμοῦ... ἔχει. ὁ γὰρ τὰ ὄρη σταθμίζων...
 ... ποσότητα τοῦ ἀργυρίου. εἰ μὲν...
 ... ἔλεγε· εἰ δὲ θεῶ, τῷ τοὺς δύο...
 ... ὅπα. οὕτως ὠκονόμησε, φησίν, ὁ

...menhor' (Hermopolis Parva) c (cf. *Prol.* 154)
 2 δέ] om TB¹ 3 χρυσοῦ TB ἀργυρίου TB
 4 τῆς] om T 5 τῆς] om T 6 Ἰσιδώρου] + τοῦ πρεσβυ-
 7 μοι] om Π₂ (obl. par.) τοῦ μακαρίου] om Π₂
 8 καλέσασα TB 10 φωνῇ μόνῃ] μόνον ε; om I₂S₂;
 11 ἡμῶν] PBE₂; Θεοδώρῳ TΔ²I₂ αὐτὰ TB 12, 13 πάσῃ
 14 πάσῃ καὶ τῇ ἐν ταῖς ν. ἀδελφότησι (sic) T; πάσαις ταῖς
 15 ἀδελφότησι A^B; πᾶσι τοῖς κ. Α. καὶ τοῖς ἐν τ. ν. ἀδελφοῖς
 16 ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἄλλα B (not A^B) I₀ 15-19 ἐγὼ δὲ...ἀπεκρίνατό
 17 μοι αὐτοῦ] om T₁S₁(I₀) τῆ] + τοσαύτη B₂ δώσει] + καὶ
 18 λίτραι] + ἀργύρου B¹k(I) 19 ὁ δέ] + πάλιν TB
 20 καὶ TΔ₂ νεόσασα (sic) T 21 πολλῶ μάλλον] om SS₂
 22 κυλῶσι] + μοι καὶ TB (I₂A) : + τὸν σταθμὸν B(I₂A) θεῶ] + αὐτά
 23 ὀβολοῖς] + τῆς χήρας S₁C (I^{ss} interlined) παραδόντι] +
 ...oblationem oblationi tradit I₂; 'will receive thy sacrifice also' c σιώπα]
 ...χαρῆ B (not A^B) ('do not boast' c) ὀστια] P₂; + οὖν TBΠ₂SS₁; but
 the εἰσαν οἰων... ὄρος is connected with what follows

κύριος ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν με εἰς τὸ ὄρος. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον
κοιμᾶται ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπύρεκτος, μὴ νοσήσας, ἀλλὰ
τὴν σπυρίδα καταράπτων, ἐτῶν ὧν ἐβδομήκοντα ὃς μεταστει-
λάμενός με, καὶ | τοῦ τελευταίου κεντήματος πρὸς ἀπαρισμὸν
δυντος, μέλλων ἐκλείπειν λέγει μοι· Δέξαι ταύτην τὴν σπυρίδα
τῶν χειρῶν μου, ἵνα μέμνησαί μου· ἄλλο γὰρ σοι οὐκ ἔχω
ἀλείψω. ὃν ἐνταφιάσασα καὶ ὀθονίοις τὸ σῶμα ἐλίξασα
οὕτως ἀνεχώρησε τῆς ἐρήμου, ἕως θανάτου ἔχουσα
δα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς.

ὁ Παμβῶ τελευτῶν, κυτ' αὐτῇ τὴν ὄραν τοῦ ἐκλιμ- 10
εστῶσι Ὀριγένει τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ οἰκονόμῳ καὶ
ἰνδράσι περιβοήτοις, καὶ λοιποῖς ἀδελφοῖς, τοῦτο
κένοι, ὅτι Ἀφ' οὗ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον
καὶ ὠκοδόμησά μου τὴν κέλλαν καὶ ὦκησα, ἐκτὸς
μου οὐ μέμνημαι δωρεὰν ἄρτων φαγῶν· οὐ μεταμε- 15
λόγῳ ὧ ἐλάλησα ἕως τῆς ἄρτι ὄρας· καὶ οὕτως
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς μηδὲ ἀρξάμενος τοῦ θεοσεβεῖν.
ύρουν δὲ ἀφηγούμενοι τοῦτο ἡμῖν Ὀριγένης τε καὶ

15 2 Thess. iii. 8.

th (10—18) lb₂cs₂

; om TB: (18 days s₂) 2 κοιμᾶται] P; ἐκοιμήθη T; κεκοιμήται B
here Plcs₂; after καταράπτων Tl₂; ἀπύρ. μὴ νοσ. after ἐβδ. s; (B tr. to
αλείψω) 3 καταράπτων] (+ 'he died' ll₂) ὧν] om TB μετεστείλατο
B 4 με (and 5 μοι) third pers. in l 5 μέλλων ἐκλείπειν] Plc(s);
i καὶ T; om Bcs₂; (l₂ novissime) 6 ἐμῶν χειρῶν TB 7 καταλείψω]
T; (+ in Bcs₂c varying statements that he died) ὀθόνῃ T; ὀθόνας B¹
καὶ] om T; (καὶ ἀποθεμένη B) ἀνεχώρησε] + ἐκ T: ἀνώρησα (whole
n first pers.) Bκ ἔχουσα] after ἐκείνην T; after ἑαυτῆς B 9 σπυρίδα]
editione l₂s: + ἐκείνην TBs 10 οὔτως] apophthegma begins here (cf.
§ 4) 11—13 (apophth εἶπε τοῖς π. αὐτῷ ἄγιοις ἀνδράσιν ὅτι κ.τ.λ.)
ἐνε] Bhs₂; Μακαρίῳ and om καὶ οἰκονόμῳ PTA^hl₂c 12 Ἀμμων(ῶ) Ἀμμωνι
Theodore) περιβοήτοις] + σὺν TB¹ καὶ λ. ἀδελφοῖς] om B¹ 13 τὸν
om ssc₂c (montem l₂) 14 τῆς ἐρήμου] apophth (gr and both lat versa)
ss₂; om P ὦκησα, + ἐν αὐτῇ apophth (gr, lat doubtful) l₂cs₂; ἐνθάδε B
s] + ἔργου B apophth (lat both versa) l₂cs₂; txt PT apophth (gr); l paraphr
δωρεάν] om apophth ἄρτων φαγῶν] apophth TB; ὅτι δ. ἔφαγον ἄρτων P
] οὐδὲ apophth B¹ 17 μηδὲ] μὴ T τοῦ] P¹B; om T apophth θεοσεβεῖν]
l₂ and s, add 17177, break off here to end of chapter; s^{an} presents a B text; c be-
comes a loose paraphrase, and apophth alters the text freely 18 δι] + αὐτῷ TB
τοῦτο] om TB ἡμῖν] + οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ Χρ. B¹ Ὀριγένης, Bhs₂; Θεόδωρος P¹Te
(Amr: on. Theodore and Jacob) (apophth vac) Ὀρ. τε κ. Ἀμ.] οἱ πατέρες A^B

'Αμμώνιος ὅτι Οὐδέποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς λόγον γραφικὸν ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ πραγματικὸν παραυτὰ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν· Οὐδέπω εὔρηκα. πολλάκις δὲ παρήλθε καὶ τρίμηνον καὶ ἀπόκρισιν οὐκ ἐδίδου, λέγων μὴ κατειληφέναι. οὕτω μέντοι τὰς ἀποφάσεις 5 αὐτοῦ ἐδέχοντο, γνωμῆνας περισκεμμένως κατὰ θεόν, ὡς ἀπὸ θεοῦ. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐλέγετο Ἴκαὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν μέγαν Ἄντωνιον᾽ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἐσχηκέναι, τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τοῦ λόγου.

Φέρεται δὲ τοιαύτη πρᾶξις τοῦ Παμβώ, ὅτι Πίωρ ὁ ἀσκητῆς 10 παραβαλὼν αὐτῷ ἴδιον ἀπήνεγκεν ἄρτον, καὶ ἐγκληθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ· Τίνος ἔνεκεν τοῦτο πεποίηκας; ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἴνα σε μὴ βαρῆσω, φησίν. ὃν σιγῇ ῥητῶς ἐπαίδευσε· μετὰ χρόνον γὰρ παραβαλὼν αὐτῷ, βρέξας αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄρτον ἐβάσταξε, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς· Τί πεποίηκας οὕτως; εἶπεν· Ἴνα μὴ σε βαρῆσω καὶ 15 ἔβρεξα.

(XI) Ἄμμώνιος οὗτος ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ ἅμα Ἴτρισὶν ἀδελφοῖς ἐτέροις καὶ Ἴδυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς αὐτοῦ εἰς ἄκρον φιλοθείας ἐλίσαντες, κατειλήφασιν τὴν ἔρημον, κάκειναι κατ' ἰδίαν ποιήσασαι μονὴν καὶ ἴουτοι᾽ κατ' ἰδίαν, ὡς ἱκανὸν ἀπέχειν μεταξὺ 20 ἀλλήλων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν φιλόλογος ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ

9 On Pior see Note on c. xxxix. 16 On Ammonius the Tall see Note 19. 17 Soz. vi. 30 (3) λέγεται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἄμμώνιον εἰς ἄκρον φιλοσοφίας προελθεῖν,... 20 (3) καὶ φιλόλογον εἰς ἄγαν γενέσθαι.

PT [aporphth] l(c)s₂

1 Ἄμμων T(c) λόγον]+ἦ TBl 2 παραυτὰ] εὐθὺς aporphth B†; εὐθὺς ἢ παραυτὰ B† 3 οὐκ ἐδίδ. ἀποκρ. aporphth B 4 μὴ] μήπω Bl 6-8 ταύτην..... λόγου] om c 6, 7 καὶ ὑπὲρ..... Ἄντωνιον] Bls₂; om PT (homoeotel.?) 7 καὶ] om P 8 λόγου] s₂ breaks off to end of chapter

PTl(c)

11 πεποίηκεν] T μὴ σε TB† 12 φησίν] om TB δν] οὐ T μετὰ] +τινα Bl γὰρ after βρέξας T 13 αὐτῷ] om T αὐτοῦ τὸν] om T 14 τί πεπ. οὕτως] om T

XI (Περὶ Ἄμμωνιοῦ): PTll₂s₂

16 Ἄμμων PT 16, 17 τρισὶν.....καὶ] Bls₂ (l₂ cf. Prol. 68); om PT (suppression of Tall Brothers probably due to Tendenz) 18-20 κάκειναι..... ἀλλήλων] P (but οὗτος) T (but οὕτως); l₂ sororibus suis sequestratim fecerunt monasterioli habitaculum et sibi ipsis separatim fecerunt, ut inter se et illas etc.; l separatim sibi mansiones utrique fecerunt, ita ut etc.; s₂ 'and they (masc.) allowed them (fem.) to dwell in the neighbourhood'; B καὶ ἀμφοτέρως τὰς μονὰς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐποίησαν τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν 19 ἴουτοι᾽ ex context: οὗτος P, οὕτως T 20 δὲ] περ T

πόλις τις ἠράσθη αὐτοῦ εἰς λόγον ἐπισκόπου, προσήλθον τῷ μακαρίῳ Τιμοθέῳ παρακαλέσαντες αὐτὸν χειροτονῆσαι αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἀγάγετέ μοι αὐτὸν καὶ χειροτονῶ αὐτόν. ὡς οὖν ἀπῆλθον μετὰ βοηθείας καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι κατελήφθη, παρεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ διωμόσατο μὴ κατα-⁵δέχεσθαι | χειροτονίαν, μηδὲ ἐξέρχεσθαι τῆς ἐρήμου· καὶ οὐ συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. βλεπόντων οὖν αὐτῶν λαβῶν ψαλίδα τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἕως πυθμένος ἐψάλισε, λέγων αὐτοῖς· Κἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πληροφορήθητε ὅτι ἀδύνατόν μοι γενέσθαι, τοῦ νόμου ἀπαγορεύοντος ὠτότμητον εἰς ἱερωσύνην μὴ¹⁰ ἀπάγεσθαι. οὕτως οὖν ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες εἶπον τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Οὗτος ὁ νόμος παρὰ Ἰουδαίους πολιτενέσθω· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ ῥινοτόμητον ἐὰν ἐνέγκητε, ἄξιον ὄντα τοῖς τρόποις, χειροτονῶ. ἀπελθόντες οὖν πάλιν παρεκάλουν αὐτόν· καὶ διώμνυτο αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ἐάν με¹⁵ ἀναγκάσητε, τὴν γλῶσσάν μου ἀποτέμνω. οὕτως οὖν ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρησαν.

Τούτου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου φέρεται τὸ θαῦμα τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐδέποτε

2 On Timotheus see Note 20. 4—17 Soz. (4) Μέλλων δὲ ποτε πρὸς χειροτονίαν ἐπισκοπῆς συλλαμβάνεσθαι, ὡς ἀντιβολῶν οὐκ ἔπεισεν ἀπιέναι τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐληλυθίας, ἀπαιτῶν τὸ οὖς, "Ἄπιτε, ἔφη· λοιπὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκόντα με ὁ ἱερατικὸς νόμος συγχωρεῖ χειροτονεῖσθαι, ἄρτιον γὰρ χρῆναι τὸν ἱερέα καθίστασθαι. (5) ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰδε ἔγνωσαν Ἰουδαίους φυλακτῆρα, τῇ δὲ ἐκκλησίᾳ σώματος μηδὲν μέλει, ἦν μόνον ἄρτιος ἢ τοῖς τρόποις ὁ ἱερεὺς, αὐτὸς ἀνέστρεψαι ὡς συλληψόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ ἢ μὴν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκτεμῆν διωμόσατο εἰ βιάσασθαι πειραθεῖεν. δεισαντες οὖν τὴν ἀπειλὴν ἀπεχώρουν. αὐτὸς τε ἐντεῦθεν Ἀμμωνίου ὁ Παρώτης ὠνομάζετο. (Cf. Socr. IV. 23: Οὗτος ὁ Ἀμμωνίου εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐλκόμενος καὶ διαφυγὼν τὸ δεξιὸν οὖς αὐτοῦ ἐξέκοψεν, ὅπως ἂν τῷ ἀσχημῶς τοῦ σώματος τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐκφύγη.) 18—3 (p. 34) (3) (λέγεται).....ἡδονῆς τε καὶ ῥαστώνης ἀνδρείως κρατῆσαι.

P¹TII₂κ₂

2 Τιμοθέῳ] + ἐπίσκοπῳ B₁ (om Τιμ. + Ἀλεξανδρείας I₂) παρακαλοῦντες TB αὐτὸν¹] om T χειροτονηθῆναι T αὐτὸν²] Ἀμμωνίῳ B₁ αὐτοῖς αὐτόν T 3 ἐπίσκοπον καὶ] om T αὐτοῖς²] + ὅτι T 4 χειροτονῶ] + ὑμῖν B₁ αὐτόν] om T : : ἐπίσκοπον II₂ βοηθείας] + πολλῆς B₁ : + εἰς τὸ συλλαβεῖσθαι αὐτόν B₁ (Soz) 6 χειροτονίαν] P₁ (B τὸ πρᾶγμα) ; om T (I₂) καὶ] ὡς δὲ B (II₂) 7 συνεχώρουν TB αὐτῶν] πάντων B₁ λαβῶν ψαλ.] TB (ἀφαρπάσας) II₂κ₂ ; om P 9 μοι] με BT (after γεσ.) 10 γενέσθαι] + ὅπερ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκάζετε B₁ ; episcopum I₂ ἀπαγορεύσαντος T 11 πρόαγεσθαι TB καὶ] om T ἀπελθόντες] + οὖν T 12 εἶπον] + ταῦτα B₁ ἀρχισκ. T 14 ἐνέγκητε] + μόνον B Soz 16 ἀφέντες αὐτόν after ἀνεχώρησαν T 18 Ἀμμών P ; Ἀμμ. (τοῦ Ἀμ. after τοῦτο) τὸ] om T

ἡδονῆς αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάσης τοῦ σαρκίου αὐτοῦ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ σίδηρον ἐκπυρώσας προσετίθει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέλεσιν, ὡς πάντοτε αὐτὸν ἠλκωμένον εἶναι. ἡ μέντοι τράπεζα αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἐκ νεότητος ὠμοφαγία ἕως θανάτου· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃ διὰ πυρὸς 5 διήρχετο ἔφαγέ ποτε ἐκτὸς ἄρτου. παλαιὴν δὲ καὶ καινὴν γραφὴν ἀποστηθίσας καὶ ἐν συγγράμμασιν ἀνδρῶν ἐλλογίμων Ὀριγένους καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Πιερίου καὶ Στεφάνου διήλθε μυριάδας ἑξακοσίας, ὡς μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ τῆς ἐρήμου πατέρες. παρακλητικὸς δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἀδελφοῖς εἰ τις 10 καὶ ἄλλος. Ἦ τούτῳ ψήφους ἐδίδου ὁ μακάριος Εὐάγγελος ἀνὴρ πνευματοφόρος καὶ διακριτικός, λέγων ὅτι Οὐδέποτε αὐτοῦ ἀπαθέστερον ἐώρακα ἄνθρωπον.

[Οὗτος ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει ποτὲ παραγενόμενος διὰ χρείαν, - - - - μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον κοιμᾶται, καὶ θάπτεται 15 ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Ῥουφινιανᾶς. οὗ τὸ μνῆμα λέγεται θεραπεύειν πάντας τοὺς ῥιγιάζομένους.]

3—5 Soz. (3) ἐκ νέου μέχρι τελευτῆς, πλὴν ἄρτου μηδὲν γεύσασθαι ἐν πυρὶ γενομένου. 6—8 (3) ...ὡς τοῖς Ὀριγένους καὶ Διδύμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν λόγους διεξελθεῖν (al. διελθεῖν). 7 On Pierius and Stephanus see Note 21. 10 On Evagrius see Note on c. XXXVIII.

13—16 οὗτος.....ῥιγιάζομένους] The text is constructed from s₂ and B. The following is a translation of s₂ (the Syriac is given in Note 22): 'This man when there came a great need and necessity, had betaken himself to Constantinople, and slept in peace, and was buried in the house of the martyrs called the Rufinian; of whose sepulchre it is said that it cures those who are ailing from evil spirits, and it expels even fevers from men.'

The following is the text of B as found in Paris ms. 1627 (no. 47 in List) and attested by Anan Isho's Syriac (Bed. p. 47); it is a better text than that of the generality of B MSS. and I^{ov}: Οὗτος ὁ μακάριος ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει ποτὲ παραγενόμενος, διὰ χρείαν τῶν τῆς ἐρήμου πολιτῶν, πολλαῖς

PTI₂ (1—9) s₂

1 τῷ σαρκίῳ T ἐφείσατο] + τῆς σαρκὸς T 2 πυρώσας T ἑαυτοῦ] om T
 ὡς] ἀπὸ (om ὡς) T 3 εἶναι] Here there is a lacuna in I in all three mss., extending
 to νόσους p. 37, l. 3 5 διεί B T (διείη) δέ] om T 5—8 παλαιὰν.....ἑξακοσίας]
 om s₂ 7 Ὀριγ. καὶ Δ. καὶ Π. καὶ Σ.] B Soz (I^{ov}); Ἀθανασίου καὶ Βασιλείου PTA^B;
 sanctorum antiquorum patrum orthodoxorum sacerdotum domini l₂: s₂ vac
 διελθῶν T 8 μυριάδας] PTBI₂ (myriadas); (of. c. LV, and Soz. III. 16 (4):
 (Ἐφραίμ) λέγεται τὰς πάσας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας ἐπὶ τῶν συγγράμμασι.) 9 πατέ-
 ρες] l₂ departs wholly from Greek to end of chapter εἰ καὶ τις TB 10—12 τούτῳ...
 ἀνθρώπων] A^BB²s₂(I^{ov}); om PTB† (Tende ?) 10 δ. πρ.] om A^B καὶ] ὁ A^B
 11 λέγων] om A^B 13—16 οὗτος...λεγγ. α. E (—); om P. B: vac:
 (see above) 14 χρείαν] + τῶν τῆς ἐρ.

(XII) Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει τῆς Νιτρίας ἀνὴρ τις Βενιαμὶν οὕτω καλούμενος, βιώσας ἐπὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ἀσκήσας, κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος ἰαμάτων, ὡς πάντα ᾧ ἂν χεῖρα ἐπετίθει ἢ ἔλαιον εὐλογήσας ἐδίδου, πάσης ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἄρρωστίας. οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ τοιοῦτου χαρίσματος ἀξιωθεὶς 5 πρὸ ὀκτῶ μηνῶν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ὑδρωπίασε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὠγκώθη αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὡς ἄλλον Ἰῶβ φαίνεσθαι. παραλαβὼν οὖν ἡμᾶς | Διόσκορος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἴ τότε δὲ πρεσβύτερος ὢν τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Νιτρίας, ἔμέ τε καὶ τὸν μακάριον Εὐάγριον, λέγει ἡμῖν· Δεῦτε, ἴδετε νέον Ἰῶβ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ ὄγκῳ σώματος καὶ 10 πάθει ἀνιάτῳ ἄμετρον κεκτημένον εὐχαριστίαν. ἀπελθόντες οὖν ἐθεασάμεθα τοσοῦτον ὄγκον σώματος ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι δάκτυλον χειρὸς αὐτοῦ περιλαμβάνειν ὄλοις δακτύλοις. μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ ἀτενίζειν τῇ τοῦ πάθους δεινότητι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

ἰκεσίας δυσωπηθεὶς παρὰ Ῥουφίνου τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ ἐπάρχου τῶν πραιτωρίων· παρακληθεὶς δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων τῶν ἐκ διαφόρων ἐπαρχιῶν συναληθυστῶν εἰς τὰ καταθέσια τῶν ἁγίων οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἔκτισε μαρτυρίου· ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς καταθεσίοις ἀποδέχεται τὸν Ῥουφίνον ὁ ἅγιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀχράντου βαπτίσματος παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων· ὃν ἐσεβάσθη ἀξίως τῆς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας εἰς πάντα ὑπακούων ὁ ἔπαρχος τῷ ὄσιφ ἀνδρὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ. ὃς μετ' ὀλίγον λr ~· καὶ θύπτεται ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Ῥουφινιαναῖς. οὗ τὸ μῆμα λέγει· iii σεραπεύειν παντοῖα νοσήματα (πάντας τοὺς ῥιγιάζομένους B (exc. 47) l^{rv}).

The other B mss. and l^{rv} begin thus: Οὗτος ὁ μακάριος πολλαῖς ἰκεσίαις καταδυσωπηθεὶς παρὰ Ῥ. τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ ἐπάρχου τῶν πραιτωρίων, εἰς τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκείνους ἐλθόντος τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀμμωνίου ἐν Κωνσταντινῶν πόλει διὰ χρείας τῶν τῆς ἐρήμου πολιτῶν, ἰκανῶς παρακληθεὶς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων κ.τ.λ. (See Note 22.)

1—5 Soz. VI. 29 (9) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Βενιαμὶν γηραλέος εὐ μάλα λαμπρῶς ἀνὰ τὴν Σκῆτιν ἐφιλοσόφη, δῶρον ἔχων παρὰ θεοῦ δίχα φαρμάκων ἐπαφῆ μόνῃ χειρὸς ἢ ἔλαιῳ ᾧ ἐπηνύχετο, πάσης ἀπαλλάττειν νόσου τοὺς κάμνοντας.

12 See Note 23.

XII (ΠΕΡΙ ΒΕΝΙΑΜΙΝ): P₁T₁ms₂

1 Νητρίας P ἀνὴρ τις] om T Ber. καλ. τις οὕτω βιώσας T 2 ἔτη ὀγδ. TB
3 παντὶ TB ἐὰν T 4 χεῖρας TB₁ ἀπηλλάττετο TB 5 τοίνυν] om T
τοιοῦτου] τοῦτου τοῦ T καταξιωθ. TB 6 αὐτοῦ] om TB 7 ὄγκωσε TB
γενέσθαι T 8 Διοσκ.] ὁ Μακάριος T₁ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος] om T₁s 8, 9 τότε.....
Νιτρίας] TB₁ms₂ (l^{rv}); om Ps 8 τότε δέ] ὁ (om ὢν) T 9 τὸν μακ. Εὐάγρ.] τὸν
μακάριον Θεόδωρον T₁ (Theodorum et Macariolum) 10 βλέπετε TB 12 ὄλοις
δακτύλοις T

ἀπεστρέψαμεν. τότε λέγει ἡμῖν ὁ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος Βενιαμίν·
 Εὔξασθε, τέκνα, ἵνα μὴ ὁ ἔσωθέν μου ἄνθρωπος ὑδρωπιάσῃ·
 οὗτος γὰρ οὔτε με εὐπαθῶν ὤνησεν, οὔτε δυσπαθῶν ἐβλάψε.
 τοὺς οὖν ὀκτὼ μῆνας δίφρος αὐτῷ ἔκειτο πλατύτατος ἐν ᾧ
 5 ἀδιαλείπτως ἐκαθέζετο, μηκέτι ἐν κλίνῃ ἀναπεσεῖν δυνάμενος
 διὰ τὰς λοιπὰς χρείας τοῦ σώματος. ἐν τῷ πάθει δὲ τούτῳ ὦν
 ἄλλους ἰᾶτο. ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἐξηγησάμην τὸ πάθος τοῦτο, ἵνα
 μὴ ξενιζώμεθα ὅταν τι περιστατικὸν ἀνδράσι δικαίως συμβαίῃ.
 τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, αἱ φλιαὶ τῆς θύρας ἐπήρηθησαν καὶ αἱ
 10 παραστάδες, ἵνα δυνηθῇ τὸ σῶμα ἐξενεχθῆναι τοῦ οἴκου· τοσοῦ-
 τος ἦν ὁ ὄγκος.

(XIII) Ἀπολλωνίος τις ὀνόματι ἀπὸ πραγματευτῶν, ἀπο-
 ταξάμενος καὶ οἰκήσας τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας, μήτε τέχνην μαθεῖν
 δυνάμενος μήτε ἄσκησιν γραφικὴν διὰ τὸ ἡκμακέναι, ζήσας
 15 ἐν τῷ ὄρει εἴκοσι ἔτη ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἄσκησιν· ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

1—3 Soz. (10) Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς ὄρωντας παρεμυθεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει
 τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς· σώματος δὲ αὐτῷ μηδὲν μέλει· Ἐπεὶ
 καὶ εὐεκτοῦν οὐδὲν με ὤνησεν, ἔφη, καὶ κακῶς πάσχον οὐκ ἐβλάψεν. 4—7 (10)
 Ἐν δὲ τῷ νοσεῖν ἐν κλίνῃ κείσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐπὶ δίφρῳ
 πλατυτάτῳ ἐκαθίζετο, συνήθως τοὺς κάμνοντας ἰώμενος, αὐτὸς μηδὲν δυσφορῶν
 ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐχούσης αὐτὸν νόσου ἀπηλλάττετο. 9—11 (9) Τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον

λόγος ὑδέρω περιπεσόντα, τοσοῦτον οἰδῆσαι τὸ σῶμα ὡς μὴ δυνηθῆναι διὰ τῶν
 θυρῶν τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ διήγεν ἐκκομισθῆναι εἰ μὴ σὺν ταῖς θύραις καὶ τὰς παρα-
 στάδας καθείλον. 12 The chapter on Nathanael (xvi.) comes here in P ;

but this is opposed to all the other authorities. 12—9 (p. 37) Soz. vi. 29

(14) Ἀπολλωνίος δὲ, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐμπορίαν μετιῶν, ἦδη πρὸς γῆρας ἐλαύνων
 ἐπὶ τὴν Σκήτην ἦλθε. λογισάμενος δὲ ὡς οὔτε γράφειν οὔτε ἄλλην τιὰν τέχνην
 μαθεῖν οἷός τε ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, παντοδαπῶν φαρμάκων εἶδη καὶ ἔδεσμάτων
 ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς κάμνουσιν ἐξ οἰκείων χρημάτων ὠνούμενος, ἀνὰ ἐκάστην θύραν
 μοναστικὴν περιήει μέχρις ἐννάτης ὥρας, ἐφορῶν τοὺς νοσοῦντας. ἐπιτηδείαν
 δὲ ταύτην αὐτῷ ἄσκησιν εὐρῶν ὠδε ἐπολιτεύσατο. μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἄλλφ
 παραδοὺς ἃ εἶχεν ἐνετείλατο τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν. 14 See Note 24.

PTI₂ss₂

2 μὲν before ὁ ἔσ. TB ἔσω T 3 με] om T 4 ὀκτὼ οὖν TB ἐγένετο TB
 πλατύτερος T 6 τὰς χρείας τὰς λοιπὰς (om τοῦ σωμ.) T δὲ before τῷ T
 7 οὖν] δὲ T τούτο] τούτου τοῦ ἀγίου Bs 8 μὴ] μηδὲν T 9 δὲ] μέντοι T
 ἐπήρηθη TB

XIII (Περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου): PTI₂ss₂

13 Νιτρίας P 14 μήτε] + ἐπὶ TB† γραφικὴν] + ἐλθεῖν T διὰ τὸ ἡκμ.] τῷ
 ὑπερβεβηκέναι τὴν ἡλικίαν TB (παραβ. ; προβ. A^B)

χρημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων παντοῖα ἱατρικὰ καὶ κελλαρικὰ ἀγοράζων εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, πάσῃ τῇ ἀδελφότητι ἐπήρκει εἰς τὰς νόσους. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ὄρθριον μέχρις ἐνάτης ὥρας κυκλεύοντα τὰ μοναστήρια, καὶ κατὰ θύραν εἰσ-ερχόμενον καὶ ὀρώντα τίς ἀνάκειται· ἐβάσταζε δὲ σταφίδας, 5 ῥόας, ψά, σιλίγνια, ὧν ἐπιδέονται οἱ ἀσθενοῦντες. ταύτην αὐτῷ λυσιτελοῦσαν τὴν μέθοδον εὐρῶν εἶχεν ἕως γήρους. δς τελευτῶν ὁμοίῳ ἑαυτοῦ καταλιμπάνει τὰ γρυτάρια, παρακαλέσας αὐτὸν ταύτην ἐκτελεῖν τὴν διακονίαν. πεντακισχιλίων γὰρ μοναχῶν οἰκοῦντων τὸ ὄρος χρεῖα ἦν καὶ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως ταύτης διὰ τὸ 10 ἔρημον εἶναι τὸν τόπον.

(XIV) Ἄλλος Παήσιος καὶ Ἡσαίας οὕτω καλούμενοι, ἀδελφοὶ ὑπήρχον πατρὸς ἐμπόρου Σπανοδρόμου· οὔτινες τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος ἐμερίσαντο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐν ἀκινήτοις ἢ ἔσχον, ἐν μὲν νομισματίοις πεντακισχιλίοις, ἐν ἱματίοις δὲ καὶ 15 οἰκέταις τὰ εὐρεθέντα. οὗτοι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐσκέψαντο καὶ συμβουλευόνται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντες· Ἐπὶ ποίαν ἔλθωμεν μέθοδον τοῦ βίου, ἀδελφέ; ἐὰν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἢ ἐπήλθεν ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑτέροις ἔχομεν καταλείψαι τοὺς πόνους· ἴσως δὲ καὶ κινδύνοις περιπεσοῦμεθα | ληστρικοῖς 20 ἢ θαλαττικοῖς. δεῦρο τοίνυν, ἐπὶ τὸν μονήρη βίον ἔλθωμεν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν κερδήσωμεν, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς μὴ ἀπολέσωμεν. ἤρρεσεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ μονήρους βίου.

12 (XIV) In this chapter T contains manifest B interpolations. This phenomenon continues in varying degrees to the end of c. XXI. (cf. *Introd.* § 9). Such B readings in T will be indicated thus: (T)B. 1 of c. XIV. is printed in *Bibl. Casin. III. Florileg.* 299.

PTII₂ss₂

1 οἰκείων] ἰδίων TA^B 3 καὶ ἦν] | recommences here 5 καὶ ὀρώντα] om T: + μὴ TB 6 ἀρρωστοῦντες TB 7 τὴν μέθοδον.....γήρους] εὐρῶν πολιτείας εἰς τὸ γήρας TB 8 τελευτῶν μέλλων B (Soz): (In p. 31 l. 10 τελευτῶν of PT is attested by apophth. (cent. v.), but is turned into τελευτῶν μέλλων in B) 10 τῆς] + τοιαύτης (om ταύτης) TB διὰ τὸ] τῷ T

XIV (Περὶ Πανσίου καὶ Ἡσαίου): PTI₂ss₂

13 ὑπήρχον] + viol T(σ) Πανοδρόμου Tven 14 ὑπάρχοντα] + αὐτοῦ T(σ) ἀκινήτοις] PΓ (ἐκείνη τῆς sic); κινήτοις B1; 'outside and inside the house' s₂; s om 15 νομίμασι TB 17 συμβουλευόντες ἑαυτοῖς λέγουσι T(B) 18 βίου μεθ. (om τοῦ) T 19 μετῆλθεν TB 20 πόνους] + ἡμῶν (T)Bσ 21 θαλαττικοῖς] P^A; θαλαττικός TB τοίνυν] οὖν + ἀδελφέ (T)B

εὑρέθησαν οὖν ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλο διαφωνοῦντες. μερισάμενοι γὰρ τὰ χρήματα, τοῦ μὲν σκοποῦ εἶχοντο ἕκαστος τοῦ ἀρῆσαι θεῶ, ἐνηλλαγμέναις δὲ πολιτείαις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάντα διασκορπίσας ἀσκητηρίοις καὶ ἐκκλησίαις καὶ φυλακαῖς, τεχνιδριον μαθῶν
 5 ὅθεν τὸν ἄρτον πορίσεται, τῇ ἀσκήσει καὶ εὐχῇ προσέσχευ. ὁ δ' ἄλλος μὴδὲν διασκορπίσας, ἀλλὰ ποιήσας ἑαυτῷ μοναστήριον καὶ προσλαβόμενος ἀδελφούς ὀλίγους, πάντα ξένου ἐδεξιούτο, πάντα ἄρρωστον, πάντα γέροντα, πάντα πένητα, κατὰ κυριακὴν καὶ σάββατον τρεῖς τραπέζας ἰστών· οὕτως αὐτοῦ
 10 κατηνάλωσε τὰ χρήματα.

Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τελευτησάντων, διάφοροι μακαρισμοὶ τούτων ἐγένοντο, ὡς ἀμφοτέρων τελειωθέντων· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἤρσκειν οὗτος, τοῖς δὲ ἐκείνος. φιλονεικίας οὖν ἐμπεσοῦσης τῇ ἀδελφότητι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἀπέρχονται πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Παμβῶ
 15 καὶ ἀνατίθενται αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν, ἀξιούντες μαθεῖν τὴν μείζονα πολιτείαν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἀμφότεροὶ εἰσι τέλειοι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀβραμαῖον ἐπεδείξατο ἔργον, ὁ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἡλία. τῶν μὲν οὖν λεγόντων· Ἐγὼ ποδῶν σου, πῶς δυνατὸν αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἴσους; προτιμώντων τὸν ἀσκητὴν καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Εὐαγγελικὸν
 20 πεποίηκε πρᾶγμα, πάντα πωλήσας καὶ δοὺς πτωχοῖς, καθ' ὥραν καθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ κατὰ νύκτα τὸν σταυρὸν βαστάζων, καὶ ἀκολουθῶν τῷ σωτήρι καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς· τῶν δὲ ἀντιφιλονεικούντων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Οὗτος τοσαῦτα ἐνεδείξατο τοῖς δεομένοις, ὡς καὶ εἰς τὰς λεωφόρους καθῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς θλιβομέ-
 25 νους συνάγειν· καὶ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν ἀνέπαυσεν ἀλλὰ

PT1ss₂

1 οὖν] δὲ T ἄλλο] ἄλλον βίον T γὰρ] δὲ TB 3 ἐνηλλαγμέναις δὲ πολιτείαις] P^{cor}ss₂; -νας δὲ -ας P*; -νη δὲ -α TB: (l neutral) διασκορπίσας] + ἔδωκεν B₈ 5 ἄρτον] + cotidianum ls; 'from day to day' s₂ πορίσεται P* (πορίζεται P^{cor}); πορίσεται TB καὶ] + τῇ TB 9 τρεῖς] + ἡ τέσσαρας B1s₂; txt PTs ἰστών] + omnibus l; τοὺς λειπομένους ἐδεξιούτο B; 'and he refreshed all who had chanced to come' s; 'he fed those in want' s₂ 11 δὲ] οὖν TB 12 ἐγένοντο T τελειῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ εὐρεθέντων (T)B 13 ἀδελφότητι] + μάλιστα (T)B 14 τοῖς] + διαφόροις (T)B₈ 15 μαθεῖν] + παρ' αὐτοῦ (T)B†(l) ἀμείνω TB 17 τὰ] om TB Ἡλίου TB 18 τῶν ποδῶν σου] TA^BB† (+ ἀπτόμεθα A^BB†); om PvenBts: (deprecantes l; 'we beg of thee' s₂) (cf. p. 23 l. 19) εἶναι αὐτοὺς TB 19 ἴσους] + καὶ T 20 πεποίηκε πρᾶγμα] PA^Bss₂; πεπλήρωκε πρῶταγμα TB1 πωλήσας πάντα T 20, 21 καὶ καθ' ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα T; per omnes horas, omnes dies, omnesque noctes l (Bss₂ vary) 22 προσευχαῖς] + προσκαρτερῶν T(B) 23 ὅτι] + καὶ TB† τοσαῦτα] + σπλέγγνα B(1ss₂) 24 εἰς] + αὐτὰς (T)B 25 συνάγειν] + καὶ ἐπαρκεῖν (T)B ἀναπαύειν T

καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, καὶ νοσοκομῶν καὶ ἐπικουρῶν· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ μακάριος Παμβώ· Πάλιν ὑμῖν ἐρῶ ὅτι ἀμφότεροι ἴσοι εἰσίν· ἕκαστον δὲ ὑμῶν πληροφορῶ ὅτι οὗτος, εἰ μὴ ἦσκει τοσοῦτον, ἄξιος οὐκ ἐγένετο τῆς ἐκείνου ἀγαθότητος συγκριθῆναι· ἐκείνος πάλιν ἀναπαύων τοὺς ξένους καὶ συναναπαύετο, καὶ εἰ καὶ ἐδόκει 5 τὸ ἐκ κύπου ἔχειν φορτίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτὰ εἶχεν ἀναπαυσιν. ἐκδέξασθε δὲ ἵνα καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ δέξωμαι τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλθόντες μαθήσεσθε. ἐλθόντες οὖν μετὰ ἡμέρας πάλιν παρεκάλεσαν αὐτόν, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα εἶδον ἐστῶτας ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. | 10

(XV) Νεώτερός τις ὀνόματι Μακάριος, ὡς ἐτῶν δεκαοκτώ, ἐν τῷ παίζειν μετὰ τῶν συνηλικιωτῶν παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν λεγομένην Μαρίαν, τετράποδα νέμων, ἀκούσιον εἰργάσατο φόνον. καὶ μηδεὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκῶς καταλαμβάνει τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ εἰς 15 τοσοῦτον ἤλασε φόβον θεῖόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπινον, ὡς ἀναισθητῆσαι αὐτόν ἐπὶ τριετίαν ἄστεγον μείναντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. ἄβροχος δὲ ὑπάρχει ἡ γῆ τούτοις, καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι πάντες, καὶ οἱ διὰ λόγων γενόμενοι καὶ οἱ διὰ πείρας. οὗτος ὕστερον φκοδόμησε κέλλαν ἑαυτῷ· καὶ ζήσας ἄλλα εἰκοσιπέντε ἔτη ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ἐκείνῳ χαρίσματος ἠξιώθη καταπτύειν δαιμόνων, ἐντρυφῶν τῇ 20 μονότητι. τούτῳ πολλὰ συγχρονίσας ἠρώτων πῶς αὐτοῦ διά-

11--19 Soz. vi. 29 (12) Ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ [M. τῷ νέφ] τὴν ἀρχὴν πρόφασις τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀκούσιος φόνος. ἔτι γὰρ βούπαις ὧν πρόβατα ἔνεμε περὶ τὴν Μαρίαν λίμνην, καὶ παίζων τινὰ τῶν ὁμηλικῶν ἀνείλε· θείσας τε δοῦναι δίκην ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν. (13) αἰθριος δὲ ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη μετὰ ταῦτα διάγων, αὐτόθι οἰκίδιον μικρὸν ἑαυτῷ κατεσκευάσεν, ἐν ᾧ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἔτη διέτριψεν. 20 (12) M. ἐδόθη χάρις ὑπὸ θεοῦ ὑπερφρονεῖν τῶν δαιμόνων.

PT18a₂

1 πολλῶν] πολλὰς T καί²] om TB 2 ὅτι] om TB εἰσιν ἴσοι πρὸς τὸν κύρου B (T θεόν) κ₂ 4 τῆς ἐκ. ἀγαθότητος] P(B¹); ἐκ. τῆ ἀγαθότητι T(B¹); ἐκ. τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ A^B 5 πάλιν] om TA^B ξένους]+εἰ P καὶ εἰ καὶ] TA^B18a₂(B); om καὶ εἰ P 7 δέ]+μικρὸν (T)B¹8 ('a few days') 8 μάθητε T μετὰ]+ὄλιγας B1 9 αὐτόν παρεκ. T 10 ἅμα] om T

XV (Περὶ Μακαρίου τοῦ νεωτέρου (νέου Soz)): PT18a₂

11 ὡς ἐτῶν] om T 12 συνηλικιωτῶν] PA^B; συνηλικῶν TB (ὁμηλικῶν Soz) 14 καί] P1; οὗτος (T)B₂ 16 ἐπὶ] P Soz; om TB μείναι T 17 ἡ γῆ ἐκείνη ὑπ. (om τοῖτοις) TB τοῦτο] TB18a₂^{1a1} (κ₂^{mid} om clause); om P 18 δι' αὐτῆς τῆς πορίας (T) (διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς B) ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος B (l iste ipse) 19 κελλίον TB ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ἐκείνῳ] P T; ἐν αὐτῷ (before ἄλλα) B18a₂; + τοιοῦτου B1 20 ἠξιώθη] + ὡς B18a₂ 21 συγχρ.] + ἐγὼ TB ἠρώτων] P1; ἐμάνθανον TB8a₂; + παρ' αὐτοῦ (T)B

κειται ὁ λογισμὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ φόνου ἀμαρτία· ὃς τοσοῦτον ἔλεγεν ἀπέχειν λύπης ὡς καὶ προσευχαριστεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ· γεγένηται γὰρ αὐτῷ ὑπόθεσις σωτηρίας ὁ ἀκούσιος φόνος. ἔλεγε δὲ ἀπὸ γραφῶν φέρων τὴν μαρτυρίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν Μωσῆς 5 ἤξιοῦτο τῆς θεϊκῆς ὀπτασίας ἰκαί τῆς τοσαύτης δωρεᾶς καὶ τῆς συγγραφῆς τῶν ἁγίων λόγων, εἰ μὴ φόβῳ τοῦ Φαραῶ διὰ τὸν φόνον δν ἔδρασεν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ κατελήφει τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινᾶ. ταῦτα δὲ λέγω οὐχ ὁδοποιῶν εἰς φόνον, δεικνύων δὲ 10 ὅτι εἰσὶ καὶ περιστατικαὶ ἀρεταί, ὅταν μὴ ἐκουσίως τις τῷ 10 ἀγαθῷ προσέλθῃ· τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι προαιρετικαί, αἱ δὲ περιστατικαί.

(XVI) Γέγονεν ἄλλος τις τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνόματι Ναθαναήλ· τοῦτον ἐγὼ ζῶντα μὲν οὐ κατείληφα· κεκοίμητο γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς εἰσόδου πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκαπέντε· τοῖς δὲ συνασκήσασιν αὐτῷ καὶ 15 χρονίσασιν περιτυχῶν ἐφιλοπραγμόνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔδειξαν δέ μοι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κέλλαν, εἰς ἣν ᾠκει οὐκέτι μὲν οὐδεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτέρω αὐτὴν εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τότε αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν ὅτε σπάνιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀναχωρηταί. διηγοῦντο οὖν τοῦτο περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξαιρέτως, ὅτι τοσαύτην ἔσχεν ὑπομονὴν 20 ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ὡς μὴ σαλευθῆναι τῆς προθέσεως. ἐν οἷς ἐμπαυχθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς παρὰ τοῦ πᾶσιν ἐμπαίζοντος καὶ ἀπατώντος δαίμονος, ἔδοξεν ἀκιδιᾶν εἰς τὴν πρώτην κέλλαν· καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἄλλην ἔκτισε πλησιώτερον κώμης. μετὰ οὖν τὸ τελέσαι τὴν

1—3 Soz. (13) Ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ γε αὐτοῦ ἀκηκόεσαν ὡς πολλὴν ὁμολόγει χάριν τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ σωτήριον ἀπεκάλει τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον, φιλοσοφίας καὶ μακαρίου βίου αἴτιον αὐτῷ γεγενημένον. 12 In P XVI. comes between XII. and XIII.

PT1s₂

2 καί] om T1 3 αὐτῷ] P1; μοι, φησίν, (T)B 4 Μωσῆς TB 5, 6 καὶ..... λόγων] B1s₂; om PT 6 τῷ δέει TB 7 διὰ τὸν φ..... Αἰγύπτῳ] P1s₂^{nat} (s₂^{add} slightly altered); διὸ ἔδρασεν ἐξ Αἴγ. καὶ B; ἀπέδρασε τῆς Αἴγ. καὶ T; ἀποδράσας γὰρ ἐξ Αἴγ. A^B ἔδρασεν] + ἀκούσιως P 8 λέγων P* πρὸς T φόνον] + τινὰ B1: + ἄλλα TB: + μάλλον B1 δέ] P; om TB 11 περιστατικαί] s₂ adds a passage accounting for the Syriac name given to M. 'the Child of the Cross.' Anan-Isho inserted it in his *Paradise* (Bed. p. 55): it is printed also by Assemani and Budge (cf. *Prol.* 87).

XVI (Περὶ Ναθαναήλ): PT1s₂s₂

14 αὐτῷ after χρονίσασιν T 15 χρονίσασιν] P1 (per multum tempus) (s₂); συγχο. (T)B; om l₂ 16 καί] TB1s₂s₂; om P εἰς ἣν ᾠκει taken with each clause in ll₂ μὲν before οὐκέτι TB 17 ἐγγύτερον T αὐτὴν] + μὲν P ἐκεῖνος] ἐκεῖ P τότε] om P 18 ὅτε] ὅτι P 19 ἐξαιρέτως] P1₂; ἐξαιρετον TB1 20 σαλευθ.] + ἀπὸ TB 21 πάντας T καί] + πάντας P

κέλλαν καὶ οἰκῆσαι, μετὰ μῆνας τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας παραγίνεται ὁ δαίμων ἐν νυκτί, ταυρέαν κατέχων καθάπερ οἱ δήμιοι, καὶ σχῆμα ἔχων στρατιώτου ῥακοδυτούντος, καὶ ψόφον εἰργάζετο ἐν τῇ ταυρέα. πρὸς δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ μακάριος Ναθαναὴλ καὶ ἔλεγε· Τίς εἶ σὺ ὁ ταῦτα δρῶν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ξενία; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ δαίμων· 5 Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς κέλλης ἐλάσας σε· ἦλθον οὖν καὶ ἐκ ταύτης φυγαδεύσαι σε. γινούσ οὖν ὅτι | ἐνεπαίχθη, ὑποστρέφει αὐθις εἰς τὴν πρώτην κέλλαν. καὶ πληρώσας τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη, οὐχ ὑπερέβη τὴν θύραν, φιλονεικῆσας τῷ δαίμονι· ὅς τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ ἐνεδείξατο καταναγκάζων αὐτὸν ἐξελεθεῖν, 10 ὅσα διηγῆσασθαι οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦτο· ἐπιτηρήσας ἑπτὰ ἐπισκόπων ἁγίων ἐπίσκεψιν, ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας γενομένην ἢ ἐκ πειρασμοῦ ἐκείνου, παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν ἐξώκειλε τῆς προθέσεως. τῶν γὰρ ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν ἐξερχομένων, οὐ προέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ διάκονοι· 15 Ὑπερήφανον πρᾶγμα ποιεῖς, ἀββᾶ, μὴ προπέμπων τοὺς ἐπισκόπους. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις μου τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ὄλω ἀπέθανον· ἔχω γὰρ κεκρυμμένον

11—15 TB: Ἐπτὰ ἐπισκόπων ἁγίων ἐπισκεψαμένων αὐτὸν (τὸν ἄγιον B), ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ἢ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πειρασμοῦ (+ ἐξ ἐκείνου B), παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν ἐξώκειλε τῆς προθέσεως. τῶν γὰρ ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν εὐξαμένων καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξιώντων, οὐ προέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ὁ γενναῖος οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός (+ ἵνα μὴ δῶ χάραν τῷ μισοκάλῳ B). 17, 18 TB: Ἐγὼ καὶ τοὺς κυρίους μου τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σέβω καὶ πάντα τὸν κληρὸν τιμῶ, καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων (+ ἐγὼ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς B) περιψημά εἰμι (B om εἰμι)· πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὄλω τῷ κόσμῳ (B ὄλω τῷ βίῳ ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τῇ προθέσει) ἀπέθανον. s₂ begins: 'I worship my lords the bishops and all holy men; but know this, my brethren,'—and goes on quite differently.

PTll₂s₂

1 καὶ] + ἐν αὐτῇ B(II₂s₂) (cf. p. 81 l. 14) ἐνοικῆσαι T ὡς μετὰ μῆνας τέσσ. P; 'about 3 months' s₁ 2 ὡς περ TB 3 ἐποίησε δὲ ψόφους τῇ τ. T 4 ἀπεκρίνατο after Naθ. T λέγων (om καὶ) TB 5 ὁ δὲ δ. ἀπεκρ. TB 6 ἐκείνης τῆς] PTl₂; τῆς πρώτης B1 (priorē) (s₂) ἐξελάσας T σε] + καὶ TB: + οὖν B1 οὖν] om TB 7 φυγαδεύσαι] ἀπελάσαι T οὖν] + ὁ γέρον T 8 καὶ²] om T 9 ὑπερέβη] ἐξῆλθε T τὸν οὐδὲν B1(l₂) 10 ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσῃ TB 11 παρατ. T 11—12 ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἐπισκόπων.....βῆμα ποδός] T here presents an interpolation from B: it is printed in full below the text 14 ἐπίσκεψιν] P; εὐχὴν ll₂s₂; (TB see above) 15 διάκονοι] + τῶν ἐπισκόπων B1 (s 'with them') 16 ποιεῖς] ἐργάζῃ TB ἀββᾶ] P B s₂; om T ll₂s 17 ὁ δὲ] om T 17, 18 Ἐγὼ.....ἀπέθανον] T presents the B text; see above 17 καὶ] ll₂s(T B₁ om P C D) 18 γὰρ] B C D

σκοπόν, καὶ οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν καρδίαν μου, διὸ οὐ προπέμπω
 αὐτούς. ἀστοχήσας οὖν ὁ δαίμων τοῦ δράματος τούτου σχημα-
 τίζεται πρὸ ἑννέα μηνῶν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, καὶ γίνεται
 παιδίον ὡσεὶ δέκα ἐτῶν, ἐλαῦνον ὄνον βαστάζοντα ἄρτους ἐν
 5 σαργάνῃ. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ βαθεῖα πλησίον τῆς κέλλης
 τούτου ἐσχηματίσατο πεπτωκέναι τὸν ὄνον καὶ κρᾶζον τὸ
 παιδίον· Ἄββᾶ Ναθαναήλ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ δός μοι χεῖρα. ὁ
 δὲ ἀκούσας τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ δῆθεν παιδίου καὶ παρανοίξας τὴν
 θύραν, ἐστῶς ἐνδοθεν ἐλάλει αὐτῷ· Τίς εἶ, καὶ τί θέλεις ἵνα
 10 ποιήσω σοι; λέγει αὐτῷ· Εἰμὶ τοῦδε τὸ μεράκιον, καὶ ἄρτους
 ἀποφέρω, ἐπειδὴ ἀγάπη ἐστὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ αὔριον
 σαββάτου διαφαίνοντος χρεῖα τῶν προσφορῶν· δέομαί σου, μὴ
 παρίδῃς με, μὴ ποτε καὶ ὑπὸ ὑαινῶν βρωθῶ. πολλαὶ γὰρ
 ὕλαι γίνονται εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους. στὰς οὖν ἑννεὸς ὁ
 15 μακάριος Ναθαναὴλ σφόδρα ἰλιγγίασε τὰ σπλάγχνα ταρατ-
 τόμενος, καὶ ἐλογίζετο καθ' ἑαυτὸν λέγων· Ἡ τῆς ἐντολῆς
 ἔχω ἐκπεσεῖν, ἢ τῆς προθέσεως. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐπιλογι-
 σάμενος ὅτι ἄμεινόν ἐστι μὴ σαλευῖσαι τῶν τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν
 τὴν πρόθεσιν εἰς αἰσχύνην τοῦ διαβόλου, προσευξάμενος λέγει
 20 τῷ προσλαλοῦντι δῆθεν παιδίῳ· Ἄκουσον, παιδίον· πιστεύω
 εἰς τὸν θεὸν ᾧ λατρεύω, ὅτι, εἰ χρεῖα σοι ἐστὶ, πέμπει σοι ὁ
 θεὸς βοήθειαν, καὶ οὔτε ὕλαι σε ἀδικήσουσιν οὔτε ἄλλο τι·
 εἰ δὲ πειρασμὸς εἶ, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ἀποκαλύψει ὁ

11, 12 See Note 25.

PT11₂SS₂

1 τὰ κρυπτά τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας B1 2 αὐτούς] κυρίους μου T; sanctos viros 1
 δαίμων] + ἐκ T 3 γίνεται] + ὡς T1₂ 4 ὡσεὶ] om T1₂B (ὡς ἐλαῦνον B) ἐλαῦνον
 ὄνον] om T βαστάζων T 5 ἑσπέραν βαθεῖαν (om ἐν) T τούτου κελλ. TB
 6 σχηματίζεται T καὶ κρᾶζον τὸ π.] + ἐβόα P (11₂SS₂ inquit); καὶ κρᾶζει φησὶ τὸ π.
 Ἄβ. κ.τ.λ. T; txt B 7 ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας] P11₂; ἤκουσεν ἐκείνος TB 8 δῆθεν] om T
 9 ἐνδοθεν] ἐσω TB εἶ] + σὺ T 10 σοι ποιήσω T τοῦδε εἰμι τοῦ μοναχοῦ μελ-
 λάκιον (T)BSS₂ 11 ἀδελφοῦ] μοναχοῦ P 12 χρεῖα] + ἐστὶ T 13 παρίδῃς T
 ὑαινῶν] B1₂S(1S₂); ὑαίνης P1 14 εὐρίσκονται T (I noscuntur) ἐνεὸς οὖν ἐστηκῶς
 TB 15 ταραττόμενος] om T 16 καθ' ἑαυτὸν] P11₂; τί ποιήσεις (T)B λέγων]
 + ὅτι T 17 προθέσεως] + ἐξολισθῆσαι B1 μέντοι P1₂; om T B1 ἐπιλογ.] + τῷ
 εὐσεβεῖ λογισμῷ B1 (rationabili ingenio) 18 ὅτι] εἶπεν ἐν αὐτῷ (T)B ἐστὶ] + τὸ
 TB σαλευθῆναι T τῶν] om TB 19 τῆν] om TB διαβόλου] + ἄψ T1₂
 προσευξ.] + τοῖνον τῷ κυρίῳ B1 (deum) 20 παιδίον] + ἢ ὅς τί ποτε εἶ (T)B (ἢ ὅστις δὴ
 ποτε εἶ) 21 τῷ θεῷ (om εἰς) T εἶ] om T 22 ἄλλος τις 11₂ 23 πειρασμὸς]
 + τις T (πιστεῖ sic) B (txt A^B) 1 μετ' αὐτοῦ (+ ὁ θεὸς μου B) ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τὸ δράμα
 ἀποκ. (om ὁ θεὸς) (T)B

θεός. καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν εἰσήλθεν. αἰσχυρθεὶς δὲ ὁ δαίμων ἐπὶ τῇ ἡττῇ εἰς λαίλαπα ἀνελύθη καὶ εἰς ὀνάγρους σκιρτῶντας καὶ φεύγοντας καὶ ψόφους ἀποτελοῦντας. τοῦτο τὸ ἄθλον τοῦ μακαρίου Ναθαναήλ, καὶ αὕτη ἡ διαγωγή, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος. |

(XVII) Τὰ κατὰ τοὺς δύο Μακαρίους τοὺς ἀοιδίμους 5 ἄνδρας, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ δύσπιστα ὄντα, ὀκνῶ καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν, μήποτε καὶ ψεύστου ὑπόληψιν ἀπενέγκωμαι. ὅτι δὲ ἀπολλῶνται Κήριος πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπεφήνατο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. ἐμοῦ τοίνυν μὴ ψευδομένου, πιστότατε, μὴ ἀπιστήσης. τούτων τῶν Μακαρίων ὁ μὲν εἰς 10 Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος, ὁ δ' ἄλλος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, τραγήματα πιπράσκων.

Καὶ πρῶτον διηγῆσομαι περὶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ὃς ἔζησε τὰ σύμπαντα ἔτη ἐννεήκοντα. ἐκ τούτων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πεποίηκεν ἐξήκοντα ἔτη, τριακονταετῆς ἀνελθὼν νέος· καὶ τσσαύτης 15 ἡξιώθη διακρίσεως ὡς λέγεσθαι αὐτὸν παιδαριολέροντα· διὸ

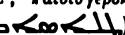
5 (XVII) Throughout this and the next chapter, even more than in the preceding, T has been largely contaminated by revision on a B MS. Such B readings found in T are not recorded. As the texts here presented by T and 33 cannot be relied on, only occasional select readings are entered from them, and no conclusion must be drawn from silence in regard to these two MSS. Ordinarily only in cases where P and B differ from each other, and T differs from both, are the readings of T recorded. On 33 cf. *Introd.* § 9.

5 On the various Macarii see Note 26. 5, 6 Soz. III. 14 (1) Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Μακαρίων τῶν δύο, τῶν ἀοιδιωτάτων ἡγεμόνων τῆς Σκήτεως καὶ τοῦ τῆδε ὄρους. 10—12 (1) Τοῦτοι δὲ ὁ μὲν Αἰγύπιος, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὡς ἀστὸς ὠνομάζετο· ἦν γὰρ τῷ γένει Ἀλεξανδρεὺς. 13—3 (p. 44) (2) Διεβίω δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐνεήκοντα ἔτη, ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις διέτριβεν. αὐτίκα τε φιλοσοφεῖν ἀρχόμενος ἔτι νέος ὢν διέπρεπεν, ὡς παιδαριολέροντα παρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότα χειροτονηθῆναι πρεσβύτερον. 8 P's. v. 7.

PTII,^{ss}₂

1 δὲ] ὄν T 3 ἀπολύοντας TB 4 τοῦτο] om TB

XVII (Περὶ Μακαρίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου): P[33]II₂s[T]

5 δύο] om B₂ ἀοιδίμους] l de praedicabilibus ac beatis (sess. and rev), de beatis ac venerabilibus (cass); de magnis et praecipuis et sanctis ac beatissimis I₂; 'the holy men whose name was one' s 6 μεγάλα καὶ δύσπ.] δξιάκοντα 33 (from hence to ἀπιστήσης (l. 10) is completely altered in 33) 10 τῶν M.] P33II₂; om Ts (Soz.); (B altered): + 'two' II₂s εἰς] om 33 (Soz): + ἐστὶ 33; ἦν T 16 παιδαριολέροντα] P B¹ Soz; παιδιογέροντα TB¹; νεαροτέρωντα (νεαρογέροντα) I₂; (senis puer l, sim. s, )

καὶ θάπτον προέκοψε· τεσσαρακονταετῆς γὰρ γενόμενος κατὰ πνευμάτων ἔλαβε χάριν ἰαμάτων τε καὶ προρρήσεων· κατηξιώθη δὲ καὶ ἱερωσύνης.

Τούτῳ συνήσαν δύο μαθηταὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν ἐνδο-
 5 τάτῳ, τὴν καλουμένην Σκῆτιν· ὧν ὁ μὲν εἰς ὑπηρετῆς ἦν
 πλησίον αὐτοῦ διὰ τοὺς ἐρχομένους θεραπεύεσθαι, ὁ δ' ἄλλος
 ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν κελλίῳ ἐγγυτάτῳ. χρόνου δὲ προκόψαντος
 διορατικῶ ὄμματι προβλέψας λέγει τῷ ὑπηρετοῦντι αὐτῷ,
 καλουμένῳ Ἰωάννῃ, ἐς ὕστερον γενομένῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ εἰς
 10 τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μακαρίου· Ἄκουσόν μου, ἀδελφε
 Ἰωάννη, καὶ ἀνάσχου μου τῆς νοθεσίας· πειράξῃ γάρ, καὶ
 πειράζει σε τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς φιλαργυρίας. οὕτω γὰρ ἐώρακα·
 καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἐάν μου ἀνάσχη τελειωθήσῃ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ
 καὶ δοξασθήσῃ, καὶ μάρτυρις οἶκ' ἐγγιεὶ ἐν τῷ σκηνώματι σοῦ·
 15 ἐὰν δέ μου παρακούσης, τοῦ Γιεζῆ ἦξει ἐπὶ σε τὰ τέλη, οὐ
 καὶ τὸ πάθος νοσεῖς. συνέβη δὲ αὐτὸν παρακούσαι μετὰ τὴν
 κοίμησιν τοῦ Μακαρίου μετὰ ἄλλα δεκαπέντε ἢ εἴκοσιν ἔτη,
 καὶ οὕτως ἠλεφαντίασε νοσφισάμενος τὰ τῶν πτωχῶν, ὡς μὴ
 εὔρεθῆναι εἰς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀκέραιον τόπον ἐν ᾧ τις δάκτυλον
 20 πῆξει. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ προφητεία τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου. περὶ
 μὲν οὖν βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως περιττὸν τὸ διηγήσασθαι, ὅποτε
 οὐδὲ παρὰ | τοῖς ῥαθύμοις ἔστιν εὔρεθῆναι ἀδδηφαγίαν ἢ ἀδια-
 φορίαν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις, καὶ διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν χρειῶν
 καὶ τὸν ζῆλον τῶν κατοικούντων. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ
 25 ἀσκήσεως λέγω· ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἀδιαλείπτως ἐξίστασθαι, καὶ
 μᾶλλον πλείου χρόνῳ θεῷ προσδιατρίβειν ἢ τοῖς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν
 πράγμασιν. οὐ καὶ φέρονται θαύματα τοιαύδα.

Ἄνῃ τις Αἰγύπτιος ἐρασθεὶς ἐλευθέρας γυναικὸς ὑπάνδρου,
 καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτὴν δελεάσαι, προσωμίλησε γόητι λέγων·

14 Ps. xc. 10.

P[33]112s[T]

5 Σκίτην T 7 ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν κελλίῳ ἐγγυτάτῳ] P33 (πλησίον αὐτοῦ for ἐγγυτ.) s
 ('that was near to him'); ἀνεχώρει κατ' ἴδιαν εἰς κέλλαν (T)B112 11 νοθεσίας]+ καὶ
 συνενέγκαι σοι ἔχει B1 11, 12 πειράξῃ γὰρ καὶ πειράζει σε] B1s (ἵνα δοξασθῶς
 γὰρ καὶ πειράξῃ γὰρ σε (om πειράξῃ and καὶ) PT3312 13 τῷ]
 om T 14 σκηνώματι] corpori l (cf. Prol. 72) 20 πῆξει]+ καὶ B112 αὐτῇ]
 + τοῖσιν T B1 22 ῥαθυμότεροις B12 24 τὸν]+ κατὰ θεὸν B2 25 γάρ] αὐτὸν
 (om γάρ) T; οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος B 28 35 begins here (see Introd. § 9) Αἰγύπτιος]
 om P ἐλευθέρας]+ τινὸς 35 30 λέγων]+ δέομαι σου P

Ἔλκυσον αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἀγαπήσαί με, ἢ ἔργασαί τι ἵνα ῥίψῃ αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς. καὶ λαβὼν ὁ γόης τὸ ἱκανὸν ἐχρήσατο ταῖς γοητικαῖς μαγγανείαις, καὶ παρασκευάζει φοράδα αὐτὴν φανῆναι. θεασάμενος οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐξῶθεν ἔλθων ἐξενίζετο ὅτι εἰς τὸν κράββατον αὐτοῦ φορβὰς ἀνέκειτο. κλαίει, ὀδύρεται ὁ ἀνὴρ· προσομιλεῖ τῷ ζῳφῷ ἀποκρίσεως οὐ τυγχάνει. παρακαλεῖ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς κώμης· εἰσάγει, δεικνύει· οὐχ εὐρίσκει τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς οὔτε χόρτου μετελάβεν ὡς φορὰς οὔτε ἄρτου ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἀμφοτέρων ἐστερημένη τῶν τροφῶν. τέλος, ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ θεὸς καὶ φανῇ ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον· καὶ φορβιάσας αὐτὴν ὡς ἵππου, οὕτως ἤγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. ἐν δὲ τῷ πλησιάσαι αὐτοὺς εἰστήκεισαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πλησίον τῆς κέλλης τοῦ Μακαρίου, μαχόμενοι τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ λέγοντες· Τί ἤγαγες ὠδε τὴν φορβιάδα ταύτην; λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἴνα ἐλεθῇ. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Τί γὰρ ἔχει; ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὅτι Γυνὴ μου ἦν, καὶ εἰς ἵππου μετεβλήθη, καὶ σήμερον τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχει μὴ γευσασμένη τινός. ἀναφέρουσι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἔνδον προσευχομένῳ· ἀπεκαλύφθη γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ προσηύχето περὶ αὐτῆς. ἀποκρίνεται οὖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἴπποι ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, οἱ τῶν ἵππων ἔχοντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. ἐκείνη γὰρ γυνὴ ἐστὶ, μὴ μετασχηματισθεῖσα, ἀλλ' ἡ

P35[33]||,r[T]

1 ἡ ἔλον 35TB τι]+τῇ τέχνῃ σου 35B8 ('by thy magio') 1, 2 ἵνα μισήσῃ αὐτὴν ὁ ἀν. καὶ ῥίψῃ 35 2 λαβὼν δὲ 35; λ. οὖν TB 3 ταῖς αὐτοῦ γοητῆται καὶ μαγγ. 35B αὐτὴν φοράδα 35 (ὡς φ. TB) 4 οὖν] δὲ 35 ἐξῶθεν] οἱκοι T1 5 φορβὰς] P; φορὰς 35 33TB ἀνάκειται 35 7 κώμης]+εἰς τὸν οἶκον (T)B1 8 εὐρίσκει] P351s; σινῆκαν B (T-ον); ἐγνωσαν A^B; inuenerunt l, 10 τέλος]+οὖν 35 12 φορβιάσας] P; φορβειώσας 35; B φορβαϊάσας, φορβεάσας, φορτιάσας; T καπιστρῶσας 13 ἀπήγαγεν 35 εἰς τ. ἔρημον] om 35T τῷ] τὸ P 14 τοῦ] +ἁγίου (T)B1(s) τοῦ M. om 35 15 ἤγες 35 ὠδε] om 35 16 φοράδα 35 TB ἵνα λαθῇ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου M. 35 (τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ δικ. B) οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν 35 B 17 ἔχει]+κακόν 35B ἀποκρ. καὶ λέγει (om ὁ ἀν. αὐτῆς) 35 18 ἦν]+ἡ ἀθλία, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα τί γέγονεν αὐτῇ 35 (B) ἔχει τρ. ἡμ. 35T(B) 19 μηδενὸς γευσ. 35 TB: +οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες 35 TB ἀγίῳ]+Μακαρίῳ 35B1, προσειχομένῳ]+περὶ αὐτῆς 35TB 20 αὐτῷ]+ἀπὸ θεοῦ B: ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ κεκαλυμμένον παρὰ θεοῦ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς T; ἀποκεκάλυψε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός 35(1,2s): txt PA^B: +καὶ λέγουσι· Φοράδα ἤγαγέ τις ἐνταῦθα 35(B) καὶ προσηύχ. π. αὐτῆς] om 35TB 21 οὖν] om 35 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς] om 35 22 Ἴπποι after ἐστὲ 35T

μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν ἡπατημένων. καὶ εὐλογήσας ὕδωρ καὶ ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ἐπιχέας αὐτῇ γυμνῇ ἐπηύξατο· καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν γυναῖκα φανῆναι πᾶσι. | δούς δὲ αὐτῇ τροφὴν ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν φαγεῖν, καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὴν
 5 μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς εὐχαριστοῦσαν τῷ κυρίῳ. καὶ ὑπέθετο αὐτῇ εἰπὼν Μηδέποτε ἀπολειφθῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Ἥμηδέποτε ἀπόσχη τῆς κοινωνίας· ταῦτα γάρ σοι συνέβη τῷ ἐπὶ πέντε ἑβδομάδας μὴ προσεληλυθέναι τοῖς μυστηρίοις.

Ἄλλην αὐτοῦ πράξιν τῆς ἀσκήσεως· τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ
 10 ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ποιήσας σύριγγα ἀπὸ τῆς κέλλης αὐτοῦ μέχρις ἡμισταδίου σπήλαιον εἰς τὸ ἄκρον ἀπετέλεσε. καὶ εἶπote πλείονες αὐτῷ ὄχλου, κρυπτῶς ἐκ τῆς κέλλης αὐτοῦ ἐξιὼν ἀπίει εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν εὔρισκε. διηγείτο οὖν ἡμῖν τις τῶν σπουδαίων αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀπιὼν
 15 ἕως τοῦ σπηλαίου εἰκοσιτέσσαρας ἐποιεῖ εὐχάς, καὶ ἐρχόμενος εἰκοσιτέσσαρας.

Περὶ τούτου ἐξῆλθε φήμη ὅτι νεκρὸν ἤγειρεν, ἵνα αἰρετικὸν πείση μὴ ὁμολογοῦντα ἀνάστασιν εἶναι σωμάτων. καὶ αὕτη ἡ φήμη ἐκράτει ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

7 See Note 27. 17—19 Soz. III. 14 (2) Τὸν δὲ Αἰγύπτιον λόγος ὡς καὶ νεκρὸν ζῆν ἐποίησεν ἕν' ἐτερόδοξον πείση νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι. P substitutes: Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἄλλο αὐτοῦ διήγημα πᾶν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν· Παρὰ

P35(1—8)[33]ll₂s[T]

1 *μόνον*] + *φαινομένη* (om ἐν) (T)B₁ 2 *ἀπὸ κορ.* after αὐτῇ 35 ἐπιχέας] 35 33TB (ἐκχέας B¹) l₈; ἐπιχρίσας Pl₂ (oleum for ὕδωρ) αὐτῇ γυμνῇ 35TBll₂; αὐτὴν δλην P (s 'her whole body'); om 33: + *μέχρις ὀνύχων* 35: (s 'he poured it (the water) on her head while it flowed down over her whole body') 3 ἐποίησεν πᾶσι] 35TBll₂s; εἰδείξεν αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν δπερ ἦν τὸ πρότερον γυναῖκα P πᾶσι] + τοῖς ὀρώσι 35(B) 4 *καὶ*] + *λασάμενος* Bs ('in health') 5 *ἀνδρὸς*] + *αὐτῆς* (om ἰδίου) 35 εὐχαριστοῦντας Bs *κυρίῳ*] P35s; *θεῷ* 33TBll₂ 6 *λέγων* 35 *μηδέποτε*¹..... ἐκκλησίας] om l₂ ἀπολειφθῆς] ἀπόσχη P (ὕστερεῖσθαι 33) 6, 7 *μηδέποτε*²..... κοινωνίας] om P35 33; txt TBls ('do not withdraw thyself from the oblation and from the church') 6 *μηδὲ* T 7 *κοινωνίας*] + *τῶν μυστηρίων* B₁ διὰ τὸ 35 8 *τοῖς*] + *ἀχράντοις* 35 33B; *θείοις* T; diuina ll₂ *μυστηρίοις*] 35 ceases 9 *ἄλλην*] + *πάλιν* B (txt A^B) ll₂ 10 *ποιήσας σύριγγα*] 33TB (+ ὀρύγματος TB) ll₂s ('for a long time he made under the earth a cavity (κῆλυ) from his cell for half a mile'); ὑπενόησε καὶ ὀρύξας P: (s^{an} appears to combine both readings) 10—12 αὐτοῦ..... κέλλης] om T (homœotel.) 13 *σπήλαιον*] + *τοῦ ἀπερισπάστως τῷ θεῷ προσομιλεῖν* T 17—19 *περὶ*..... *ἐρήμῳ*] om P, but attested by all the other authorities, including Soz and s, (see Note above) 18 *εἶναι*] *ἔσεσθαι* Soz l; om T: + *τῶν* T 19 *ἐκράτει*] + *περὶ αὐτοῦ* B¹

Τούτῳ προσηρέθη ποτὲ δαιμονίων νεανίσκος παρὰ τῆς
ιδίας μητρὸς ὀλοφυρομένης, σὺν δυσὶ νεανίσκοις δεδεμένος.
καὶ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ἐνέργειαν ὁ δαίμων· μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν
τριῶν μοδίων ἄρτους καὶ πιεῖν κιλικίσιον ὕδατος, ἐρευγόμενος
εἰς ἀτμὸν ἔλκε τὰ βρώματα· οὕτω γὰρ ἀνηλίσκετο τὰ βρω- 5
θέντα καὶ ποθέντα ὡς ὑπὸ πυρός. ἔστι γὰρ τάγμα τὸ λεγό-
μενον πύρινον. διαφοραὶ γάρ εἰσι δαιμόνων, ὥσπερ καὶ
ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ οὐσίας ἀλλὰ γνώμης. οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ νεανίσκος
μὴ ἐπαρκούμενος παρὰ τῆς ἰδίας μητρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἤσθιε
κόπρον· πολλάκις καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἔπινεν οὖρον. κλαιούσης οὖν 10
τῆς μητρὸς καὶ παρακαλούσης τὸν ἄγιον, λαβὼν ἐπηύξατο
αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἰκετεύων. καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἢ δευτέραν ἡμέραν
ὑπολωφίσαντος τοῦ πάθους λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος·
Πόσον θέλεις ἵνα ἐσθίῃ; ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο λέγουσα· Δεκάλιτρον
ἄρτου. ἐπιτιμῆσας οὖν αὐτῇ ὅτι πολὺ ἐστίν, ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέραις 15
ἐπευξάμενος αὐτῷ μετὰ νηστείας, ἔστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τρίλιτρον,
ὡς ὀφείλουτα καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι· καὶ οὕτως ἀποθεραπεύσας
ἀπέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῇ μητρί. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα πεποίηκεν ὁ
θεὸς διὰ τοῦ θαυμασίου Μακαρίου. τούτῳ ἐγὼ οὐ συντε-
τύχηκα· πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ γὰρ τῆς εἰσόδου μου τῆς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον 20
ἐκεκοίμητο. |

(XVIII) Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ συντετύχηκα Μακαρίῳ τῷ Ἀλε-
ξανδρεῖ, πρεσβυτέρῳ ὄντι τῶν λεγομένων Κελλίων. εἰς ἃ
Κελλία παρώκησα ἐγὼ ἐνναετίαν· ἐν οἷς τὴν τριετίαν τὴν
ἀν' αὐτὴν ἐπέζησε· καὶ τὰ μὲν εἶδον, τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀκήκοα, τὰ 25
ἴζη,

τὸν Ἀρσενοῖτην κ.τ.λ. (cf. Migne, *P. G.* xxxiv. 209, and for critical text,
when Pall. u. Ruf. 124—130) (see Note 28).

2 (p. 48) Soz. III. 14 (3) Ὁ δὲ ἕτερος χρόνῳ μὲν ὕστερον πρεσβύτερος
ἀντοδαπῆς δὲ σχεδὸν ἀσκήσεως ἐπειράθη, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς περωσῶν, ἃ
P[33]ll₂s[T] ἐκ αὐτῶν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κατορθῶν.

2 (p. 48) Soz. III. 14 (3) Ὁ δὲ ἕτερος χρόνῳ μὲν ὕστερον πρεσβύτερος

2 σὺν P; om T; συνδεδ. B 5 δυσὶ δεδεμένος αὐτῷ νεανίσκοις ἐκατέρωθεν T
5 ἀτμὸν] αὐτὸν P (33 na text) γὰρ] om P 6 τάγμα] + δαιμόνων TBl_s; txt Pl₂
8 ἀλλοιομένης B (txt A^B) 1 11 τῆς μητρὸς] ἐκείνης P 13 αὐτῇ] P_s; τῇ
14 τοῦ νεανίσκου]; (T καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὴν μ. τοῦ ν. λέγει αὐτῇ)
15 ἐσθίῃ] + ὁ υἱός σου (T)Bl 16 δεκά λιτρῶν PBl
17 πολλή P 18 τρίλιτρ.] + ἄρτου Bl

XVIII (Περὶ Μακαρίου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως) : P[33]ll₂s[T] cf. Note p. 48]

2 (p. 48) Soz. III. 14 (3) Ὁ δὲ ἕτερος χρόνῳ μὲν ὕστερον πρεσβύτερος

2 (p. 48) Soz. III. 14 (3) Ὁ δὲ ἕτερος χρόνῳ μὲν ὕστερον πρεσβύτερος

δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑτέρων μεμάθηκα. | ἢ τοίνυν ἄσκησις αὐτοῦ ἦν
αὕτη· εἶ τι ἀκήκοε πώποτε, πάντως τοῦτο κατώρθωσεν. ἀκούσας
γὰρ παρά τινων ὅτι οἱ Ταβεννησιῶται διὰ πάσης τῆς τεσσαρα-
κοστῆς ἐσθίουσιν ἄπυρον, ἔκρινεν ἐπταετίαν τὸ διὰ πυρὸς
5 διαβαῖνον μὴ φαγεῖν, καὶ πλὴν λαχάνων ὠμῶν εἶ ποτε
παρευρέθησαν καὶ ὀσπρίων βρεκτῶν οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγεύσατο.
κατορθώσας οὖν ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἤκουσε περὶ τινος πάλιν
ἄλλου ὅτι λίτραν ἐσθίει ἄρτου καὶ κλάσας ἑαυτοῦ τὸν βουκέλ-
λατου καὶ καταγγίσας εἰς τσαῖτας τὰ κεράμια†, ἔκρινε τοσοῦτον
10 ἐσθίειν ὅσον ἂν ἡ χεὶρ ἀνεπέγκη. καὶ ὡς διηγείτο χαριεντι-
ζόμενος ὅτιπερ Ἐδρασσόμην μὲν πλειόνων κλασμάτων, οὐκ
ἠδυνάμην δὲ ὄλους ἐξευεγκεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ στένου τῆς ὀπῆς· τὸ
γὰρ παντελῶς μὴ ἐσθίειν ὁ τελώνης μοι οὐ συνεχώρει. ἐπὶ
τρία οὖν ἔτη ταύτην ἐσχῆκε τὴν ἄσκησιν, τέσσαρας ἢ πέντε
15 οὐγγίας ἄρτου ἐσθίων καὶ τοσοῦτον πίνων ὕδωρ, ξέστην δὲ
ἐλαίου τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν.

* Ἄλλη αὐτοῦ ἄσκησις· ἔκρινεν ὕπνου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ
διηγῆσατο ὅτι οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν ὑπὸ στέγην ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας
ἵνα νικήσῃ ὕπνον, τοῖς μὲν καύμασι φλεγόμενος, τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ
20 στυφόμενος τῇ ψυχρότητι. καὶ ὡς ἔλεγε ὅτι εἰ μὴ τάχιον
εἰσῆλθον ὑπὸ στέγην καὶ ἐχρησάμην ὕπνω, οὕτω μου ἐξηράνθη
ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ὡς εἰς ἔκστασιν με ἐλάσαι λοιπόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν
ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἐνίκησα· τὸ δὲ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει τὴν χρεῖαν
ἐχούσῃ τοῦ ὕπνου παρεχώρησα.

25 Τοῦτου καθεζομένου πρῶτι ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ κώνωψ στὰς ἐπ'
τοῦ ποδὸς ἐκέντησεν αὐτόν· καὶ ἀλγήσας κατέαξεν αὐτόν

25—2 (p. 49) Τοῦτου.....ἐκδικήσατος ἑαυτὸν] PBl₁; TA^B₁ read: Οὐτὴ 35
ὠχλήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους (T₁; πνεύματος A^B) τῆς πορνείας· καὶ κατεδικάσ.....
/ε².....

P[33]ll₂s[T]

ation and

2 πώποτε] + τινὰ πεποιηκότα (T)Bl 3 Ταβεννησ. PTB† 5 καὶ] τὰ 35
πλὴν λ. ὠμ. ἦσθι δὲ ὠμά λάχανα T 6 παρευρέθη T; παρεύρε B ἐγεύσατο] P;
γευσάμενος (T)Bl₂; (l alters; s om οὐδενὸς ἄλ. ἐγεύσ.) 7 ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν] Ps;
τοῦτο 33Bl₂; om T: + κατέπεισε ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας (T)Bl₁ 9 καταγγίσας] T
(-σαι); καταλύσας P; κατήγαγε B†; ἔβαλε A^BB†; (ll₂s misit) εἰς σαῖτας τὰ κεράμια]
P; the others om σαῖτας τὰ κεράμια T₁s 10 διηγείτο] + ἡμῶν Bl (mih)
11 ὅτι Περιεδρασσ. (T)B 12, 13 τὸ γὰρ.....συνεχώρει] om l₂; (l and s alter text
independently, yet somewhat similarly) 15 οὐγγίας P; οὐγκίας TB†; ὀγκίας B†
ἄρτου] Pls; om TBl₂ 17 αὐτοῦ] + πάλιν Tll₂ 19 ὕπνον] αὐτόν P φλεγόμενος]
+ τὴν ἡμέραν Bl₂; (s 'at midday')

χειρὶ μετὰ κόρον τοῦ αἵματος. καταγνούς οὖν ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ἐδικήσαντος ἑαυτὸν, κατεδίκησεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔλος τῆς Σκήτεως, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πανερήμφ, καθίσαι γυμνὸν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἔνθα οἱ κώνωπες καὶ σιάγγων δέρματα τιτρώσκουσιν, ὡς σφήκες ὄντες. οὕτως οὖν κατετρώθη ὄλος καὶ σπονδύλους ἐξέβαλεν 5 ὡς νομίσαι τινὰς ὅτι ἠλεφαντίασεν. ἐλθὼν οὖν μετὰ μῆνας ἕξ εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς ἐγνώσθη ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Μακάριος.

Ἐπεθύμησέ ποτε οὗτος εἰς τὸ κηποτάφιον εἰσελθεῖν Ἰαννῆ καὶ Ἰαμβρῆ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγῆσατο. | τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κηπο- 10 τάφιον ἐγένετο παρὰ τῶν τότε μάγων παραδυναστευόντων τῷ Φαραῶ. ὡς οὖν κεκτημένοι τὴν δυναστείαν ἐκ μακρῶν τῶν χρόνων, ἐν τετραποδικοῖς λίθοις ἔκτισαν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τὸ μνημα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ ἐποίησαν, καὶ χρυσὸν ἀπέθεντο πολὺν ἐφύτευσαν δὲ καὶ δένδρα, ὕπικμος γάρ ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος, ἐν οἷς 15 καὶ φρέαρ ὠρυξαν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν ὁδὸν ἠγνῶει ὁ ἄγιος, στοχασμῷ δὲ τιμὴ ἠκολούθει τοῖς ἄστροις καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τὴν ἔρημον διοδεύων, λαβὼν καλάμων δέμα κατὰ μίλιον ἐν ἴστα σημειούμενος ἵνα εὕρῃ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑποστρέφων. διοδεύσας οὖν ἐντὸς ἐννέα ἡμερῶν τῷ τόπῳ ἐπλησίασεν. ὁ τοίνυν 20 δαίμων ὁ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀντιπράττων, συναγαγὼν ὄλους τοὺς καλάμους, καθεύδοντας ὡς ἀπὸ σημείου τοῦ κηποταφίου πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ τέθεικεν. ἀναστὰς οὖν εὗρε τοὺς καλάμους, τάχα καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ συγχωρήσαντος εἰς πλείονα αὐτοῦ γυμνασίαν, ἵνα μὴ καλάμοις ἐπελ- 25 πίξῃ, ἀλλὰ τῷ στύλῳ τῆς νεφέλης τῷ ὀδηγήσαντι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμφ. ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐβδομήκοντα

9 On this episode see Note 29.

P[33]11₂8[T]

2 ἑαυτὸν²] + ὥστε B1 3 μῆνας] TB11₂8; ἡμέρας P 4 δέρμα 11₂T (σιάγγου δέρμα) 5 ἐξέβαλεν] + καθ' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος (T)B1 (per omnia ipsius membra) 6 μῆνας] ἡμέρας P 7 ἐγνώσθη] + μόνον B1 (T μόνης)

P[33]11₂8₂[T]

9 ἐπεθύμησε] α₂ begins 10 Ἰαμβρῆ] PTB88₂; Mambre 11₂ herv. (from the Latin Bibles) 16 ὁδὸν] + ἄγουσαν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον B1 (κῆπον B1) 17 τιμὴ] + μόνον B1 καθάπερ] + οἱ ναυτικοὶ B11₂8₂ 19 σημειούμενος] P1; χάριν σημείου B1₂; (om 88₂) τὴν ὁδὸν] om B1 ὑποστρέφων] P8₂; ὑποστρέψαι B11₂8 21 ὁ] ὡς P 22 καθεύδοντας] + καθ' ἑαυτοῦ P; τοῦ M. B 27, 1 (p. 50) ἐβδ. δαίμονες] + ἑβδομήκοντα παρατάξι - δαίμωνων ὑπῆρτων ἐξερχόμενοι T1₂

δαιμόνες ἐξήλθον εἰς συνάντησίν μου ἀπὸ τοῦ κηποταφίου, βοῶντες καὶ πτερουσσόμενοι ὡς κόρακες κατὰ τῆς ὄψεώς μου, καὶ λέγοντες· Τί θέλεις, Μακάριε; τί θέλεις, μοναχέ; τί ἤλθες ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν τόπον; οὐ δύνασαι μείναι ὧδε. εἶπον οὖν αὐτοῖς, 5 φησίν, ὅτι Εἰσέλθω μόνον καὶ ἱστορήσω καὶ ἀπέρχομαι. εἰσελθὼν οὖν, φησίν, εὗρον κάδιον χαλκοῦν κρεμάμενον καὶ ἄλυσιν σιδηρᾶν κατὰ τοῦ φρέατος, λοιπὸν τῷ χρόνῳ ἀναλωθέντα, καὶ | καρπὸν ῥῶν οὐκ ἔχουσῶν ἔνδον οὐδὲν τῷ ἐξηράνθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. οὕτως οὖν ὑποστρέψας ἦλθε διὰ εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν. 10 ἐκλείψαντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ ἐβάσταζε καὶ τῶν ἄρτων, ἐν πολλῇ περιστάσει ἐγένετο. καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ὀκλάσαι ὄψθη αὐτῷ κόρη τις, ὡς διηγῆσατο, καθαρὰν ὀθόνην φοροῦσα καὶ κατέχουσα βαυκαλίον ὕδατος στάζον· ἦν ἔλεγεν ἄποθεν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου, καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς ὀδεύειν, βλέπων 15 μὲν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ βαυκαλίου ὡς ἐστῶσαν καταλαβεῖν δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος, † ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων, † τῇ δὲ ἐλπίδι τοῦ πιεῖν ὑπομείνας ἠτύονει. μεθ' ἣν ἐφάνη πλήθος βουβάλων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ μία ἔστη ἔχουσα μύσχον· εἰσὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις·

5 ἀπέρχομαι] Here and infra, pp. 51, 57, occur passages in PTA₁(c) which are not found in B₁ss₂: on this series of interpolations cf. *Introd.* § 10.

PTA₁(c vac): + εἰσερχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κηποταφίῳ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ὁ σατανᾶς μετὰ ῥομφαίας ἐσπασμένης ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ. πρὸς δὲ ταύτην ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν ῥῆσιν ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος· Σὺ ἔρχῃ πρὸς με ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἐσπασμένη, κἀγὼ ἔρχομαι πρὸς σε ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου σαβαώθ θεοῦ παρατάξωω 'Icrahā (om B₁ss₂).

[1 ἐν τῷ κ.] εἰς τὸν παράδεισον TA(l₂) 2 διάβολος A ἐπαπειλῶν TA ταύτην] + τὴν φωνὴν (om τὴν ῥῆσιν) A 3 l Regn. xvii 45 4 πορεύομαι A; πορεύομαι T 4, 5 ἐν παρατάξει θεοῦ 'Ic. TA]

9 ἡλίου] PTA₁(c vac): + καὶ ἀναθήματα δὲ (+ ἦν ἐκεῖ A) πλείστα χρυσῶ (om B₁ss₂).

PA[33]l₂ss₂[T]

1 εἰς συνάντ. μου] B₁s (ⲗⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲗⲟⲩⲁⲗ); om P (Tl₂ cf. p. 49) 6 κάδιον P ἀλύσει σιδηρῆ (om καὶ) TBl 13 καυκάλιον B ἀποθεν] TA^B (ἀπωθεν); μακρόθεν B[†]; ἀπὸ μήκοθεν B[†]; a se separatam l; longe esse a se l₂; 'distant from him' ss₂; ἐμπροσθεν PB[†] 14 εἶναι] ἰέναι P ὡς] om Tl καὶ] om P ὠδευσε TBs(l₂) a₂ 'she came after him and she was distant from him about a stade, and for three days he saw her coming after him' (om μετὰ τοῦ.....ἱερέων) 15 δὲ] + αὐτὴν TB (ταύτην) l 16 ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων] PTB (+ καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν TB); sicut somnians l₂; quod in curvatura celi fieri (ras.) uideri ambulantiibus solet l^{com} (erasures in l^{com}); om A^Bss₂l^{com}; s quite altered: l₂ suggests ωⲥⲉⲡⲓⲣⲓⲦⲈⲌⲠⲈⲠⲈⲠⲈⲠⲈⲠⲈⲠⲈ 17-2 (p. 51) ἐξ ὧν.....ἠρκέσθη] om a₂

καὶ ὡς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔρρει αὐτῆς τὸ οὖθαρ τοῦ γάλακτος. ὑπεισελθὼν οὖν τῇ βουβάλῳ καὶ θηλάσας ἠρέκεσθη. καὶ ἕως τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν ἡ βούβαλος θηλάζουσα αὐτόν, τὸ δὲ μωσχάριον αὐτῆς μὴ δεχομένη.

* Ἄλλοτε πάλιν ὀρύσσω φρέαρ πλησίον βλαστῶν φρυγάνων 5 ὑπὸ ἀσπίδος ἐδήχθη· ἀναιρετικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ ζῶον· λαβῶν οὖν αὐτὴν ταῖς δύο χερσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν χελυνίων κρατήσας διέσχισεν, εἰπὼν αὐτῇ· Μὴ ἀποστείλαντός σε τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπελθεῖν μοι ἐτόλμησας; |

Ἔιχε δὲ κέλλας διαφόρους ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· μίαν ἐν τῇ Σκήτει 10 τῇ ἐνδοτέρῳ πανερήμῳ, καὶ μίαν εἰς Λίβα, καὶ μίαν εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα Κελλία, καὶ μίαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας. ὧν ἔνιαί εἰσιν ἀθυριδιῶτοι, εἰς ἃς ἔλεγετο καθέζεσθαι τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἐν σκοτίᾳ· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στενωτέρα, εἰς ἣν ἐκτεῖναι πόδας οὐκ ἴσχυεν· ἄλλη δὲ πλατυτέρα, ἐν ἣ συνετύγχανε τοῖς φοιτῶσι 15 πρὸς αὐτόν.

Οὗτος τοσοῦτον πλῆθος δαιμονιζομένων ἐθεράπευσεν ὡς ἀριθμῷ μὴ ὑποπεσεῖν. ὄντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐκεῖ παρθένος ἠνέχθη αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης εὐγενῆς, πολυετίαν ἔχουσα ἐν παραλύσει. ταύτην ἐν εἴκοσι ἡμέραις ἐλαίῳ ἀγίῳ ἀλείφων ταῖς 20 ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ καὶ προσευχόμενος, ὑγιῆ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν. ἣτις ἀπελθοῦσα πολλὴν καρποφορίαν αὐτῷ ἀπέστειλεν. |

1 γάλακτος] PTA₁C: + καὶ φωνῇ ἐγένετο ἄνωθεν λέγουσα· Μακάριε, πρόσ-
ελθε τῇ βουβάλῳ καὶ θήλασον (om B1s) (s₂ vac).

[1 ἐγένετο] γέγονεν αὐτῷ TA(c) ἀνωθεν] om To 2 θηλάσθητι A]

10—23 In A, this section, which presents a pure text, is transferred to p. 54, l. 21. 10—12 See Note 14.

P[33]1₂cs₂ (1—4) [T]

1 ἔρρει] c begins here 4 δεχομένη] s₂ ceases 5 βλαστῶν φρυγάνων] P1₂(1);
θρύων καὶ φ. (T)B; 'reeds' c; (s om)

PA[33]1₂cs[T]

10 οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος εἶχε διαφ. κελ. (om ἐν τῇ ἐρ.) A μίαν] + μὲν A τῇ²] om A
11 τῇ ἐνδοτέρῳ παν.] ATB1₂C (om τῇ Σκήτει] s; τῆς πανερήμου (om τῇ ἐνδοτέρῳ) P
Λίβα] PA; Λιβύην TBlc (s Aulbia); (1₂ om clause) καὶ μίαν²] om (T)B 12 λεγόμενα] om A
Νηρίας PA ὧν ἔνιαί] P₂; καὶ αἱ μὲν ATB 13 καθ.] + ἐν A
17 23 For trans. of c see Prol. 149 17 δαιμονιώντων A 18 ἡμῶν] 'I and holy
Εὐαγγέλιον' s^{an} 19 αὐτῷ] A(B)1₂cs; illuc 1; om PT εὐγενῆς] om 1₂cs ἐν] + τῇ A
20 ἐν] om A 21 ἐξαπέστ. A 22 αὐτῷ] PA (after ἀπ.) s(c); τῷ ἀγίῳ B; τοῖς
ἀγίοις B; τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἀγίοις T; ad solitudines 1; per diversa sancta monasteria 1₂

Οὗτος ἀκούσας ὅτι μεγάλην ἔχουσι πολιτείαν οἱ Ταβεννη-
 σιώται, μεταμφιασάμενος καὶ λαβὼν κοσμικὸν σχῆμα ἐργάτου,
 δι' ἡμερῶν δεκαπέντε ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Θηβαίδα διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου
 ὀδεύσας. καὶ ἔλθων ἐν τῷ ἀσκητηρίῳ τῶν Ταβεννησιωτῶν
 5 ἐπέζητει τὸν ἀρχιμανδρίτην τούτων, Παχώμιον ὀνόματι, ἄνδρα
 δοκιμώτατον καὶ χάρισμα ἔχοντα προφητείας· ᾧ ἀπεκρύβη τὰ
 κατὰ τὸν Μακάριον. περιτυχὼν οὖν αὐτῷ λέγει· Δέομαί σου
 δέξαι με εἰς τὴν μονὴν σου ἵνα γένωμαι μοναχός. λέγει αὐτῷ
 ὁ Παχώμιος· Λοιπὸν εἰς γῆρας ἤλασας, καὶ ἀσκεῖν οὐ δύνασαι·
 10 οἱ ἀδελφοί εἰσιν ἀσκηταί, καὶ οὐ φέρεις αὐτῶν τοὺς πόρους·
 καὶ σκανδαλίζῃ καὶ ἐκβαίνεις κακολογῶν αὐτούς. καὶ οὐκ
 ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν οὔτε τὴν πρώτην οὔτε τὴν δευτέραν, μέχρις
 ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ. ὡς δὲ ἠτύνησε παραμένων νῆστις, ὕστερον λέγει
 αὐτῷ· Δέξαι με, ἀββᾶ, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσω κατ' αὐτούς καὶ
 15 ἐργάζωμαι, κέλευσον ἐκριφῆναί με. πείθει τοὺς ἀδελφούς εἰς-
 δέξασθαι αὐτόν· ἔστι δὲ τὸ σύστημα τῆς μιᾶς μονῆς χίλιοι
 τετρακόσιοι ἄνδρες μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. εἰσῆλθεν οὖν παρελ-
 θόντος δὲ χρόνου ὀλίγου | ἐπέστη ἡ τεσσαρακοστή, καὶ εἶδεν
 ἕκαστον διαφόρους πολιτείας ἀσκούντας· τὸν μὲν ἐσθίουντα
 20 ἐσπέρας, τὸν δὲ διὰ δύο, τὸν δὲ διὰ πέντε· ἄλλον δὲ πάλιν
 ἐστώτα διὰ πάσης νυκτός, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καθήμενον. βρέξας οὖν
 θαλλοὺς τοὺς ἐκ φοινίκων εἰς πλήθος ἔστη ἐν γωνίᾳ μιᾷ, καὶ
 μέχρις οὐ αἱ τεσσαράκοντα ἐπληρώθησαν ἡμέραι καὶ τὸ πάσχα
 παραγέγονεν οὐκ ἄρτου ἤψατο, οὐχ ὕδατος· οὐ γόνυ ἔκαμψεν,
 25 οὐκ ἀνέπεσε· παρεκτός φύλλων κράμβης ὀλίγων οὐκ ἐλάμβανε,
 καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ κυριακὴν, ἵνα δόξῃ ἐσθίων. καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐξέ-
 βαιεν εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν ἑαυτοῦ, θάττον πάλιν εἰσιὼν ἴστατο, μὴ
 λαλήσας μηδενί, μὴ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα, ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ ἐστώς·
 ἐκτός δὲ προσευχῆς τῆς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ τῶν θαλλῶν τῶν

1 For l_2 see *Bibl. Casin. III. Florileg.* 294.

9 See Note 30.

P[33]ll₂css₂[T]

1 s_2 recommences : for c see *Prolog.* 120—22 αὐτὸς οὗτος B1 (hic ipse) ἀκούσας]
 + ὁ Μακάριος B₂c 5 τούτων] + θεάσασθαι T(l_2) 6 ἀπεκρύβη] + nutu dei l_2
 (o 'God did not tell him') 7 σου] + κύριε TB₂; ἀββᾶ so; domine pater l_2
 8 σου] om P (l_2^*) 10 πόρους] κόπους 33 13 ἠτύνησε] c as if ἠτύνησε cf. *Prolog.*
 122, and ὑπομείνας ἠτύνησε p. 50, l. 17 where s translates as if ἠτύνησε 15 ἐργάζω-
 μαι] + sicut et illi l_2 c(B) με] + τῆς μονῆς (T)Bo; foras l_2 s: + (ἀκούσας) ll_2
 19 ἀναλαβόντα[s] B; ποιούντα T 26 τοῦτο] τούτων T καί?] From this point
 to the end of the chapter l_2 becomes rather loose

ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν οὐδὲν ἐποίει. θεασάμενοι οὖν πάντες οἱ ἀσκηταὶ ἐστασίασαν κατὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου λέγοντες· Τοῦτον ἡμῖν πόθεν ἤγαγες τὸν ἄσκαρον, εἰς κατάκρισιν ἡμῶν; ἡ ἔκβαλε αὐτόν, ἡ ἴνα εἰδῆς ὅτι πάντες ἡμεῖς ἀναχωροῦμέν σου. ἀκούσας οὖν αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας, προσηύξατο τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα αὐτῷ ἀποκαλυφθῆ 5 τίς ἐστίν. ἀπεκαλύφθη οὖν αὐτῷ· καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ἐξάγει αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν εὐκτήριον οἶκον, ἔνθα τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἦν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Δεῦρο, καλόγηρε· σὺ εἶ Μακάριος, καὶ ἀπέκρυψας σεαυτὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. διὰ πολλῶν σε ἐτῶν ἐπεπόθουν ἰδεῖν. χάριν σοι ἔχω ὅτι ἐκονδύλισας τὰ παιδιά μου, ἵνα μὴ 10 μέγα φρονῶσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ἀσκήσεσιν. ἄπελθε οὖν εἰς τὸν τόπον σου· αὐτάρκως γὰρ φηκοδόμησας ἡμᾶς· καὶ εὐχοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. τότε ἀξιωθείς ἀνεχώρησεν.

Ἄλλοτε πάλιν διηγήσατο ὅτι Πᾶσαν πολιτείαν ἦν ἐπεθύμησα κατορθώσας, τότε εἰς ἄλλην ἦλθον ἐπιθυμίαν ὅθεν ἠθέ- 15 λησά ποτε πέντε ἡμέρας μόνον τὸν νοῦν μου ἀπερίσπαστον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιῆσαι. καὶ κρίνας τοῦτο ἀπέκλεισα τὴν κέλλαν καὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ ἔστην ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας. παραγγέλλω οὖν μου τῷ νῷ εἰπῶν· Μὴ κατέλθης τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἔχεις ἐκεῖ ἀγγέλους, ἀρχαγ- 20 γέλους, τὰς ἄνω δυνάμεις, τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὄλων· μὴ κατέλθης ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ διαρκέσας ἡμέρας δύο καὶ νύκτας δύο, οὕτω παρώξυνα τὸν δαίμονα ὡς φλόγα πυρὸς γενέσθαι καὶ κατακαυσαί μου πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ, ὡς καὶ τὸν ψιᾶθιον ἐν ᾧ εἰστήκειν πυρὶ καταφλεχθῆναι καὶ νομίσει με 25 ὅτι ὄλωσ ἐμπέτησμαι. τέλος πληγείς φόβῳ ἀπέστην τῇ τρίτῃ

P[33]ll₂cs₈[T]

2 ἡγουμένου] + αὐτῶν B1(8); monasterii l₂₀ 3 αὐτόν] + ἐντεῦθεν B(9); ἐξω T; a nobis l 4 οὖν] + ὁ Παχώμιος (T)Bc; praepositus monasterii l₈ 6 ἐστὼ] + οὗτος B1 αὐτῷ] + ὅτι οὗτός ἐστι Μακάριος (T)B1₂ (+ ὁ μοναχὸς B; 'the Alexandrian, he who dwelt in Scete,' c) (8₂ 'then God said to him: "This is M." for he had changed his name') 8 καὶ!] + ἀσπασάμενος αὐτόν B1₂ 10 ἰδεῖν] om P

P[33]lcs[T]

14 διηγήσατο] + ἡμῖν B1c 17 ποιῆσαι] + καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τι ὄλωσ (om T) ἐννοῆσαι (T)B; 'being above all anxiety and thought of creatures' s; 'taking no trouble in any work (way) of this world' ο τούτο] + ἐν ἐμαντῷ B1c 20 εἰπῶν] om P: + βλέπε (T)Bc(l) 21 δυνάμεις] + τὰ Χερουβίμ, τὰ Σεραφίμ Bc (which, however, has long list—patriarchs, prophets, apostles &c.) 26 ἀπέστην] + τῆς προθέσεως ταύτης B1

ἡμέρα, μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀπερίσπαστόν μου τὸν νοῦν ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κατῆλθον εἰς θεωρίαν τοῦ κόσμου, | ἵνα μή μοι λογισθῇ τύφος.

Τούτῳ ποτὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ Μακαρίῳ παρέβαλον ἐγώ, καὶ εὔρον ἔξω τῆς κέλλης αὐτοῦ πρεσβύτερον κώμης κατακείμενον, οὗ
5 ἢ κεφαλὴ πᾶσα ἐβέβρωτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ λεγομένου καρκίνου, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὀστέον ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐφαίνετο. παρεγένετο οὖν ἰαθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐδέχετο αὐτὸν εἰς συντυχίαν. παρεκάλεσα οὖν αὐτὸν ὅτι Δέομαί σου, κατοικτείρησον αὐτόν, καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. καὶ λέγει μοι· Ἀνάξιός ἐστι
10 τοῦ ἰαθῆναι· παιδεία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀπεστάλη. εἰ δὲ θέλεις αὐτὸν ἰαθῆναι, πείσον αὐτὸν ἀποστήναι τῆς λειτουργίας· πορνεύων γὰρ ἐλειτούργει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παιδεύεται· καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἰᾶται. ὡς οὖν εἶπον τῷ κακουμένῳ συνέθετο, ὁμόσας μηκέτι ἰερατεύειν. τότε ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Πιστεύεις ὅτι
15 ἔστι θεός; λέγει αὐτῷ· Ναί. Μὴ ἠδυνήθης διαπαίξαι τὸν θεόν; ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Οὐ. Ἦ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐὶ γνωρίζεις σου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παιδείαν δι' ἣν τοῦτο ὑπέστης, διορθώθητι εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς. ἔξωμολογήσατο οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ ἔδωκε λόγον μηκέτι ἁμαρτῆσαι μήτε λειτουργῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν λαϊκὸν ἀσπά-
20 σασθαι κλῆρον. καὶ οὕτως ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῷ χεῖρα, καὶ ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἰάθη καὶ ἐτρέχωσε καὶ ἀπήλθεν ὑγιής.

Ἐπ' ὄψεσιν ἐμαῖς προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ παιδαρίσκος ἐνεργούμενος ὑπὸ πονηροῦ πνεύματος. ἐπιθείς οὖν αὐτῷ χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον

P[33]lcs[T]

2 τύφος] + 'he said also: "I have spent fifty years in ascetical practices; I have not suffered as on that day"' c

P[33]ll₂cs[T]

3 ἐγώ] + 'with the holy Albinus' c (cf. Prol. 151) 4 κώμης] om l₂s 6 καρ-
κίνου] + ὡς (T)Bl 7-11 εἰς συντυχίαν... πείσον αὐτόν] om T 8 σου] om P
10, 11 παιδεία..... ἰαθῆναι] om l₂c (c om πείσον..... λειτουργίας) 10 γὰρ] + κυρίου
Bl (ex praecepto diuinitatis) s ('from God') αὐτῷ] + αὐτῇ Bl 12 παιδεύεται]
(Bl₂s each inserts a clause here, but the clauses are different) 13 κακουμένῳ]
+ ταῦτα TB(1l₂s); txt PA^B 15 θεός] + ὃν οὐδὲν λαμβάνει (T)Bl₂ Naί] + εἶτα
(om l₂) λέγει αὐτῷ] (+ ὁ M. B) Bl₂s 16 Οὐ] PT (οὐχὶ κύριέ μου) l₂s; οὐκ ἠδυνήθην Bl
λέγει αὐτῷ] Bl₂s(l); om PT 21 ὑγιής] + εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ B (l ad propria)

PA[33]ll₂cs[T]

22-10 (p. 56) A presents a pure text π' ἄπ' ὄψ. ἐμ.] In l₂ attached to pre-
ceding section in L it occurs in both places ἐπ' PBt; ὄπ' ATBt ὄψεσιν]
... δ... .. δ... ..

ἠΰξατο ἕως οὐ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἀέρος ἐποίησε κρεμασθῆναι. οἰδήσας οὖν ὡς ἀσκὸς ὁ παῖς τοσοῦτον ἐφλέγμανεν ὡς γενέσθαι †πᾶς ρυσιπέλαντος†. καὶ αἰφνίδιον ἀνακράξας, διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὕδωρ ἐνήνοχε, καὶ λωφήσας πάλιν γέγονεν εἰς τὸ μέτρον δ ἦν. παραδίδωσιν οὖν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτόν, ἀλείψας ἐλαίῳ ἀγίῳ, 3 καὶ ἐπιχέας ὕδωρ, | παρήγγειλεν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας μὴ κρεῶν ἄψασθαι, μὴ οἴνου. καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἰάσατο.

Ἄλλησαν τούτῳ ποτὲ λογισμοὶ κενοδοξίας ἐκβάλλοντες αὐτὸν τῆς κέλλης, καὶ ὑποτιθέμενοι οἰκονομίας χάριν καταλαμβάνειν τὴν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν ἀρρωστούντων· 10 μεγάλως γὰρ ἐνήργει ἢ χάρις εἰς αὐτὸν κατὰ πνευμάτων. καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν οὐχ ὑπήκουσε, σφοδρῶς δὲ ἠλαίνετο, πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς φλιᾶς τῆς κέλλης τοὺς πόδας ἀφήκεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω καὶ λέγει· Ἔλκετε, δαίμονες, καὶ σύρετε· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῖς ποσὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς οὐκ ἀπέρχομαι· εἰ δύνασθέ με οὕτως ἀπενεγκεῖν ἀπε- 15 λεύσομαι· διομνῦς αὐτοῖς ὅτι Κεῖμαι ἕως ἐσπέρας· ἐὰν μὴ με σαλεύσετε, οὐ μὴ ὑμῶν ἀκούσω. ἐπὶ πολλῶν οὖν πεσὼν ἀνέστη. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς πάλιν αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο· καὶ σπυρίδα μοδίων δύο ψάμμου πληρώσας καὶ θείας ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, διεκίνει ἀνὰ τὴν ἔρημον. συνήνητησεν οὖν αὐτῷ Θεοσέβιος ὁ 20 κοσμητῶρ, Ἀντιοχεὺς τῷ γένοι, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Τί βαστάζεις, ἀββᾶ; παραχώρησον ἐμοὶ τὸ φορτίον, καὶ μὴ σκύλλου. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Σκύλλω τὸν σκύλλοντά με· ἀνετος γὰρ ὢν

PA[88]ll₂(1—18)cs[T]

1 ἐπηύξατο AB οὐ] om AB† αὐτόν] τὸ πνεῦμα 33 sc.(cf. ProL 151) (l₂ su-
spendit eum ille immundus spiritus) ἐποίησε before αὐτόν A 2 παῖς]+ὅλη τῆ
σώματι B; totus ll₂; +ἐπὶ A 3, 3 τοσοῦτον.....ρυσιπέλαντος] om s πᾶς
ρυσιπέλαντος] (sic) P; πολυτέλαντος A3TB (+τῷ σηκώματι (T)B); supra quam
aestimare quis possit l; (l₂cs om clause): (perhaps ἐρυσιπέλαντος?) 4 πέλιω] PA;
om TBll₂cs 5 καὶ παραδίδ. αὐτόν A 6 καὶ ἐπ. ὕδωρ] om l₂ 6δωρ]
+ἠύλογημένων B1 7 καὶ] om A ἰάσατο] A folio of P has here been displaced in
binding: f. 57 should come before f. 56 8 ποτὲ τούτῳ ATB περιφρασεῖς ἐκ-
βάλλειν (T)B1 (volentes ..abstrahere) 10 Ῥωμαίων] P; Ῥώμην ATB; ἐν Ῥώμῃ 33
θεραπ.] Pl₂cs; εὐεργεσίαν ATB 11 εἰς αὐτόν before ἐνήργει AB πνεύματων]
+immundi ll₂ 12 σφόδρα (om δὲ) A ἠλαίνετο]+καὶ A 13 τῆς*]+ἐαυτοῦ
TB(ll₂cs) 14 δαίμονες]+ἐὰν δύνασθε 33 (+βαστάζετε καὶ ἀπαγάγετε) B1o τοῖς
ἐμοῖς π. AB 15 εἰ δύνασθε.....ἀπελεύσομαι] om A 16, 17 ἐὰν.....ἀκούσω] om
l₂c 17 σαλεύσητε AB οὖν] δὲ AT 18—3 (p. 56) ἐπιγενομένης.....σώματι] om l₂
18 ὠχλησαν ATB 20 ἀνὰ] ἔλην A ἔρημον]+τούτῳ (om οὖν αὐτῷ) ATB(l)
23 αὐτῷ] Plcs; om ATB

ἀποδημίας μοι ὑποβάλλει. ἐπὶ πολὺ οὖν διακινήσας εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὴν κέλλαν, συντρίψας τὸ σῶμα. |

Οὗτος ἡμῖν ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος διηγῆσατο, ἦν γὰρ πρεσβύτερος, ὅτι Ἐπεσημηνάμην κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς διαδόσεως. 5 τῶν μυστηρίων ὅτι Μάρκῳ τῷ ἀσκητῇ οὐδέποτε ἔδωκα ἐγὼ προσφοράν, ἀλλὰ ἄγγελος αὐτῷ ἐπέδιδου ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου μόνον δὲ τὸν ἀστράγαλον ἐθεώρουν τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ διδόντος. Μάρκος δὲ οὗτος νεώτερος ἦν, παλαιὰν καὶ καινὴν γραφὴν ἀποστηθίζων, πρᾶς καθ' ὑπερβολήν, σῶφρων εἰ καὶ τις 10 ἄλλος.

Μιᾶς οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν εὐκαιρηθεὶς ἐγὼ, εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον αὐτοῦ γῆρας, ἀπέρχομαι καὶ παρακαθέξομαι αὐτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ νομίσας αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἅτε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκροώμενος τί λέγει ἢ τί διαπράττεται. καὶ μονώτατος ὢν ἔνδον, περὶ τὰ 15 ἑκατὸν ἐλάσας ἔτη ἦδη καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἀπολέσας, ἑαυτῷ διεμάχετο καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ, καὶ ἔλεγε· Τί θέλεις, κακόγηρε; ἰδοὺ καὶ ἐλαίου ἠΨω καὶ οἴνου μετέλαβες· λοιπὸν τί θέλεις, πολιοφάγε; ἑαυτὸν ὑβρίζων. εἶτα καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ· Μὴ ἀκμήν

3—10 Soz. VI. 29 (11) Φασι δὲ Μάρκον μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ νέῳ τῆς ἡλικίας εἰς ἄγαν πρᾶον καὶ σῶφρονα καὶ μνήμονα ἱερῶν γραφῶν γενέσθαι· θεοφιλῆ δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὡς ἰσχυρίζεσθαι Μακάριον τὸν αὐτόν, πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῶν Κελλίων, μηδὲ πώποτε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἃ θέμις ἱερεῦσι διδόναι τοῖς μεμνημένοις περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν· ἄγγελος δὲ αὐτῷ ἐδίδου οὐ τὴν χεῖρα μέχρι τοῦ καρποῦ μόνου ἔλεγε θεωρεῖν.

PA[33]l₂cs[T]

1 οὖν] PT; δὲ A; καὶ B 3—10 For s in this paragr. of. *Introd.* § 9 3—3 (p. 57) This section is transferred to end of cap. in A 3 ἦν γὰρ πρεσβ.] ATB Soz l₂cs (om ἦν γὰρ); om P 5 τῶν] + θείων Tll₂ (sacrosancta communio) ἐγὼ ἐδ. A 6 ἐπέδ. αὐτῷ A 8 Μάρκος] On confusions in the Greek mss. between Marcus and Macarius, from this point to the end of the chapter, see Note 30: at this point a new cap. begins in P (and several B mss.), περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ νεωτέρου γραφῆν] om P 9 καὶ σ. εἰς ἄκρον] A: here A ceases and A^B recommences

P[33]l₂cs[T]

11 εὐκαιρηθεὶς] PB† (εὐκαιρούμενος) l; ἀκαιρούμενος TB†A^B; om l₂c; (s 'when a feverish chill held me') 12 αὐτοῦ viz. Macarius, named in l₂c; but the Greek mss. understand it of Marcus ἀπέρχομαι] + πρὸς αὐτόν Bll₂c θύρα] + ἡσυχῇ P 13 νομίσας..... ἄνθρωπον] om l₂c ὑπὲρ ἀνθ.] om s ὡς ἅτε ἀρχαῖον] PB; ὡς ἅτε ἐγὼ ἀρχαῖος ὢν B1 (quasi inperitus ac nouus) before νομίσας; om Tl₂c 17 καὶ ἐλαίου ἠΨω] om P; (Bo transfer clauses) 18 πολιοφάγε] TB†A^Blsc (l in extremis aetatis tuae canis: so 'thou that eatest white hairs'); πολιοφάγε PB†; decrepitate senex l₂ (so l for κακόγηρε l. 16) 18—3 (p. 57) μὴ ἀκμήν..... μετὰ σοῦ] om l₂

τί σοι χρεωστῶ; οὐδὲν εὐρίσκεις· ἄπελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ ὡς
τερετίζων ἑαυτῷ διελέγετο· Δεῦρο, πολιοφάγε· ἕως πότε ἔσομαι
μετὰ σοῦ; |

Διηγείτο δὲ ἡμῖν Παφνύτιος ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μιᾷ
τῶν ἡμερῶν ὕαινα λαβοῦσα τὸν ἑαυτῆς σκύμνον, τυφλὸν ὄντα, 5
ἤνεγκε τῷ Μακαρίῳ· καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κρούσασα τῆς αὐλῆς
τὴν θύραν εἰσῆλθεν ἔξω αὐτοῦ καθημένου, καὶ ἔρριψεν ὑπὸ
τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τὸν σκύμνον. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἐπι-
πτύσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπήξαστο, καὶ παραχρῆμα
ἀνέβλεψε. καὶ θηλάσασα αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λαβοῦσα 10
αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ κώδιον μεγάλου προ-
βάτου ἐνήνοχε τῷ ἀγίῳ. ὡς δὲ ἡ μακαρία Μελανία μοι εἶπεν
ὅτι Παρὰ τοῦ Μακαρίου ἐγὼ ἔλαβον τὸ κώδιον ἐκείνο ξένιον.

12 τῷ ἀγίῳ] PTA_{12c}: + καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ ἅγιος τὸ κώδιον ταῦτ' ἔλεγε
τῇ ὑαίνῃ· Πόθεν σοι τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ βεβρώκεις πρόβατόν τινος; τὸ οὖν ἐξ ἀδικίας
δν ἐγὼ οὐ λαμβάνω παρὰ σοῦ. ἡ δὲ ὕαινα κλίναςα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἑαυτῆς εἰς τὸ
ἔδαφος ἐγονυπέτει αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἀγίου ἐτίθει τὸ κώδιον. αὐτὸς
δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ· Εἰρηκὰ σοι ὅτι οὐ λαμβάνω αὐτό, εἰ μὴ μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν συνθῆ
τοῦ μηκέτι λυπεῖν πένητας κατεσθίουσα αὐτῶν τὰ πρόβατα. ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
τούτῳ ἐπένευσε τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτῆς, ὡς συντιθεμένη τῷ ἀγίῳ. τότε ἐδέξατο τὸ
κώδιον παρὰ τῆς ὑαίνης (om Bls) (s₂ vac).

[1 ἅγιος] + Μάρκος P; Μακάριος T ταῦτ' om T λέγει T 2 βεβρώκεις
(sic) PTA τινος] + πτωχοῦ T₂ 3 ὄν ἐγὼ] om T δέχομαι A ἑαυτῆς] om TA
4 αὐτῷ καὶ] om TA ἀγίου] + Μακαρίου T: + καὶ A 5 ἔφη T αὐτό] om A
μου] (sic) P 5, 6 ἀπὸ.....τοῦ] ὁμόσεις A 5 συνθῆ] σωθῆ] (sic) T 6 μηκέτι] μὴ T
7 τοῦτο A διένευσε A ἀγίῳ] + Μακαρίῳ TA τότε] + οὖν A 8 παρὰ τῆς ὑαίνης]
om T]

12, 13 ὡς δὲ.....ξένιον] The text has been reconstructed in the following
manner: the B mss present a progressive series of corruptions, and the
group A^B preserves in this place the purest extant form of the B text. It
reads: 'Ὡς δὲ ἡ μακαρία δούλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μελάνη μοι εἶπεν ὅτι Παρὰ
τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου ἐγὼ ἔλαβον τὸ κώδιον ἐκείνο ξένιον [ξένην] τῆς

P[33]ll_{os}[T]

1 εὐρίσκεις] + ἐν (or παρ') ἐμοί (T) Bsc: (+ ὁ θέλεις συλῆσαι (T) B; 'that belongeth
to thee' c) 2 πολιοφάγε] TB¹ (λῆρε, πολ., φαγόγηρε B); πολιοφάγε PB¹; pessime
senex l; 'traitorous horse' c; om s 4 διηγείτο κ.τ.λ.] c of this episode is trans-
lated Prol. 123-6 6 Μακαρίῳ] P (Μάρκῳ interlined m. 2) TA^B₁; Μάρκῳ B; om
lsc 7 εἰσῆλθεν] added in margin of P; attested by TBll₂ (s 'she came and
knocked'; c altered) 8 ὁ ἅγιος] PTB (+ Μακάριος or Μάρκος); om ll_{os} 10 θηλά-
σαντα TB¹; txt PA^B₁₂s 12 τῷ ἀγίῳ] αὐτῷ Pl₂; + Μακαρίῳ TA^BB¹l; Μάρκῳ B¹
12, 13 ὡς δὲ.....ξένιον] Blsc; om Pl₂; T influenced by B: (for text see above)

καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ ὁ τοὺς λέοντας τῷ Δανιὴλ ἡμερώσας, καὶ τὴν ὑαίναν ἐσυνέτισεν;

Ἐλεγε δὲ ὅτι ἀφ' οὗ ἐβαπτίσθη οὐκ ἔπτυσε χαμαί, ἐξηκοστὸν | ἔχων ἔτος ἀφ' οὗ ἐβαπτίσθη. ἦν δὲ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ
5 ὑποκόλοβον, σπανόν, ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους μόνον ἔχων τρίχας, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ πώγωνος· ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ ἀσκήσεως οὐδὲ αἱ τρίχες τῆς γενειάδος αὐτοῦ ἐφύησαν.

Τούτῳ ἐγὼ προσῆλθόν ποτε ἀκηδιάσας, καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ· Ἄββᾶ, τί ποιήσω; ὅτι θλίβουσί με οἱ λογισμοὶ λέγοντες ὅτι
10 Οὐδὲν ποιεῖς, ἀπελθε ἔνθεν. καὶ λέγει μοι ὅτι Εἰπέ αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν τοὺς τοίχους τηρῶ.

Ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ὀλίγα σοι ἐσήμηνα τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου.

(XIX) Μωσῆς οὕτω τις καλούμενος, Αἰθίοψ τῷ γένει,
15 μέλας, οἰκέτης ὑπῆρχε πολιτευομένου τινός· ὃν διὰ πολλὴν δυστροπίαν καὶ ληστείαν ἔρριψεν ὁ ἴδιος δεσπότης· ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ μέχρι φόνων φθάνειν· ἀναγκάζομαι γὰρ λέγειν αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ἵνα δείξω αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς μετανοίας.

ὑαίνης ἐπιλεγόμενον. The words in spaced type represent the text of s: 'As also the holy Melanous said to me that: "That fleece I received from the hands of Macarius as a blessing": I quam mihi et sancta Melania [Melanias ¹mess, sanctae Melaniae (sic) ¹caes] postea accepisse se dixit: c 'he (Macarius) gave her (Melania) as an inheritance that skin' (cf. *Prol.* 126). On the corruptions in BT, and the introduction of St Athanasius' name, see Note 31. 6, 7 Soz. III. 14 (3) Ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου κατεσκληκέναι μὴ φύειν τοῦ γενείου τὰς τρίχας. 14 On Moses see Note 33. For l_2 see *Bibl. Casin. III. Florileg.* 296. 14—2 (p. 59) Soz. VI. 29 (15) Μωσῆς δὲ δούλος ὢν διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἐξηλάθη τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ κεκτημένου· καὶ εἰς ληστείας τραπεῖς ληστρικοῦ τάγματος ἤγειτο.

P[33]ll₂cs[T]

1, 2 καὶ τί.....ἔσυν.] om s 1 τῷ]+ προφήτη Bl₂ 2 τὴν θάνατον ἐσυνέτισεν] Tl₂ (hienam fecit sensatam, *Bibl. Casin.*) B (ταύτη τῇ ὑαίνῃ σύνεσιν ἐχαρίσατο) l (huic beluae talem sapientiam dedit) c ('who giveth understanding to beasts also,' altered, cf. *Prol.* 125); τὴν θάνατον τεταπεινώκεν P; (s om, 33 vac): + εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ T 3 ἐλέγετο TBl ἀφ' οὗ ἐβαπτ.] 'it is seven years to-day' c οὐκ ἔπτυσε χαμαί] om T; (l_2 non est locutus otiosum sermonem) ἔπτυσε] ἤπλωσε P 3, 4 ἐξηκοστὸν.....ἐβαπτ.] om c 4 ἀφ' οὗ ἐβαπτ.] om P 6 πώγωνος] PA^B; γενείου TBs: + εἶχεν ὀλίγας Bl(s) 7 c ceases here 13 Μάρκου PB^t (cf. Note 30)

XIX (Περὶ Μωσέως τοῦ Αἰθίοπος): Pll₂s₂[T]

14 Μωσῆς] PB^t[^{caes}]; Soz; Μωϋσῆς; TB^t[^{caes}]; 18 τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς μετανοίας] TBl₂s₂; τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν μεγαλόνοιαν P

διηγούνται γοῦν ὅτι καὶ ἀφηγούμενος ἦν ληστηρίου ἑνός· οὐ καὶ τὸ ἔργον φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς ληστροκοῖς, ὅτι ποιμένοι τινὶ ἐμνησικακήσῃ ποτε παρεμποδίσαντι αὐτῷ εἰς πρᾶγμα τι | μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν ἐν νυκτί· ὃν ἀποκτείνει θελήσας περινοστέει τὸν τόπον ἔνθα τὴν στάσιν εἶχε τὴν τῶν προβάτων· καὶ ἐμνήθη 5 αὐτῷ πέραν τοῦ Νείλου· καὶ πλημμυρούντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ κρατούντος ὡσεὶ σημεῖον ἐν, δακῶν τὴν μάχαιραν ἐν τῷ στόματι καὶ τὸν χιτωνίσκον θείς τῇ κεφαλῇ διεπέρασεν οὕτω κολυμβήσας τὸν ποταμόν· ἐν τῷ τούτου οὖν διακολυμβᾶν ἠδυνήθη ὁ ποιμὴν διαλαθεῖν αὐτόν, ἑαυτὸν καταχώσας εἰς τὴν 10 ἄμμον. τοὺς οὖν ἐξ ἐπιλογῆς τέσσαρας κριοὺς σφάξας καὶ δῆσας σειρᾶ, διεκολύμβησεν αὐθις· καὶ ἔλθων εἰς μικρὸν προαύλιον ἀπέδειρε, καὶ φαγὼν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν κρεῶν καὶ εἰς οἶνον διαπωλήσας τὰ κώδια καὶ σαῖτην πιὼν ὡς ἰταλικῶν δεκαοκτὼ ξεστῶν, πενήκοντα σημεῖα ἀπήλθεν ὅπου τὸ κολλή- 15 γιον εἶχεν.

Οὗτος ὁ τοσοῦτος ὀψέ ποτε καταφυγείς ἐκ περιστάσεως τινος, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν μοναστηρίῳ καὶ οὕτως τῷ πράγματι τῆς μετανοίας ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν συμπράκτην αὐτοῦ τῶν κακῶν ἐκ νεότητος δαίμονα τὸν αὐτῷ συναμαρτόντα ἀντικρυς εἰς 20 ἐπίγνωσιν ἀγαγεῖν τοῦ Χριστοῦ¹. ἐν οἷς λέγεται ποτε ὅτι λησταὶ τούτῳ ἐπέπεσον ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ καθήμενῳ ἀγνοήσαντες

17—4 (p. 60) Soz. (15) Πολλοὺς δὲ κακουργήσας καὶ πολλοὺς φόνους τοιμήσας, ἐκ περιπετείας τινὸς τὸν μοναδικὸν μετῆλθε βίον, καὶ ἀθρόον εἰς ἀρετὴν φιλοσοφίας ἐπέδωκεν. (18) Λέγεται γοῦν ποτὲ ληστὰς καταδραμάνας τὸν τόπον ἐν φῶ μόνος ἐφιλοσόφει συλλαβίσθαι πάντας καὶ δῆσαι, καὶ τέσσαρας ὄντας τοῖς ἄμοις ἐπιθεῖναι καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ συμμοιάζουσιν ἐπιστρέψαι τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ θεμιτὸν αὐτῷ εἶτι μηδένα κακῶς ποιεῖν.

19 See Note 34.

Π1,2,3[T]

1 γοῦν] οὖν T A^B 2 καὶ] + τοῦτο T B1,2 φαίνεται] P1,2 (ostenditur); φέρεται T B1,2 3 ποτε] P; om T B(1,2,3) 6 πέραν] + εἰς T; ὅτι... ἐστὶ B 7 ἐν] + ἐν πλάτει B1,2 μάχαιραν] + αὐτοῦ B1 10 διαβρᾶσαι (sic) T εἰς τὴν ἄμμον] P1,2; om T1,2; (εἰς κρῶφον B; που A^B) 12 σειρᾶ] P1,2; σειρᾶν T A^B; σειρᾶδων B; om 2,3 προαύλιον] P B¹; ἐπαύλιον T A^B; ἐναύλιον B¹ 13 ἀπέδειρε] + τοὺς κριοὺς B(1),2 18 οὕτως] + προσῆλθε (T) B (Soz 11,2) 19—21 ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν... τοῦ Χρ.] B1,2; ὡς ἔδει P; ὡς τὰ πράγματα ἔδειξαν A^B; om T; (1,2 enlarges and alters): (1st clemonem is for demonem) 19 αὐτοῦ] + καὶ ὑπεβολὴ B¹ 20 τὸν] + εἰς πάντα B 22 καθήμενῳ] P B (καθεζομένῳ); om T11,2; + εἰς τὴν ρημον (sic) P

τὸ τίς ἐστίν. ἦσαν δὲ τέσσαρες· οὓς δῆσας πάντας καὶ καθάπερ
 ζαβέρναν ἐπιθείς ἀχύρου τῷ νώτῳ ἠνεγκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰπών· Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι ἀδικεῖν οὐδένα, τί
 κελεύετε περὶ τούτων; οὕτως ἐκείνοι ἐξομολογησάμενοι, καὶ
 5 γνόντες ὅτι Μωσῆς ἐστὶν ἐκείνος, ὃ ποτε ὀνομαστὸς καὶ περι-
 βόητος ἐν τοῖς λησταῖς, δοξάσαντες τὸν θεὸν κάκεῖνοι ἀπετά-
 ξαντο διὰ τὴν τούτου μεταβολήν, λογισάμενοι ὅτι Εἰ οὗτος
 ὁ οὕτως ἱκανὸς καὶ δυνάμενος ἐν τοῖς ληστρικοῖς τὸν θεὸν
 ἐφοβήθη, ἡμεῖς τί ἀναβαλλόμεθα τὴν σωτηρίαν;
 10 Τούτῳ τῷ Μωσεὶ ἐπέθεντο δαίμονες εἰς τὴν συνήθειαν τῆς
 ἀκολασίας τῆς πορνικῆς κατελαύνοντες· ὃς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
 ἐπειράσθη, ὡς αὐτὸς διηγείτο, ὡς μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς προθέσεως
 ἐξοκεῖλαι. παραγενόμενος οὖν πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Ἰσίδωρον τὸν
 ἐν τῇ Σκήτει, ἀνήνεγκε τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ·
 15 Μὴ λυπηθῆς· ἀρχαὶ εἰσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφοδρότερόν σοι ἐπέ-
 θεντο ζητοῦντες τὴν συνήθειαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ κύων ἐν μακέλλῳ
 τῇ συνθειᾷ οὐκ ἀφίσταται, ἂν δὲ κλεισθῇ τὸ μάκελλον καὶ
 μηδεὶς αὐτῷ μηδὲν δῶ, οὐκέτι ἐγγίζει· οὕτω καὶ σὺ ἐὰν ἐπι-
 μείνης, ἀκηδιάσας ὁ δαίμων ἔχει σου ἀποστήναι. ἀναχωρήσας
 20 οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης σφοδρότερον ἠσκέετο, καὶ μάλιστα |
 ἀπὸ βρωμάτων, οὐδενὸς μεταλαμβάνων πλὴν ἄρτου ξηροῦ ἐν
 δώδεκα οὐγγίαις, ἐργαζόμενος ἔργον πλείστον, καὶ πεντηκόντα
 προσευχὰς ἐκτελῶν. κατατήξας οὖν αὐτοῦ τὸ σωματίον, ἔμεινε
 πυρούμενος ἔτι καὶ ἐνυπνιαζόμενος. πάλιν παρέβαλεν ἄλλῳ
 25 τινὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Τί ποιήσω ὅτι σκοτίζουσί

20—23 Soz. (16) Ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας διαίτης εὐεξία ζέων καὶ πρὸς
 φατασίας ἡδονῶν κινούμενος, μυρίαὶ ἀσκήσεις τὸ σῶμα κατέτηξε· πῆ μὲν δίχα
 ὄψου ὀλίγῳ ἄρτῳ ἀρκοῦμενος· πῆ δὲ πλείστον ἔργον ἀνῶν καὶ πεντηκοστὸν
 εὐχόμενος.

Pl₂ (1—13) s₂[T]

1 πάντας] om TA^B 2 [ζαβέρναν] PT ven (-νον) l₂ (see Du Cange); σάκκον B1;
 marsupium = ~~καρδίον~~ s₂ 3 οὐκ] PTA^Bs₂; οὐκέτι B1(Soz) 4—7 οὕτως.....
 λογισάμενοι] T adds to and alters the B text in a manner not found in any other
 authority 9 σωτηρίαν]+ἐαυτῶν A^{B1} (nostram); τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν B(T τῶν
 ψ. ἡμῶν); (l₂s₂ altered) 10 εἰς] ol P τῆν]+ἀρχαίαν Bll₂s₂ 13—9 (p. 61) παρα-
 γενόμενοςἡδονήθη] l₂ omits nearly all 13 οὖν] δὲ TA^B 14 ἀνήνεγκε]+αὐτῷ
 TB (τούτῳ) l₂ 15 ἀρχαί]+ γὰρ TBls₂ ἐπέθεντο]+ οἱ δαίμονες P;
 huiusmodi cogitationes l; txt TBs₂ 16 τῆν]+προτέραν B1 23 ἐκτελῶν]+τῆν
 ἡμέραν TBs₂

μου τὸν λογισμὸν τὰ ἐνούπνια τῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ συνθήθειαν ἡδονῆς ; λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐπειδὴ τὸν νοῦν σου οὐκ ἀπέστησας τῶν περὶ ταῦτα φαντασιῶν, τούτου χάριν ὑφίστασαι τούτο· Ἦδὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ προσεύχου νηφόντως καὶ ἐλευθεροῦσαι ἀπὸ τούτων ταχέως· ὅς ἀκούσας καὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀπελθὼν 5 ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ ἔδωκε λόγον μὴ κοιμηθῆναι διὰ πάσης νυκτός, μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ. μείνας οὖν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ἐπὶ ἔτη ἕξ, τὰς νύκτας πάσας εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ κελλίου ἴστατο προσευχόμενος, ὀφθαλμὸν μὴ καμμύων· καὶ τοῦ πράγματος περιγενέσθαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη. ὑπέθετο οὖν ἑαυτῷ πάλιν ἄλλην πολιτείαν, καὶ ἐξερχόμενος τὰς 10 νύκτας ἀπῆει εἰς τὰς κέλλας τῶν γερόντων καὶ ἀσκητικωτέρων, καὶ λαμβάνων τὰς ὑδρίας αὐτῶν λεληθότως ἐπλήρου ὕδατος. ἀπὸ μήκουσ γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸ ὕδωρ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ δύο, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πέντε σημείων, ἄλλοι ἀπὸ ἡμίσεος. μίᾳς οὖν τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ δαίμων καὶ μὴ καρτερήσας, ἐγκύψαντι αὐτῷ εἰς 15 τὸ φρέαρ δέδωκε κατὰ τῶν ψοῶν ῥοπάλῳ τινὶ καὶ ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν νεκρὸν, μὴ αἰσθανόμενον μήτε ὃ πέπουθε μήτε παρὰ τίνος. τὴν ἄλλην οὖν ἡμέραν ἐλθὼν τις ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ εὔρεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ κείμενον, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τῷ μεγάλῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς Σκίττειος. λαβὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀνήνεγκεν εἰς 20 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ ἐπὶ ἔτος ἑν ἐνόσησεν ὡς μόλις γενέσθαι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ἰσχύϊ. λέγει οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ

5—14 Soz. (16) πῆ δὲ ἐπὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ὀλόκληρον ἐκάστην νύκτα ἰστὰς προσήγετο, μήτε γόνυ κλίνων, μήτε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μύων εἰς ὕπνον. (17) ἄλλοτε δὲ νύκτωρ περιῶν τὰς οἰκῆσεις τῶν μοναχῶν, λάθρα τὴν ἐκάστου ὑδρίαν ἐπλήρου ὕδατος· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο λίαν ἐργῶδες· τῶν μὲν γὰρ σταδίουσ δέκα, τῶν δὲ εἴκοσι, τῶν δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πλέον διεισθῆκει ὁ τόπος ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο. διέμεινε δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν προτέραν ἰσχὺν ἔχων καίπερ ταῖς πολλαῖς ἀσκήσεσι καθελεῖν ταύτην σπουδίζων καὶ τὸ σῶμα ταῖς τάλαιπωρίαῖς πιέζων.

Π1₂ (10—22) π₂[T]

1 κατὰ]+τὴν ἀρχαίαν (T)B₂ 3—5 ἡδὸς.....ταχέως] TB1₂; om P: (1₂ ναο) 4 ἀγρυπνίαν]+κατὰ μικρὸν B1 ἐλευθεροῦσαι] TB¹A²; ἐλευθερωθήσῃ B¹ ἀπὸ τούτων] om T 7 κλίνει] TB Soz; κάμψαι P 9 καί]+ταῦτα ποιῶν B¹ (1 nec sic quidem) 10 ὑπέθετο] 1₂ recommencēs καί] P1; om TB1₂ ἐξερχόμενος]+ γὰρ T₂ 11 καὶ ἀσκητικωτέρων] om 1₂ 12 λεληθότως] P(Soz); ἀγνωστῶν ἐκείνων (T)B; nullo sentiente 1; om 1₂ 14 ἄλλοι ἀπὸ ἡμίσεος] om 11₂ 16 φρέαρ]+ dum aquam tollit 11₂ (hauriret) 19 ἐκεῖ] PB; om T11₂ 20 Σκίττειος]+ qui misit 1₂ 21 ἐν] PT; πλήρη B; ὅλον A²; totum 1 22 1₂ much paraphrased to end

ἀποδημίας μοι ὑποβάλλει. ἐπὶ πολὺ οὖν διακινήσας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν κέλλαν, συντρίψας τὸ σῶμα. |

Οὗτος ἡμῖν ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος διηγῆσατο, ἦν γὰρ πρεσβύτερος, ὅτι Ἐπεσημηνάμην κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς διαδόσεως. 5 τῶν μυστηρίων ὅτι Μάρκῳ τῷ ἀσκητῇ οὐδέποτε ἔδωκα ἐγὼ προσφοράν, ἀλλὰ ἄγγελος αὐτῷ ἐπέδιδου ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου μόνον δὲ τὸν ἀστράγαλον ἐθεώρουν τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ διδόντος. Μάρκος δὲ οὗτος νεώτερος ἦν, παλαιὰν καὶ καινὴν γραφὴν ἀποστηθίζων, πρᾶυς καθ' ὑπερβολήν, σῶφρων εἰ καὶ τις 10 ἄλλος.

Μᾶς οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν εὐκαιρηθεὶς ἐγὼ, εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον αὐτοῦ γῆρας, ἀπέρχομαι καὶ παρακαθέζομαι αὐτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ νομίσας αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἅτε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκροώμενος τί λέγει ἢ τί διαπράττεται. καὶ μονώτατος ὢν ἔνδον, περὶ τὰ 15 ἑκατὸν ἐλάσας ἔτη ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἀπολέσας, ἑαυτῷ διεμάχετο καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ, καὶ ἔλεγε· Τί θέλεις, κακόγηρε; ἰδοὺ καὶ ἐλαίου ἤψω καὶ οἴνου μετέλαβες· λουπὸν τί θέλεις, πολιοφάγε; ἑαυτὸν ὑβρίζω. εἶτα καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ· Μὴ ἀκμήν

3—10 Soz. vi. 29 (11) Φασὶ δὲ Μάρκον μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ νέῳ τῆς ἡλικίας εἰς ἄγαν πρῶον καὶ σῶφρονα καὶ μνήμονα ἱερῶν γραφῶν γενέσθαι· θεοφιλῆ δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὡς ἰσχυρίζεσθαι Μακάριον τὸν αὐτόν, πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῶν Κελλίων, μηδὲ πώποτε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἃ θέμις ἱερεῦσι διδόναι τοῖς μεμνημένοις περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν· ἄγγελος δὲ αὐτῷ ἐδίδου οὐ τὴν χεῖρα μέχρι τοῦ καρποῦ μόνου ἔλεγε θεωρεῖν.

PA[33]1₂cs[T]

1 οὖν] PT; δὲ A; καὶ B 3—10 For s in this paragr. cf. *Introd.* § 9 3—3 (p. 57) This section is transferred to end of cap. in A 3 ἦν γὰρ πρεσβ.] ATB Soz 1₂cs (om ἦν γὰρ); om P 5 τῶν]+θειων T1₂ (sacrosancta communio) ἐγὼ ἔδ. A 6 ἐπεδ. αὐτῷ A 8 Μάρκος] On confusions in the Greek mss. between Marcus and Macarius, from this point to the end of the chapter, see Note 30: at this point a new cap. begins in P (and several B mss.), περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ νεωτέρου γραφὴν] om P 9 καὶ σ. εἰς ἄκρον] A: here A ceases and A^B recommences

P[33]1₂cs[T]

11 εὐκαιρηθεὶς] PB^t (εὐκαιρούμενος) l; ἀκαιρούμενος TB^tA^B; om 1₂c; (s 'when a feverish chill held me') 12 αὐτοῦ viz. Macarius, named in 1₂c; but the Greek mss. understand it of Marcus ἀπέρχομαι]+πρὸς αὐτόν B1₂c θύρᾳ]+ἡσυχῇ P 13 νομίσας.....ἄνθρωπον] om 1₂c ὑπὲρ ἀνθ.] om s ὡς ἅτε ἀρχαῖον] Ps; ὡς ἅτε ἐγὼ ἀρχαῖος ὢν B1 (quasi inperitus ac nouus) before νομίσας; om T1₂c 17 καὶ ἐλαίου ἤψω] om P; (Bc transfer clauses) 18 πολιοφάγε] TB^tA^B1₂c (l in extremis aetatis tuae canis: sc 'thou that eatest white hairs'); πολιοφάγε PB^t; decrepitate senex 1₂ (so l for κακόγηρε l. 16) 18—3 (p. 57) μὴ ἀκμήν.....μετὰ σοῦ] om 1₂

τί σοι χρεωστῶ; οὐδὲν εὐρίσκεις· ἄπελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ ὡς
τερετίζων ἑαυτῷ διελέγετο· Δεῦρο, πολιοφάγε· ἕως πότε ἔσομαι
μετὰ σοῦ; |

Διηγείτο δὲ ἡμῖν Παφνύτιος ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μιᾷ
τῶν ἡμερῶν ὕαινα λαβοῦσα τὸν ἑαυτῆς σκύμνον, τυφλὸν ὄντα, 5
ἤνεγκε τῷ Μακαρίῳ· καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κρούσασα τῆς αὐλῆς
τὴν θύραν εἰσῆλθεν ἔξω αὐτοῦ καθημένου, καὶ ἔρριψεν ὑπὸ
τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τὸν σκύμνον. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἐπι-
πτύσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπήυξατο, καὶ παραχρῆμα
ἀνέβλεψε. καὶ θηλάσασα αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λαβοῦσα 10
αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ κώδιον μεγάλου προ-
βάτου ἐνήνοχε τῷ ἁγίῳ. ὡς δὲ ἡ μακαρία Μελανία μοι εἶπεν
ὅτι Παρὰ τοῦ Μακαρίου ἐγὼ ἔλαβον τὸ κώδιον ἐκείνο ξένιον.

12 τῷ ἁγίῳ] PTA_{1c}: + καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ ἅγιος τὸ κώδιον ταῦτ' ἔλεγε
τῇ ὑαίνῃ· Πόθεν σοι τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ βεβρώκεις πρόβατόν τινος; τὸ οὖν ἐξ ἀδικίας
ὄν ἐγὼ οὐ λαμβάνω παρὰ σοῦ. ἡ δὲ ὑαίνα κλίναςα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἑαυτῆς εἰς τὸ
ἔδαφος ἐγονυπέτει αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐτίθει τὸ κώδιον. αὐτὸς
δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ· Εἰρήκᾳ σοι ὅτι οὐ λαμβάνω αὐτό, ἐὰν μὴ μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν συνθῆ
τοῦ μηκέτι λυπεῖν πένητας κατεσθίουσα αὐτῶν τὰ πρόβατα. ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
τούτῳ ἐπένευσε τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτῆς, ὡς συντιθεμένη τῷ ἁγίῳ. τότε ἐδέξατο τὸ
κώδιον παρὰ τῆς ὑαίνης (om Bls) (s₂ vac).

[1 ἅγιος] + Μάρκος P; Μακάριος T ταῦτ'] om T λέγει T 2 βεβρώκεις
(sic) PTA τινος] + πτωχῷ T₂ 3 ὄν ἐγὼ] om T δέχομαι A ἑαυτῆς] om TA
4 αὐτῷ καὶ] om TA ἁγίου] + Μακαρίου T: + καὶ A 5 ἔφη T αὐτὸ] om A
μου] (sic) P 6 ἀπὸ.....τοῦ] ὁμοίως A 6 συνθῆ] σωθῆ] (sic) T 6 μηκέτι] μὴ T
7 τοῦτο A διένευσε A ἁγίῳ] + Μακαρίῳ TA τότε] + οὖν A 8 παρὰ τῆς ὑαίνης]
om T]

12, 13 ὡς δὲ.....ξένιον] The text has been reconstructed in the following
manner: the B MSS present a progressive series of corruptions, and the
group A^B preserves in this place the purest extant form of the B text. It
reads: 'Ὡς δὲ ἡ μακαρία δούλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μελάνη μοι εἶπεν ὅτι Παρὰ
τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου ἐγὼ ἔλαβον τὸ κώδιον ἐκείνο ξένιον [ξένην] τῆς

P[33]ll_{cs}[T]

1 εὐρίσκεις] + ἐν (or παρ') ἐμοῖ (T)Bsc: (+ δ θέλεις συλῆσαι (T)B; 'that belongeth
to thee' c) 2 πολιοφάγε] TB¹ (λήρε, πολ., φαγόγηρε B); πολιοφάγε PB¹; pessime
venex l; 'traitorous horse' c; om s 4 διηγείτο κ.τ.λ.] c of this episode is trans-
lated Prol. 123—6 6 Μακαρίῳ] P (Μάρκῳ interlined m. 2) TA^B₁₂; Μάρκῳ B; om
lsc 7 εἰσῆλθεν] added in margin of P; attested by TBll₂ (s 'she came and
knocked'; c altered) 8 ὁ ἅγιος] PTB (+ Μακάριος or Μάρκος); om ll_{cs} 10 θηλά-
σαντα TB¹; txt PA^B₁₂s 12 τῷ ἁγίῳ] αὐτῷ Pl₂: + Μακαρίῳ TA^BB¹₁; Μάρκῳ B¹
12, 13 ὡς δὲ.....ξένιον] Blsc; om Pl₂: T influenced by B: (for text see above)

αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ ἔκδεξαι ἕως ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ ἀνένεγκε αὐτῷ τὸ κρίμα· καὶ ὁ ἐάν σοι εἴπῃ, στοίχησον αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπικρίσει, ὁ θεὸς γάρ σοι λαλεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡνέσχετο αὐτῶν, καὶ βαλὼν τὸν λελωβημένον εἰς σκαφίδιον βουκολικόν, ἐξῆλθεν ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἐλθεῖν τὸν μέγαν ἐσπέραν βαθείαν, ὡς διηγήσατο ὁ Κρόνιος, ἐμπεφιβλωμένος χλανίδα δερματίνην. ἐρχόμενος οὖν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον αὐτῶν ταύτην εἶχε τὴν συνήθειαν
 10 καλεῖν τὸν Μακάριον καὶ ἐρωτᾶν αὐτόν· Ἀδελφὲ Μακάριε, ἤλθον τινες ἀδελφοὶ ὧδε; ἀπεκρίνατο· Ναί. Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσιν ἢ Ἱεροσολυμίται; σημεῖον δὲ αὐτῷ δεδώκει ὡς Ἐὰν ἀπραγοτέρους ἴδῃς, λέγε ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσιν· ὅταν δὲ εὐλαβεστέρους καὶ λογιωτέρους, λέγε Ἱεροσολυμίται. ἠρώτησεν οὖν αὐτῷ
 15 κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός· Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί, ἢ Ἱεροσολυμίται; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Μακάριος καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Μίγμα εἰσίν. ὅτε μὲν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ· Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσιν, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος· Ποίησον φακὸν καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν· καὶ ἐποίησε αὐτοῖς εὐχὴν μίαν, καὶ ἀπέλυεν αὐτούς. ὅτε δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἱεροσολυμίται εἰσιν, ἐκάθητο διὰ πάσης νυκτός, λαλῶν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν. ἐν ἐκείνῃ οὖν τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ καθεσθεῖς, φησί, προσκαλεῖται | πάντας, καὶ μηδενὸς μηδὲν αὐτῷ εἰρηκότος ὅποιον ὄνομα

PTW^oll_{ss}₂

1 εἰς τὸ μον. αἴτερ ἐκδεξαι P ἀσκητήριον W^o ἐκδεξαι] + ibi ll_{ss} ξως] + οὐ
 TB; ὅτε W^o ἔλθῃ TW^oA^B τῆς ἐρήμου] Ps; τοῦ σπηλαίου TW^oBll₂ 2 ἀνένεγκαι
 P; -κον A^B ὡς ἂν (om σοι) T; εἰ τι ἐάν W^o 3 ὁ γὰρ θ. TW^oB λαλεῖ] Ps;
 λέγει TW^o (after αὐτοῦ) Bl₂: (1 paraphr.) δι' αὐτοῦ] ὁ δ' ἂν σοι εἴπῃ T(l) ἡνέσχ.
 οὖν αὐτῶν W^o; om Tl₂ 4 τὸν λελ.] αὐτὸν TW^o σκαφίδιον] PW^oB⁴⁵⁻⁶; σκάφος
 Bt; σκάφην (βουκολικὴν) T 4, 5 βουκολικόν.....πόλεως] om l₂ 6 δὲ] οὖν W^o
 7 διηγείτο TW^o 8 ὁ] om TB ἐμπεφληβομένος W^o χλανίδα] PTA^B;
 χλαμίδα BW^o(ls) 9 αὐτῶν] Pl; ἑαυτοῦ W^oBT (αὐτοῦ) s; om l₂ τῆν] om T
 11 ἤλθαν W^o ἀδ. τινες T ὧδε] + ὁ δὲ TB εἰσιν] om W^o 12 ὡς] P;
 ἴνα T; ὅτι B⁴⁵⁻⁶; om W^oBt ἐάν] P; ὅταν TW^oB 13 ἴδῃ λέγει T εἰσίν]
 om W^o 14 λογικότερους W^o; ὀλιγωτέρους T λέγει T: + ὅτι TW^oB αὐτῷ]
 (sic) P; αὐτὸν T; om W^o 16 ἀποκρίνεται TW^o αὐτῷ] PTW^oBs; om A^Bll_{ss}₂
 μὲν] P; δὲ TW^o; οὖν B 17 αὐτῷ] P; ὅτι TW^oB εἰσίν] om W^o ἔλεγε] T
 φησί T πρὸς.....Ἀντ.] om W^o Ἀντώνιος] om TBS 18 ποίησον] + αὐτοῖς
 TW^oB 18, 19 καὶ ἐποίησε.....αὐτοῖς] TW^o (om μίαν) Bll_{ss}₂; om P 19 ὅτι] om T
 20 εἰσίν] om W^oB 21 οὖν] om W^o νυκτὶ W^o παρακαθ. W^o φησί] om
 TB⁴⁵⁻⁶ 22 μηδέν] om TW^oB εἰρηκότος] + ὅτι T: + τὶς Tl(s): + τὸ B
 ποῖον TB

ἔχει, σκοτίας οὔσης φωνεῖ καὶ λέγει· Εὐλόγιε, Εὐλόγιε, Εὐλόγιε, ἐκ τρίτου. ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ σχολαστικός, οἰόμενος ἄλλον Εὐλόγιον καλεῖσθαι. λέγει αὐτῷ ἔπειτα πάλιν· Σοὶ λέγω, Εὐλόγιε, τῷ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐλθόντι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐλόγιος· Τί κελεύεις, δέομαί σου; Τί ἦκες; ἀποκρίνεται ὁ 5 Εὐλόγιος καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ὁ ἀποκαλύψας σοὶ τὸ βυομά μου, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα σοὶ ἀπεκάλυψε. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Οἶδα διὸ ἦλθες· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶπέ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκούσωσι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐλόγιος· Τοῦτον τὸν λελωβημένον εὐρον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδωκα τῷ θεῷ ἵνα αὐτὸν νοσο- 10 κομήσω, κἀγὼ σωθῶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς δι' ἐμοῦ. ἐπεὶ οὖν μετὰ τοσαῦτα ἔτη εἰς ἄκρον με χειμάζει καὶ ἐνεθυμήθην αὐτὸν ῥίψαι, τούτου χάριν ἦλθον πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀγωσύνην, ἵνα μοι συμβουλεύσης τί ὀφείλω ποιῆσαι, καὶ προσεύξῃ περὶ ἐμοῦ· δεινῶς γὰρ χειμάζομαι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐμβριθεῖ καὶ ἀσπηρᾷ τῇ 15 φωνῇ· Ῥίπτεις αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας αὐτόν οὐ ῥίπτει αὐτόν. ῥίπτεις αὐτόν σύ; ἐγείρει ὁ θεὸς τὸν καλλιονά σου καὶ συνάγει αὐτόν. ἐφσηυχάσας οὖν ὁ Εὐλόγιος κατέπηξε. καὶ καταλείψας πάλιν τὸν Εὐλόγιον ἄρχεται τῇ γλώττῃ μαστίζειν τὸν λελωβημένον καὶ ἀποβοᾶν· Λελωβημένε πεπηρωμένε, ἀνάξιε τῆς 20 γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐ παύη θεομαχῶν; οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὑπηρετῶν σοὶ; πῶς τολμᾷς κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοιαῦτα φθέγγεσθαι; οὐ διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐδούλωσεν εἰς

PTW^o11,28,2

1 οὔσης] + subito 1,2 Εὐλογ. Εὐ. Εὐ.] twice only in TA²1; suo illum nomine ter uocauit 1,2 2 ἐκ τρίτου] om Ts ἐκεῖνος] + δὲ TW^o ὁ ἀπὸ σχολαστικῶν W^o σχολ.] + Εὐλόγιος Bsl₂ (om σχολ.) 3 Εὐλόγιον] om Bs εἶπε (om αὐτῷ) W^o ἔπειτα] Pl₂; ἐκ δευτέρου B; om TW^oA²88,2; 1 vac πάλιν] om A²1, 4 ἐξ W^o 5 σου] + λέγει ὁ μέγας TB; ἔφη ὁ Ἀντ. W^o (various similar clauses in ss₂1^{ov} (1 vac)) ἦκας TW^o ἀπεκρίθη TW^o 6 ὁ Εὐ. κ. λεγ. αὐτῷ] om T 7 ἀποκαλύψει Bss₂; + δὲ' οὐ ἦλθον B8,2 (18) 8 διὸ πῶς W^o καὶ αὐτοὶ] om TW^os 9 ὁ δὲ ἔφη (om ὁ Εὐλ.) W^o αὐτῷ] PTW^o8; ἐπὶ πάντων B; om 11,28 10 ἀγορᾷ] + ἐρριμμένον ... ἀνελαβον αὐτόν Bl₂ (iacentem in platea et leuauit eum) 11 αὐτὸς] + ἀναπαυθῆ B (ἀναπαῆ B⁴⁵-6)1,2 (reparationem habeat) 12 τόσα TW^o χ. με εἰς ἄκρον T καὶ] om P B t ρίψαι αὐτόν W^o 15 χειμάζομαι] TB⁴⁵-611,28; χειμάζει με PA²Bt8,2; με χειμ. W^o: (11,28 have two synonymous verbs) τῇ] om T 17 ἐγερεῖ B⁴⁵-61 18 ἀφησ. W^oBt οὖν] δὲ T κατέπηξε] + ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Bs καταλείψας δὲ TB 19 πάλιν] om TW^oB8 20 βοᾶν TB⁴⁵-6; ἀναβ. W^o: + πρὸς αὐτόν Bl₂ πεπηρωμένε] Pts (see Note 38); πεπηλωμένε Bl(8,2 'unclean'); ven λελωβημένον καὶ πεπηρωμένον (sic ap. Rosw.); inueterate dierum malorum 1,2; om A²BW^o ἀνάξιε] + καὶ TB (A²xt₂) 21 tr τ. γῆς and τ. οὐρ. W^oB⁴⁵-61,2 θεομαχεῖν W^o 22 πῶς] + οὖν W^o

τὴν σὴν ὑπηρεσίαν; στύψας οὖν καὶ τοῦτον ἀφήκε. καὶ
 διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀπολαμ-
 βάνεται τὸν Εὐλόγιον καὶ τὸν λελωβημένον καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς·
 Μὴ περιστραφήτε μηδαμοῦ, ἀπέλθετε· μὴ χωρισθῆτε ἀπ'
 5 ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς τὴν κέλλαν ὑμῶν εἰς ἣν ἐχρονίσατε. ἦδη
 γὰρ ἀποστέλλει ὁ θεὸς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. ὁ πειρασμὸς γὰρ οὗτος
 συνέβη ὑμῖν ἐπειδὴ ἀμφότεροι περὶ τὸ τέλος ἔχετε καὶ στεφάνων
 μέλλετε ἀξιούσθαι. μὴ οὖν ἄλλο τι ποιήσητε, καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ
 ἄγγελος μὴ εὖρη ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ. θάττον οὖν ὁδεύσαντες
 10 ἦλθον εἰς τὴν κέλλαν ἑαυτῶν. καὶ ἐντὸς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν
 τελευτᾶ ὁ Εὐλόγιος· ἐντὸς δὲ ἄλλων τριῶν ἡμερῶν τελευτᾶ ὁ
 λελωβημένος. |

Χρονοτριβήσας δὲ ὁ Κρόνιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Θηβαῖδα
 τόποις κατήλθεν εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια Ἀλεξανδρείας. καὶ συνέβη
 15 τοῦ μὲν τὰ τεσσαρακοστὰ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τοῦ δὲ τὰ τρίτα παρὰ
 τῆς ἀδελφότητος. ἔμαθεν οὖν ὁ Κρόνιος καὶ ἐξέστη· καὶ λαβὼν
 εὐαγγέλιον καὶ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀδελφότητος διωμόσατο ἀφη-
 γούμενος τὸ συμβᾶν ὅτι τῶν λόγων τούτων ὄλων ἐρμηνεύς

4, 5 s (add. 17177): 'Do not turn anywhere, but go; and do not
 separate from one another, but return to your cell in which you lived long.'

15 See Note 39.

PTW^oll₂ss₂

1 τοῦτον] + τοῖς ἐπιπλήκτοις λόγοις Bl (mordaai sermone) ἀφήκε] + τούτους Bs
 2 ἐπιλαμβ. W^o: + πάλιν Bl 3 τὸν λελ. καὶ τὸν Εὐ. T 4, 5 μὴ περιστρ...ἐχρονί-
 σατε] thus s (see above) s₂(B) 4 μὴ περιστρ...ἀπέλθετε] om l₂ μηδαμοῦ] + ἀλλ'
 B(ss₂) ἀπέλθετε] om l: + εἰς τὸν τόπον ὑμῶν P; μετ' εἰρήνης B: + καὶ W^o
 ἀπ' ἀλλήλων] B inserts a clause 5 ἀλλ' ἢ...ἐχρονίσαστε] om P ἀλλ' ἢ] TW^o
 (om ἦ); ἀλλ' ὑποστρέψατε B (ll₂ss₂) εἰς ἣν ἐχρονίσαστε] om l₂ 6 ὁ θεός] + τὸν
 ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ P; ἄγγελον B⁴⁵⁻⁶; 'the end' s: txt TW^oABBl₂s₂ (I iam nunc enim
 ad uos dnus deus mittet; l₂ incontinenter enim uisitat uos dnus al deus); (same
 use of ἀποστέλλω in Vita Pachomii passim) 7 ὑμῶν συν. T τὸ] om T 8 μὴ
 οὖν...ποιήσητε] om l₂s καὶ] TW^oB; as if μὴ ll₂ss₂ (ne ueniens ang. non inueniat
 l₂); Ina P 9 μὴ] οὐχ W^o; om P τῷ] + αὐτῷ B(l₀); 'your' ss₂ 10 αὐτῶν
 TW^o ἐντὸς] + δὲ T (om καὶ) τριάκοντα B⁴⁵⁻⁶; εἰκοσι τεσσάρων A^B 11 Εὐ.]
 + καὶ (om δὲ) T ἄλλων] om l₂ ἡμερῶν] om T τελευτᾶ²] + καὶ W^o 13 δὲ]
 οὖν W^o εἰς τοὺς π. Θ. τόπους W^oB 14 τὸ μοναστήριον W^oA^B 15 τοῦ μὲν]
 Tlss₂; + Εὐλογίου PW^oBl₂ τὰ¹] om T τεσσαρακοστὰ] W^oBl₂ss₂; τριακοστὰ
 PTA^B τοῦ δὲ] Tlss₂; + λελωβημένου PW^oBl₂ 17 θήσας W^o τῆς ἀδελφ.]
 om T ἀφηγησάμενος TW^oB 18 τὸ συμβᾶν] τὴν πρόγνωσιν τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντ.
 περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων Bl₂ (quomodo omnia quae uenerunt
 Eulogio et leproso praedixisset beatus Ant.) τῶν λόγων] om W^o ἐρμηνεύς]
 + ἐγὼ W^o 18—3 (p. 69) εἰ...ἀγνωστῶν] om l₂

γέγονα τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀντωνίου, ἑλληνιστὶ μὴ εἰδότος· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠπιστάμην ἀμφοτέρας τὰς γλώσσας, καὶ ἡρμήνευσα αὐτοῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἑλληνιστί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ αἰγυπτιστί.

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ διηγήσατο ὁ Κρόνιος, ὅτι Ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ διηγήσατο ἡμῖν ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος ὅτι Ἐνιαυτὸν ὀλόκληρον 5 ἠϋξάμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναί μοι τὸν τόπον τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν. καὶ ἔθεασάμην μακρὸν τινα γίγαντα μέχρι τῶν νεφελῶν, μέλανα, τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτεταμένας ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ λίμνην ἔχουσαν μέτρον θαλάσσης· καὶ ἐώρων ψυχὰς ἀνιπταμένας ὡς ὄρνεα. καὶ ὄσαι μὲν ὑπερί- 10 πταντο αὐτοῦ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διεσώζοντο· ὄσαι δὲ παρὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκοσσίζοντο ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὴν λίμνην. ἦλθεν οὖν μοι φωνὴ λέγουσα· Ταύτας ἂς βλέπεις ὑπεριπταμένας ψυχὰς τῶν δικαίων αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσιν αἱ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον σώζονται· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι εἰσιν αἱ εἰς τὸν ἄδην ὑποσυρόμεναι, τοῖς 15 θελήμασι τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῇ μνησικακίᾳ ἐξακολουθήσασαι.

(XXII) Διηγείτο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Κρόνιος καὶ ὁ ἄγιος Ἰέραξ καὶ πλείονες ἄλλοι περὶ ὧν μέλλω λέγειν, ὅτι Παῦλος τις ἄγροικος γεωργός, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄκακος καὶ ἀπλοῦς, ὠραιότατῃ ἐξεύχθη γυναικὶ κακοτρόπῳ τῇ γνώμῃ, ἣτις διελάνθανεν ἀμαρτά- 20

17 The text of s in cc. xxii, xxiii is contained in Tullberg's mss A and B (*Paradisius* pp. 21—33). Cap. xxii exists in W^o; but as W^o and O are twin texts (see *Introd.* § 9) it seemed sufficient to cite O: any differences will be recorded after the List of Readings of W, at end of Text. On Paul the Simple see Note 40.

18—8 (p. 70) Soz. I. 13 (13) Καὶ Παῦλος ὁ ἐπίκλην ἀπλοῦς· ὃν φασιν ἄγροικον ὄντα καλῆ τὸ εἶδος γυναικὶ συνοικῆσαι· ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ αὐτὴν καταλαβόντα

PTW^o1ss₂

1 γάρ] δὲ T 2 τοῦτοῖς (om τοῖς) W^o 3, 3 τοῖς...αίγ.] om T

PTW^o[L₂]₂

4 καὶ τοῦτο to end of chapter is wanting in s: l₂ much interpolated 4, 5 διηγείτο (bis) TB 5 ὁ μ. Ἀντ.] om TW^o Ἀντ.] om B 7 τινα] Pl₂; om TW^oB
9 λίμνην θαλ. μὴ ἐχούσης μέτρον W^o θαλ. before ἔχουσαν TB 10 διπταμένας W^o
δοιοι P 12 παρὰ] ὑπὸ T ἐπιπτον W^o 13 φωνή] + φησὶ W^o 14 ψυχὰς before ὑπεριπτ. W^o τῶν δικ. after εἰσιν TW^oB αἱ] καὶ T 15 αἱ²] om T
16 ἐξακολουθήσαντες W^o

XXII (Περὶ Παύλου τοῦ ἀπλοῦ): PTO1ss₂

17, 18 διηγείτο...δτι] om Ts 17 διηγήσατο OB^{ab-s} δὲ] om O καὶ τοῦτο] Ps₂; om OB1 18 τις] + ὀνόματι B^{ab-s}1s 19 ὠραιότατῃ] + τωὶ O 20 ἦτις] om O διέλαθεν TB†

νοῦσα ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον. εἰσελθὼν οὖν ἐξ ἀγροῦ αἰφνίδιον ὁ Παῦλος εὗρεν αὐτοὺς αἰσχροπραγούοντας, τῆς προνοίας εἰς τὸ συμφέρον ὁδηγούσης τὸν Παῦλον. καὶ γελάσας σεμνὸν ἐπιφωνεῖ αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγει· Καλῶς, καλῶς· ἀληθῶς οὐ μέλει μοι. 5 μὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐγὼ αὐτὴν οὐκέτι αἴρω. ὕπαγε, ἔχε αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπάγω γίνομαι μοναχός. καὶ μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκῶς ἀνατρέχει τὰς ὀκτῶ μονὰς καὶ ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἀντώνιον καὶ κρούει τὴν θύραν. ἐξελθὼν οὖν ἐρωτᾷ αὐτόν· Τί θέλεις; λέγει αὐτῷ· Μοναχὸς θέλω γενέσθαι. 10 ἀποκρίνεται | ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα γέρων ἄνθρωπος ὧδε μοναχὸς οὐ δύνασαι γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἄπελθε εἰς κώμην καὶ ἐργάζου, καὶ ζῆθι ἐργατικὸν βίον εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ· ὑπομεῖναι γὰρ τὰς θλίψεις τῆς ἐρήμου οὐ δύνασαι. ἀποκρίνεται ὁ γέρον πάλιν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Εἰ τι ἄν 15 με διδάξης ἐκείνο ποιῶ. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Εἴρηκά σοι ὅτι γέρον εἶ καὶ οὐ δύνασαι· ἄπελθε εἰ ἄρα θέλεις μοναχὸς γενέσθαι εἰς κοινόβιον πλειόνων ἀδελφῶν, οἵτινες δύνανται σου τῆς ἀσθενείας ἀνέχεσθαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνος κάθημαι ὧδε διὰ πέντε ἐσθίων καὶ τοῦτο λιμῶ. τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ῥήμασιν 20 ἀπεσόβει τὸν Παῦλον· καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἠνείχετο αὐτοῦ κλείσας τὴν μοιχομενῆν, ἡρέμα ἐπιγελάσαι καὶ ὄρκον προσθεῖναι ὡς οὐκ ἔτι αὐτῇ συνοικήσει· Ἐχε δὲ αὐτὴν, πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἦλθε πρὸς Ἀντόνιον.

19—10 (p. 72) A and B are printed in full *Prolog.* pp. 30—34.

PTO₁₈₂

1 ἐπὶ μήκου[s] τῶν χρόνων O οὖν] + ποτὲ B†(182) αἰφνίδιος O 2 αὐτὴν αἰσχροπραγούσαν O182 3 καὶ] + θεασάμενος ταύτην μετὰ τοῦ συνήθους B; cum eam ...cum alio iacentem uiro deprehendisset l; 'when he entered and saw them' s σεμνῶς O ἐπιφέρει T 5 ἔχε] PTA^B Soz.; ἔχεις OB: + καὶ O 6 αὐτῆς] s₂ breaks off to end of chapter

PTO₁₈

6 ὑπάγω] + καὶ OB†(18) 7 εἰρηκῶς] + ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ T 8 ἐλθὼν T οὖν] + ὁ ἄγιος T; ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος OB (al. ἄγιος, al. μέγας) s 9 ἐρωτᾷ αὐτόν] λέγει αὐτῷ T αὐτῷ] ἐκείνος T: + ὁ Παῦλος B_s 10 ὁ] om O καὶ λέγει] om TA^B αὐτῷ] PB (before ὁ Ἀντ.) s; om TOI 11 δύνασαι] PA^{B38}B†18; δύναται TOA^{B37}B† γενέσθαι before οὐ TOB 12 ζῆθι] νῆθαι (sic) O 14 πάλιν before ὁ TOB αὐτῷ] Ps; om TOB: (l ille) 15 ἐκείνω] τοῦτο TB† ποιῶ] PTA^BB⁴⁶⁻⁴⁸ s; ποιῶ OB†1 ὁ] + ἄγιος P 16 δύνασαι] + ὧδε εἶναι P; + μονάσαι A^BB†; implere quod quaeris l: txt TOB₁₈ 17 κοινόβιον] + εἰσελθε TOB1; txt Ps 18 τῆς ἐσθ.] om O ἀνέχεσθαι] PTB†; ἀνασχέσθαι OB⁴⁶⁻⁴⁸; ἀντέχεσθαι A^B; ἀνέχεσθαι B† 20 ἠνείχετο] PTA^B; ἠνέχετο OB

θύραν ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐξήλθεν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς δι' αὐτόν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνεχώρησε. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ χρείας αὐτὸν ἀναγκαζούσης ἀνοίξας ἐξήλθε καὶ πάλιν λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἄπελθε ἐντεῦθεν, γέρων· τί με ὑποπιάξεις; οὐ δύνασαι ὡδε μεῖναι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ἀμήχανόν μοι ἐστὶν ἀλ- 5 λαχοῦ τελευτήσαι ἀλλ' ἢ ὡδε. περιβλεψάμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ θεασάμενος ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τροφήν οὐ βαστάζει, οὐκ ἄρτον, οὐχ ὕδωρ, καὶ τετάρτην ἔχει καρτερήσας νῆστις, Μήποτε καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, φησί, καὶ κηλιδώσῃ μου τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰσδέχεται αὐτόν. καὶ τοιαύτην ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις 10 πολιτεῖαν οἷαν οὐδέποτε ἐν νεότητι. καὶ βρέξας θαλλοὺς λέγει αὐτῷ· Δέξαι, πλέξον σειρὰν ὡς καὶ γῶ. πλέκει ὁ γέρων ἕως ἐννάτης ὀργυίας δεκαπέντε μοχθήσας. θεασάμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος δυσηρεστήθη καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Κακῶς ἐπλεξας ἀπόπλεξον καὶ ἀνωθεν πλέξον· νῆσται αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ ἡλικιωτῇ 15 ταύτῃ ἐπαγαγῶν τὴν σῆψιν, ἵνα δυσφορήσας ὁ γέρων φύγῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀπέπλεξε καὶ πάλιν ἐπλεξε τοὺς αὐτοὺς θαλλοὺς, εἰ καὶ δυσχερέστερον διὰ τὸ ἐρρυτιδῶσθαι. θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅτι οὔτε ἐγόγγυσεν οὔτε ἐμικροψύχησεν οὔτε ἠγανάκτησε, κατενύγη. καὶ δύναντος τοῦ ἡλίου λέγει αὐτῷ· 20 Θέλεις φάγωμεν ἄρτου κλάσμα; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ὡς

15—19 Soz. (14) Πραῶτατον δὲ καὶ καρτερικὸν εἰς ἄγαν λέγεται τόνδε γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀμίλει τοι καὶ γηραλέῳ ὄντι καὶ μοναστικῆς τληπαθείας (ἀλ. πολιτείας) ἀήθει, ἔτι γὰρ νέηλος ἦν, παντοδαπαῖς πείραις προσβαλὼν Ἀντώνιος, ἐν οὐδενὶ ἀγεννῇ ἐφώρασε.

PTOLIS

2 ὁ] ὡς T δέ²] PA^B; οὖν OB; om T 3 ἀναγκαζούσης] POB[†]; ἀναγκασάσης TB[†]; καταλαβούσης A^BB[†] αὐτῷ λεγ. TO 4 ἐντεῦθεν] PTA^B; ἐνθεν OB γέρον TB[†] 5 μεῖναι] εἶναι OB⁴⁵⁻⁶ ἀμήχανον] ἀδύνατον A^B μοι] με O 6 ἀλλ' ἢ] TOB⁴⁵⁻⁶; ἀλλ' (om ἢ) PB[†]; εἰ μὴ A^B; Is nisi 8 τετάρτην] + ἡμέραν OA^BB⁴⁵⁻⁶ καί²] om O 9 φησί] om T αὐτόν] + τότε B1 (tandem) 11 πολιτεῖαν before ὁ Ἀντ. O; after ὁ Ἀντ. T οὐδὲ TO; οὔτε ὅτε ἦν A^B ἐν] + τῇ TB⁴⁵⁻⁶ θαλλοῦς] + ἐκ φοινίκων B1 (s, om s²⁰) 12 μέχρις OB[†] 13 ἐννάτης] + ὥρας T μοχθήσας] PTOB⁴⁵⁻⁶ πολλῶ A^BB[†] (cum maximo labore) οὖν] δέ TB 14 δυσχερέστερον] πολλῶ A^BB[†] 15 ἡλικιωτῇ] οὖν] δέ TB 16 ἐπόψην] οὖν] δέ TB 17 τοὺς θαλ. τοὺς αὐτοὺς T 18 ἐρρυτιδῶσθαι] PTO (εἰ¹⁰) HJ (οἰκτικῶς ἀμχ. U); εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης πλοκῆς ἐρρυτιδωμένους (B⁴⁵⁻⁶, al. ἐρρωσιώματα καὶ) O αὐτῷ, i.e. 'wrinkled' Is 19 δέ] P; οὖν OB; om T 19, 20 οὔτε ἠγανάκτοι δτι O 22 δτι] ὡς οὔτε ἐμικροψ. O 21 ἄρτων, om κλάσμα O --ἀ] + τοῦ TOB

νουσα ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον. εἰσελθὼν οὖν ἐξ ἀγροῦ αἰφνίδιον
 ὁ Παῦλος εὗρεν αὐτοὺς αἰσχροπραγούοντας, τῆς προνοίας εἰς τὸ
 συμφέρον ὀδηγούσης τὸν Παῦλον. καὶ γελάσας σεμνὸν ἐπι-
 φωνεῖ αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγει· Καλῶς, καλῶς· ἀληθῶς οὐ μέλει μοι.
 5 μὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐγὼ αὐτὴν οὐκέτι αἴρω. ὕπαγε, ἔχε αὐτὴν καὶ
 τὰ παιδιά αὐτῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπάγω γίνομαι μοναχός. καὶ μηδενὶ
 μηδὲν εἰρηκῶς ἀνατρέχει τὰς ὀκτῶ μονὰς καὶ ἀπέρχεται πρὸς
 τὸν μακάριον Ἀντώνιον καὶ κρούει τὴν θύραν. ἐξελθὼν οὖν
 ἐρωτᾷ αὐτόν· Τί θέλεις; λέγει αὐτῷ· Μοναχὸς θέλω γενέσθαι.
 10 ἀποκρίνεται | ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα γέρον
 ἄνθρωπος ὡδε μοναχὸς οὐ δύνασαι γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 ἄπελθε εἰς κώμην καὶ ἐργάζου, καὶ ζῆθι ἐργατικὸν βίον εὐχα-
 ριστῶν τῷ θεῷ· ὑπομείναι γὰρ τὰς θλίψεις τῆς ἐρήμου οὐ
 δύνασαι. ἀποκρίνεται ὁ γέρον πάλιν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Εἴ τι ἄν
 15 με διδάξης ἐκείνο ποιῶ. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Εἴρηκά σοι
 ὅτι γέρον εἶ καὶ οὐ δύνασαι· ἄπελθε εἰ ἄρα θέλεις μοναχὸς
 γενέσθαι εἰς κοινοβίον πλειόνων ἀδελφῶν, οἵτινες δύνανταί σου
 τῆς ἀσθενείας ἀνέχεσθαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνος κάθημαι ὡδε διὰ
 πέντε ἐσθίων καὶ τοῦτο λιμῶ. τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ῥήμασιν
 20 ἀπεσόβει τὸν Παῦλον· καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἠνείχετο αὐτοῦ κλείσας τὴν
 μοιχομένην, ἤρεμα ἐπιγελάσαι καὶ ὄρκον προσθεῖναι ὡς οὐκ ἔτι αὐτῆ συνοικήσει·
 Ἔχε δὲ αὐτὴν, πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν εἰπὼν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἦλθε πρὸς Ἀντώνιον.

19—10 (p. 72) A and B are printed in full *Prol.* pp. 30—34.

PTOlss₂

1 ἐπὶ μήκου[s] τῶν χρόνων O οὖν + ποτὲ B†(lss₂) αἰφνίδιος O 2 αὐτὴν
 αἰσχροπραγούσαν Ols₂ 3 καὶ] + θεασάμενος ταύτην μετὰ τοῦ συνήθους B; cum eam
 ...cum alio iacentem uiro deprehendisset l; 'when he entered and saw them' s
 σεμνῶς O ἐπιφέρει T 5 ἔχε] PTA^B Soz.; ἔχεις OB; + καὶ O 6 αὐτῆ] s₂
 breaks off to end of chapter

PTOl_s

6 ὑπάγω] + καὶ OB†(ls) 7 εἰρηκῶς] + ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ T 8 ἐλθὼν T οὖν] + ὁ
 ἄγιος T; ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος OB (al. ἄγιος, al. μέγας) s 9 ἐρωτᾷ αὐτόν] λέγει
 αὐτῷ T αὐτῷ] ἐκείνους T; + ὁ Παῦλος Bs 10 ὁ] om O καὶ λέγει] om TA^B
 αὐτῷ] PB (before ὁ Ἀντ.) s; om TOI 11 δύνασαι] PA^{B38}B†ls; δύναται TOA^{B37}B†
 γενέσθαι before οὐ TOB 12 ζῆθι] νῆθαι (sic) O 14 πάλιν before ὁ TOB
 αὐτῷ] Ps; om TOB; (l ille) 15 ἐκείνο] τοῦτο TB† ποιῶ] PTA^BB⁴⁶⁻⁸s; ποιήσω
 OB†l ὁ] + ἄγιος P 16 δύνασαι] + ὡδε εἶναι P; + μονάσαι A^BB†; imr' re quod
 quaeris l: txt TOB†s 17 κοινοβίων] + εἰσελθε TOB†; txt Ps ἦς ἀσθ.]
 om O ἀνέχεσθαι] PTB†; ἀνασχέσθαι OB⁴⁶⁻⁸; ἀντήχεσθαι A^B; ἀνέχουσαι B†
 20 ἠνείχετο] PTA^B; ἠνείχετο OB

θύραν ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐξήλθεν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς δι' αὐτόν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνεχώρησε. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ χρεῖας αὐτὸν ἀναγκαζούσης ἀνοίξας ἐξήλθε καὶ πάλιν λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἀπελθε ἐντεῦθεν, γέρων· τί με ὑποπιιάξεις; οὐ δύνασαι ἄδε μείναι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ἀμήχανόν μοι ἔστιν ἀλ- 5 λαχοῦ τελευτήσαι ἀλλ' ἢ ἄδε. περιβλεψάμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ θεασάμενος ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τροφήν οὐ βαστάζει, οὐκ ἄρτον, οὐχ ὕδωρ, καὶ τετάρτην ἔχει καρτερήσας νῆστις, Μήποτε καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, φησί, καὶ κηλιδώσῃ μου τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰσδέχεται αὐτόν. καὶ τοιαύτην ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις 10 πολιτεῖαν οἷαν οὐδέποτε ἐν νεότητι. καὶ βρέξας θαλλοὺς λέγει αὐτῷ· Δέξαι, πλέξον σειρὰν ὡς καὶ γῶ. πλέκει ὁ γέρων ἕως ἐννάτης ὀργυρίας δεκαπέντε μοχθήσας. θεασάμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος δυσηρεστήθη καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Κακῶς ἐπλέξας ἀπόπλεξον καὶ ἄνωθεν πλέξον· νῆσται αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ ἡλικιωτῇ 15 ταύτῃ ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν σῆψιν, ἵνα δυσφορήσας ὁ γέρων φύγῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀπέπλεξε καὶ πάλιν ἐπλέξε τοὺς αὐτοὺς θαλλοὺς, εἰ καὶ δυσχερέστερον διὰ τὸ ἐρρυτιδῶσθαι. θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅτι οὔτε ἐγόγγυσεν οὔτε ἐμικροψύχησεν οὔτε ἠγανάκτησε, κατενύγη. καὶ δύναντος τοῦ ἡλίου λέγει αὐτῷ· 20 Θέλεις φάγωμεν ἄρτου κλάσμα; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ὡς

15—19 Soz. (14) Πραότατον δὲ καὶ καρτερικὸν εἰς ἅπαν λέγεται τόνδε γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀμίλει τοι καὶ γηραλέῳ ὄντι καὶ μοναστικῆς τληπαθείας (ἀλ. πολιτείας) ἀήθει, ἔτι γὰρ νήγλις ἦν, πωτοδαπαῖς πείραις προσβαλὼν Ἀντώνιος, ἐν οὐδενὶ ἀγεννῇ ἐφόρασε.

P¹TO¹s

2 ὁ ὡς T δὲ² PA^B; οὖν OB; om T 3 ἀναγκαζούσης] POB⁺; ἀναγκασθῆς TB⁺; καταλαβούσης A^BB⁺ αὐτῷ λεγ. TO 4 ἐντεῦθεν] PTA^B; ἐθεν OB γέρον TB⁺ 5 μείναι] εἶναι OB⁴⁵⁻⁶ ἀμήχανον] ἀδύνατον A^B μοι] με O 6 ἀλλ' ἢ] TOB⁴⁵⁻⁶; ἀλλ' (om ἢ) PB⁺; εἰ μὴ A^B; Is nisi 8 τετάρτην] + ἡμέραν OA^BB⁴⁵⁻⁶ καὶ²] om O 9 φησί] om T αὐτόν] + τότε B¹ (tandem) 11 πολιτεῖαν before ὁ Ἀντ. O; after ὁ Ἀντ. T οὐδὲ TO; οὔτε δε ἦν A^B ἐν] + τῇ TB⁴⁵⁻⁶ θαλλοῦς] + ἐκ φοινίκων B¹ (s, om s²⁰) 12 μέχρις OB⁺ 13 ἐννάτης] + ὥρας T μοχθήσας] PTOB⁴⁵⁻⁶; μόχθῳ πολλῷ A^BB¹ (cum maximo labore) οὖν] δὲ TB 14 δυσηρεσθῆ O 16 ἐπάγων TOB⁺ σῆψιν] sic PTB⁺; σέψιν O; στυψιν B⁴⁵⁻⁶; κόπον B⁺; pondus Is 17 τοὺς θαλ. τοὺς αὐτοὺς T 18 ἐρρυτιδῶσθαι] PTO (ἐρρυτι. TO, and -δεσθ O); εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης πλοκῆς ἐρρυτιδωμένους (B⁴⁵⁻⁶, al. ἐρρυσιωμένους) B: ('bent' i.e. 'wrinkled' Is) 19 δὲ] P; οὖν OB; om T 19, 20 οὔτε ἠγανάκτησεν οὔτε ἐγόγγυσεν (καὶ οὔτε ἐμικροψύ.) O 21 ἄρτων, om κλάσμα O

δοκεῖ σοι, ἀββᾶ. καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν ἔκαμψε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, τὸ μὴ προσδραμεῖν προθύμως τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀγγελίᾳ ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐπιρρίψαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν. θεῖς οὖν τὴν τράπεζαν φέρει ἄρτους. καὶ θεῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς παξαμάδας ἔχοντας ἀνὰ ἕξ οὐγγιών, 5 ἑαυτῷ μὲν | ἔβρεξεν ἕνα, ξηροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τρεῖς. καὶ βάλλει ψαλμὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὃν ἤδει, καὶ δωδέκατον αὐτὸν ψάλλας δωδέκατον ἠΰξατο, ἵνα δοκιμάσῃ τὸν Παῦλον. ὁ δὲ πάλιν προθύμως συνήχετο· ἤρείτο γὰρ ὡς οἶμαι σκορπίους ποιμᾶναι ἢ μοιχαλίδι γυναικὶ συζῆσαι. μετὰ δὲ τὰς δώδεκα 10 προσευχὰς ἐκαθέσθησαν φαγεῖν ἐσπέρας βαθείας. φαγὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν ἕνα παξαμᾶν ἄλλου οὐχ ἤφατο. ὁ δὲ γέρων σχολαιότερον ἐσθίων ἔτι εἶχε τοῦ παξαμαδίου· ἐξεδέχετο ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἕως οὗ τελέσῃ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Φάγε, παπία, καὶ ἄλλον παξαμᾶν. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ἐὰν σὺ ἐσθίης, κἀγὼ· 15 σοῦ δὲ μὴ ἐσθίουτος οὐκ ἐσθίω. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Ἐμοὶ ἐπαρκεῖ· μοναχὸς γὰρ εἰμι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ἀρκεῖ κἀμοί· κἀγὼ γὰρ θέλω μοναχὸς γενέσθαι. ἐγείρεται πάλιν καὶ ποιεῖ δεκαδύο εὐχὰς καὶ δεκαδύο ψαλμοὺς ψάλλει. καθεύδει μικρὸν τοῦ πρωτουπνίου, καὶ πάλιν ἐγείρεται ψύλλειν μεσο- 20 νυκτίῳ ἕως ἡμέρας. ὡς οὖν εἶδε τὸν γέροντα προθύμως ἐπακολουθήσαντα αὐτοῦ τῇ πολιτείᾳ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐὰν δύνασαι καθ'

PTOls

1 πάλιν] + ἐπὶ πλείον B; 'greatly' s 3 ἐπιρρίψαι] POA^B; ἐπιτρέψαι TB
θεῖς... ἄρτους] PO (om τὴν); θεῖς οὖν, φησί, (+ ὁ Ἀντ. τῷ γέροντι B¹) τὴν τράπεζαν. καὶ
ὑπήκουσε. φέρει ἄρτους ὁ Ἀντ. B; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· θεῖς τράπ. (om φέρει ἄρτους) T; pone
ergo mensam, inquit Antonius, et panes affer ls (om Ant.) 4 καὶ θεῖς] PTO;
ἐπιτεθεικώς B⁴⁵⁻⁶; καὶ ἐπιτίθησι B(ls): + τῇ τραπέζῃ Bs παξαμάδας] POB¹; -μαδ-
T; (-αματ-, -αμτ-, -αμδ-, B¹): + τέσσαρας Bs ἔχοντας] + ὡς TOBts ἀνὰ] PBT;
ἕξ B¹; ἀπὸ B¹; om TO οὐγγιών] PB¹ (T τοῦ κίων sic); οὐγκίας OB¹ 5 ξηροὶ
γὰρ ἦσαν] om O καὶ] om TOB¹ 6 βάλλει] PB; βάλλων O: ψάλλει T ὃν ἤδει
before ὁ Ἀντ. T 7 ἵνα] + καὶ ἐν τούτῳ B; sic l τὸν Π. αὐτῷ O 8 συνή-
χετο] P; συνήξατο TOB ὡς] om T οἶμαι] + ὁ Π. O σκορπίους] + μάλλον B1
9 γυναικὶ] om TB1 συνοικῆσαι γυν. O δέ] γοῦν T 10 εὐχὰς T ἐσπέρας
βαθείας] PB (+ οὐσης); ἐσπέραν βαθείαν TOA^B 11 τὸν παξ. τὸν ἕνα TOB
12 ἐξεδέχετο] POA^B; ἐξεδέξατο TB: + οὖν OB 13 καὶ] om P αὐτῷ] τῷ Παύλῳ O
παπία] PBT¹; παπία OB¹ 15 οὐκ] οὐδὲ ἐγὼ OA^B 16 ἐπαρκεῖ] ἐν ἀρκεί O;
ἀρκεῖ T κἀμοὶ ἐπαρκεῖ T 17 μον. γὰρ θέλω γεν. (om κἀγὼ) T μοναχὸς θέλω
OB¹ 18 δεκαδύο] (bis) P; δώδεκα TOB προσευχὰς OB ψάλλει] ψάλλων
(sic) O 19 πρωτουπνίου OB⁴⁵⁻⁶ προυπνίου T ἐγείροντα: OB ψάλλων] ψάλλων
μικρὸν (sic) O μεσονυκτίῳ] P; ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσονυκτίου TB (om τῆς); μεσονυκτίων O
20 ἕως] + πρὸς O προθύμως] μετὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν T: + αὐτῷ OB ἐπακολουθούτα O
21 αὐτοῦ] after πολιτεία T; om OB

ἡμέραν οὕτως, μένε μετ' ἐμοῦ. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Ἐὰν μὲν τί ποτε πλέον, οὐκ οἶδα· ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἃ εἶδον ποιῶ εὐχερῶς. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῇ ἐξῆς· Ἴδου γέγονας μοναχός.

Πληροφορηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος μετὰ μῆνας ῥητοὺς ὅτι τελείας ἐστὶ ψυχῆς, | λίαν ὦν ἀπλοῦς, τῆς χάριτος αὐτῷ συνερ- 5
γούσης, ποιεῖ αὐτῷ κέλλαν ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἴδου γέγονας μοναχός· μένε κατ' ἰδίαν ἵνα καὶ πείρα δαιμόνων λάβῃς. οἰκήσας οὖν ἔτος ἕν ὁ Παῦλος χάριτος ἠξιώθη κατὰ δαιμόνων καὶ νοσημάτων. ἐν οἷς ποτὲ καθ' ὑπερ-
βολὴν δεινότητος ἤχθη τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ δαιμονιῶν ἀρχοντικόν 10
ἔχων πνεῦμα, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔδυσφῆμι. προσχὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος λέγει τοῖς ἀγαθοῦσιν· Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· κατὰ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ τάγματος τοῦ ἀρχοντικοῦ οὕτω ἠξιώθη χάρισματος, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο Παύλου ἐστίν. ἀπελθὼν οὖν Ἀντώνιος πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον ἀπάγει αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· 15
Ἀββᾶ Παῦλε, ἔκβαλε τὸ δαιμόνιον τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἵνα ὑγιαίνων ἀπέλθῃ εἰς τὰ ἴδια. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Σὺ γὰρ τί; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Οὐ σχολάζω ἐγώ, ἀλλο ἔχω ἔργον. καὶ καταλείψας αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πάλιν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν κέλλαν. ἀναστὰς οὖν ὁ γέρων καὶ προσευξάμενος ἐνεργῆ 20
προσευχὴν προσλαλεῖ τῷ δαιμονιῶντι· Εἴρηκεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος ὅτι Ἐξελθε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. ὁ δὲ δαίμων μετὰ δυσφημίας ἔκραξε λέγων· Οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι, κακόγηρε. λαβὼν οὖν τὴν μηλωτὴν αὐτοῦ κατὰ νώτου ἔτυπτεν αὐτὸν λέγων· Ἐξελθε

4—13 Soz. (14) τελείαν δὲ αὐτῷ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιμαρτυρήσας καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαίγειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ὡς μηδὲν διδασκάλου δεόμενον. ἐπεψηφίζετο δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῇ Ἀντωνίου μαρτυρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπεδείκνυε τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνδοξότατον· κρείττονα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἰς τὸ κακοῦν καὶ ἀπελαύνειν τοὺς δαίμονας.

PTOis

1 μείναι O 2 πλέον] + ἐχῆς μοι δείξει B; iubeas l d εἶδον] [δε O 3 ἐξῆς] ἄλλη T; τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέραν B 4 οὖν] om O δ] + μακάριος B1 μετὰ μῆνας οὖν ῥητοὺς πλ. ὁ Ἀντ. T ῥητοὺς] τρεῖς O 5 τέλειος OBt ἀπ. ὦν TBt τῆς] + τοῦ θεοῦ B1 (diuina) 6 ποιεῖ] + δε T κέλλαν αὐτῷ O ὡς] om T ἢ τεσσ.] om T 7 μένε] + τοῖνον P (s^{an}, not s) 8 χάριτος] PTO; χαρίσματος B 10 ἠμέχθη TA^B ἀρχικὸν B 11 δε] δε] O τὸν] om T προσέχων T 12 οὖν] om T ἀγαθοῦσιν T: + αὐτὸν TB1 ἐμοῦ P τοῦτο after ἔργον O τοῦτο τὸ] om T 13 ἀρχοντικοῦ] PO; ἀρχικοῦ TB 14 οὖν] + ὁ TOB: + μακάριος B1 15 ἀγαθῶν (om και) O αὐτῷ] om T1 19 πάλιν] om T8 20 ἐνεργῆ T ἐνεργεῖ προσευχῆ O 21 δαίμονι δε] O 22 δε] om O 23 κακόγηρε] P T ven OA^{B1}; φαγόγηρε B8: (+ λῆρε BA^B) 24 κατὰ] + τοῦ TOB

εἶρηκεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος. λαιδορεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ αὐτὸν πάλιν ὁ δαίμων σφοδρότερον. τέλος λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐκβαίνεις, ἢ ὑπάγω λέγω τῷ Χριστῷ. μὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἐὰν οὐκ ἐκβαίνης ἤδη ἄρτι ὑπάγω λέγω τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ οὐαὶ σοι ἔχει 5 ποιῆσαι. προσεδυσφήμει πάλιν ὁ δαίμων κράζων· Οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι. χολέσας οὖν ὁ Παῦλος κατὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐξῆλθεν ἐξω τῆς ξενίας κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν σταθερὰν μεσημβρίαν· τῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τὸ καῦμα συγγενές ἐστι τῆς καμίνου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. καὶ στὰς κατὰ πέτρας ἐν τῷ ὄρει προσεύχεται καὶ λέγει οὕτως· 10 Σὺ βλέπεις, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ὅτι οὐ μὴ κατέλθω ὑπὸ τῆς πέτρας, οὐ φάγω οὐ πῖω ἕως οὐ ἀποθάνω, ἐὰν μὴ ἐκβάλῃς τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐλευθερώσῃς τὸν ἄνθρωπον. πρὸ τοῦ δὲ τελεσθῆναι τοὺς λόγους τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀνέκραξεν ὁ δαίμων λέγων· Ὡ βία, ἐλαύνο- 15 μαι· ἢ ἀπλότης με τοῦ Παύλου ἐλαύνει, | καὶ ποῦ ἀπέλθω; καὶ παραχρήμα ἐξῆλθε τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ εἰς δράκοντα μέγαν ἐβδομήκοντα πήχεων μετεβλήθη συρόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἐρυθράν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥήθην· Ἐπιδεικνυμένην πίστιν ἀπαγγελεῖ δίκαιος. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ θαῦμα Παύλου ὃς ἐπεκλήθη ἀπλοῦς 20 παρὰ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος.

(XXIII) Πάχων τις ὀνόματι ἀμφὶ τὸ ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος

18 Prov. xii. 17.

21 Critical texts of l and l₂ and full collations of s and s₂ for the first half of this chapter are supplied in *Introd.* § 5. Tullberg's mss. A and B give the full text of s for the whole chapter (*Paradisus Patrum* 29—33).

PTOlS

2 αὐτῷ] + ὁ Παῦλος Bls 3, 4 Μὰ...Χρ.] om TB⁺ (homoeotel.) 3 οὐκ] om O
4 ἤδη] Pl (iam nune); ἐγὼ OB⁺(s) 5 δυσφήμει T 6 χολέσας O 7 αὐτὴν]
om O δέ] οὖν O 8 τῆς Βαβ. καμ. TOB 9 πέτραν TO ἐν τῷ ὄρει] om A^Bs
προσηύξατο O καὶ λέγει] PT; λέγων OB οὕτως] TOBlS; om P 10 βλέπεις]
+ κύριε T 11 στι] om T ἀπὸ] ἐκ T οὐ] οὐ μὴ (bis) TB⁺ οὐ] ἄν O
12 πνεῦμα] PO; δαιμόνιον T; δαίμονα B 12, 13 καὶ...ἀνθ.] om. Tl 13 ἀνθρω-
πον] + ἐτι ταῦτα λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ Bl (quo ista dicente) καὶ πρὸ T δέ] PO; om
TB 14 λέγων before ὁ δ. TO 14, 15 ἐλαύνομαι] ἐλαίνει με, stop after Παύλου
and om με, O 15 τοῦ] PO; om TB ἀπέλθω] + οὐκ οἶδα Bl 17 πήχεων]
PB⁴⁵⁻⁶; πηχῶν TOB⁺ πήχ. ἐβδ. TB συρόμενον T 18 ἀπαγγελλει O
19 ρούτο] + δέ O 20 π. τῆς ἀδ.] PB; π. τῆ ἀδ. (dat.) TA^B; π. τὴν ἀδ. (acc.) O

XXIII (Περὶ Πάχωνος): PTVC86ll_{1,2}s₂

21, 1 (p. 75) Πάχων...Σκτήρει] 36 tr to p. 75, l. 8 21 τις] om T ἐλ.
ἔτος TVC(B)

ἐλάσας ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ Σκῆτει. συνέβη δὲ ὀχληθέντα με ἐπι-
 θυμία γυναικὸς δυσφορεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ πρὸς
 τὰς φαντασίας τὰς νυκτερινὰς· καὶ ἐγγὺς γενόμενος τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν
 τῆς ἐρήμου, ἐλαύνοντός με τοῦ πάθους, τοῖς μὲν γείτοσι τοῖς
 ἐμοῖς οὐκ ἀνεθέμην τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὔτε τῷ διδασκάλῳ μου Εὐαγρίῳ· 5
 λεληθότως δὲ παραβαλὼν εἰς τὴν πανέρημον, συνετύγχανον
 ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σκῆτιν γηράσασι πατρά-
 σιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐν οἷς περιέτυχον καὶ τῷ Πάχωνι. εὐρὼν
 οὖν αὐτὸν ἀκεραιότερον καὶ ἀσκητικώτερον, ἐθάρρησα ἀνα-
 θέσθαι μου αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς διανοίας. καὶ λέγει μοι οὗτος· Μὴ 10
 ξενίσῃ σε τὸ πρᾶγμα· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ πάσχεις ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας·
 μαρτυρεῖ γὰρ σοι καὶ ὁ τόπος καὶ ἡ σπάνις τῶν χρειῶν, καὶ
 τὸ μὴ εἶναι συντυχίας θηλειῶν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς.
 τριπλοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος ὁ πορνικός. ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἡ σὰρξ
 ἡμῖν ἐπιτίθεται εὐρωστοῦσα· ποτὲ δὲ τὰ πάθη διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· 15
 ποτὲ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δαίμων τῇ βασκανίᾳ. ἐγὼ γὰρ πολλὰ
 παρατηρήσας εὔρηκα τοῦτο. ἰδοὺ ὡς ὀρᾷς με γέροντα ἄνθρω-
 πον· τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχω ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κέλλῃ φροντίζων
 τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας· καὶ ταύτην ἄγων τὴν ἡλικίαν μέχρι
 τοῦτου πειράζομαι. † καὶ ὡς † διώμνυτο ὅτι Ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτη μετὰ 20

8—16 Soz. VI. 29 (22) Καὶ Πάχων δὲ τότε ἐν Σκῆτει διέπρεπεν· ὃν ἐκ νέου
 μέχρι γήρωσ πολιτευσάμενον, οὔτε σῶμα εὖ ἔχον, οὔτε πάθος ψυχῆς, οὔτε δαίμων
 ἄνθρωπον ἐφώρασε περὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ὧν δεῖ κρατεῖν τὸν φιλόσοφον.

PTVC3611₂ss₂

1 καθήμενος 36 τῇ] om VC Σκῆτει] B 36 (Soz); Σκῆτη P; Σκίτει TVC (see
 Note 14) δὲ] ποτὲ 36 ὀχλ. με] P 36 (ὀχληθῆναι με); με ὀχληθέντα TB; με
 ὀλισθήσαντα VC 2 γυναικὸς] PT 36; γυναικίῃ VCA^B; γυναικείᾳ B: + καὶ 36
 λογισμοῖς] + μου VC πρὸς²] om P 3 τοῦ] om T 4 τοῖς ἐμοῖς] P 36 (om τοῖς);
 μου TA^B; μου καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς VC; τῶν πατέρων B 5 ἀλλ' οὐτε B (I^{am} sed ne; om
 sed I^{am} I^{am}) μου] om 36 Εὐαγρίῳ] TVCBss₂; Εὐλογίῳ P36A^B; (om I₂)
 6 παρέβαλον VC ἔρημον P: + καὶ VC 7 Σκίτιν VC γηράσασι] + ἀγίους P(I₂)
 πατράσι] om VC 8 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] 36TBss₂(11₂s); om PVC ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ τις II. (and
 insert first sentence) 36 καὶ] + τῷδε P(1s) 9 ἀσκ. καὶ ἀκερ. 36 10 αὐτῷ
 before ἀναθέσθαι VCB; om 36T οὕτως T1s 11 γὰρ] om 36 πάσχεις αὐτὸ
 36A^B 12 σπάνη P καὶ διὰ τὴν σπ. καὶ διὰ τὸ 36(s) 13 συντυχίαν τῶν 36
 θηλειῶν] + ἐνθάδε B1₂s 14 ὁ πορνικός πόλεμος P ποτὲ] ὅτε V γὰρ] om 36
 15 ἐπιτιθ. ἡμῖν P εὐρωστοῦσα] PT36; εὐπαθοῦσα VCB 16 τῇ] om VC
 βασκανίᾳ] + χρώμενος P πολλά] om 36 18 τεσσαράκοστα 36 ἔχω T36
 19 ἄγων] ἔχω T36 20 καὶ ὡς] TVCs (←ωσο); om καὶ P(1₂); om ὡς 36B₂
 διώμνυτο] + λέγων B₂

τὸ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος οὐ νύκτα μοι συνεχώρησεν, οὐχ ἡμέραν,
 ἐπιτιθέμενος. ὑπονοήσας οὖν ὅτι ἀπέστη μου ὁ θεός, διὸ καὶ
 καταδυναστεύομαι, ἡρετισάμην ἀποθανεῖν ἀλόγως ἢ πάθει
 σώματος ἀσχημονῆσαι αἰσχρῶς. καὶ ἐξελθὼν καὶ περιελθὼν
 5 τὴν ἔρημον εὗρον σπήλαιον ὑαίνης· εἰς δὲ σπήλαιον ἔθηκα
 ἔμαντὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γυμνόν, ἵνα ἐξελθόντα φάγη με τὰ θηρία.
 ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον Ἔθου σκότος καὶ
 ἐγένετο νύξ· ἐν αὐτῇ διελεύονται πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ δρυμοῦ,
 ἐξελθόντες οἱ θῆρες, ὃ τε ἄρσην καὶ ἡ θήλεια, ὠσφράνησάν
 10 μου ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν περιλείξαντες· καὶ ὡς προσεδόκων
 βρωθῆναι | ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. πεσὼν οὖν διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς
 οὐκ ἐβρώθην· λογισάμενος δὲ ὅτι ἐφείσατό μου ὁ θεός, αὐθις
 ὑποστρέφω εἰς τὴν κέλλαν. καρτερήσας οὖν ὁ δαίμων ἡμέρας
 ὀλίγας πάλιν ἐπέθετό μοι σφοδρότερον τοῦ πρώτου, ὡς παρὰ
 15 μικρὸν με καὶ βλασφημῆσαι. μετασχηματισθεὶς οὖν εἰς αἰθίο-
 πισαν κόρην, ἣν ἐώρακειν ποτὲ ἐν νεότητί μου εἰς τὸ θέρος
 καλαμωμένην, ἐπικάθηται μοι τοῖς γόνασι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν
 με κεκίνηκεν ὡς νομίσαι με συγγενέσθαι αὐτῇ. ἀπομανεὶς οὖν
 20 τῆς δυσωδίας τῆς χειρὸς μου ἀνασχέσθαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθην.
 μικροψυχήσας οὖν καὶ ἀπευδοκήσας ἐξήλθον εἰς τὴν πανέρημον
 ἀλώμενος· καὶ εὐρῶν ἀσπίδα μικρὰν καὶ λαβῶν αὐτὴν προσ-

7 Ps. ciii. 20.

PTVC36ll₂ss₂

1 πεντηκοστὸν] + ἔχοντα VC συνεχώρησεν] συνεπάθησεν VC συνεχώρησαν
 and ἐπιτιθέμενος 36 2 ἐπινοήσας 36 3 καταδυν.] + οὕτως B_s ἡρετισάμην]
 36VC; ἡρησάμην PTB 4 ἑνασχ. 36 αἰσχρῶς] PVCB1; om 36T1₂ss₂(s) 5 ἐμ.
 ἐθ. P 6 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ] ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν A^B1₂ss₂ ἐλθόντα P 7 ἐγεν. οὖν P ἐθου]
 posuit 1₂^b (cf. O.L.) s (cf. Pesh.) 8 διελεύεται VC (s ~~ⲓⲃⲏⲥ~~, Pesh. ~~ⲓⲃⲏⲥ~~)
 τοῦ δρυμοῦ] siluagum ll₂ (cf. O.L.) s (Tullberg's A, but not add. 17177); ἀγροῦ 36
 10 μου] PT36A^B; με VCB ἀπὸ κεφ. ἕως ποδ.] PT36(ll₂ss₂); ἀπὸ ποδ. ἕως κεφ. VCB
 (μέχρι) περιλείξαντες] περιλείξαντα VC: + με Bll₂ss₂ (s 'my body') προσεδόκων]
 36TVC; προσεδόκων PA^BB (ἐδόκουν) 11 βρωθῆναι] + ἵπ' αὐτῶν P1 πεσῶν] ὡς T
 οὖν] + ἐκεῖ Bll₂ss₂ 12 δέ] οὖν 36; om TB[†] θεός] + ἀπέστην A^Bss₂ αὐθις] + οὖν
 A^BB 13 οὖν] δέ T 14 πάλιν] VCBll₂ss₂; om PT36 μου P μοι ἐπ. VCB
 15 με καὶ] om 36 οὖν] PT36; γὰρ VCB(ll₂ss₂); δέ A^B: + ὁ δαίμων TVC1₂ss₂ ('this
 demon of fornication') 16 ἐώρακα 36 μου] PB1₂ss₂; om TVC361 17 ἐπε-
 κάθητο 36 18 ἐκίνησεν VC36 αὐτῇ] om 36 ἀπὸ μανίας 36 οὖν] + ἐγὼ TB[†]
 19 δέδωκα TA^B καὶ] + οὕτως B(ll₂s statim) ἄφαντος] + καὶ P οὖν] T36;
 δέ VC; om P 20 μου] om VC ἀνέχεσθαι TA^B36 ἠδυνήθην] PA^BB[†];
 ἠδυνάμην TVC36B[†] 21 καὶ ἀπευδ.] om VC 21—3 (p. 77) ἐξήλθον.....ἐδήχθη]
 om 1₂ 22 εὐρῶν] P36; εὐρον TVCB προσάγω P

φέρω τοῖς γεννητικοῖς μου μορίοις, ἵνα κὰν οὕτω δηχθεῖς ἀποθάνω. καὶ προστρέψας τοῦ θηρίου τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῖς μορίοις, ὡς αἰτίοις μοι τοῦ πειρασμοῦ, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐδήχθην. ἤκουσα οὖν φωνῆς ἐλθούσης ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μου, ὅτι Ἄπελθε, Πάχων, ἀγωνίζου· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀφήκά σε καταδυναστευθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ μέγα φρονήσης ὡς δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπιγνούς σου τὴν ἀσθένειαν μὴ θαρρήσης τῇ σῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλὰ προσδράμῃς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείᾳ. οὕτω πληροφορηθεῖς ἀνέκαμψα, καὶ μετὰ θάρρους καθίσας καὶ μηκέτι φροντίσας τοῦ πολέμου εἰρήνευσα τὰς ἐπιλοιπούς ἡμέρας. ὁ δὲ γινούς μου τὴν καταφρόνησιν οὐκέτι μοι ἤγγισεν.

(XXIV) Στέφανός τις Λίβυς τῷ γένει ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς Μαρμαρικῆς καὶ τοῦ Μαρεώτου ἐκαθέσθη ἐπὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη. οὗτος εἰς ἄκρον γενόμενος ἀσκητῆς καὶ διακριτικὸς κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος ὥστε πάντα τὸν λυπούμενον οἰανδήποτε λύπην συντυχόντα αὐτῷ ἄλυπον ἀναχωρεῖν. γνώριμος δὲ ἦν καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἀντωνίῳ· ἔφθασε δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἡμερῶν. ὃ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ συνέτυχον διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ τόπου· οἱ δὲ περὶ

11 ἤγγισεν] Bl^{res} add (text of A^B): Τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς πρὸς τὸν σατανᾶν παλαίσμασιν ὁ ἅγιος Πάχων στηρίζας με καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀλείφας με καὶ γενναίωτερον παρασκευάσας πρὸς τὸν τῆς πορνείας δαίμονα ἐκδιδάξας ἀπέπεμψεν, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνδρίζεσθαί με παρακελευσάμενος.

In s₂ a short sentence is added quite different from this.

12—16 (p. 78) Soz. vi. 29 (23) Στέφανος δὲ περὶ τὸν Μαρεώτην τὴν οἰκίαν εἶχεν, οὐκ ἀποθεν τῆς Μαρμαρικῆς. δι' ἀκριβοῦς δὲ καὶ τελειοτάτης χωρήσας ἀσκήσεως ἐπὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσιν, εὐδοκίμωτάτος ἐγένετο μοναχὸς καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ γνώριμος. ἐγένετο δὲ πρᾶος καὶ σοφὸς εἰς ὅσον καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἡδύς καὶ ὠφέλιμος, καὶ

PTVC361₂s₂

1 μου] om T 2 προστρέψας [τοῦ θ. τὴν κεφ.] PTA^B36; τὴν κ. τοῦ θ. VCB 3 μορίοις] + τοῦ σώματος 36 [ἀ αἰτία] 5 οὐδὲ οὕτως] PBI; οὐκ (om οὕτως) TVC36s₂; (I₂ vnc) 4 ὅτι] om 36 6 ἐπιγνούς] 36 TVCA^B(I); ἐπιγνώεις P(I₂, καὶ μὴ) 7 ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (ἐξ ἄλλου πολ.) 36 ἀλλά] + del BI 8 δυναστεία 36 οὕτω] + δὲ PA^B [καὶ οὕτως] + τὴν κέλλαν BI₂^a(I) 9 θάρρους] + λοιπὸν BI 10 ἐπιλοιπούς] PTA^B [τοῦ πολέμου] VCB (λοιπὰς BI) 11 μοι] om T 86

XXIV (Περὶ Στεφάνου τοῦ Λίβου): PTVCl₂s₂

12 τις] + ὄνομα [τοῦ γένους] καὶ τοῦ M.] καὶ παραωνίου (sic) T ἐκαθέσθη after γένει VC 14 γενόμενος] καὶ VC διακριτικὸς P (I₂) χαρ. κατ. T 15 ὥστε] PA^B; VCB [τοῦ] αὐτὸν T δέ] + ὄστος BI 17 ἡμετέρων] om T ἡμερῶν [καρῶν] VCB 18, 1 (p. 78) περὶ.....Ἐδάγμων] om A^B

εἶρηκεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος. λαιδορεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ αὐτὸν πάλιν ὁ δαίμων σφοδρότερον. τέλος λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐκβαίνεις, ἢ ὑπάγω λέγω τῷ Χριστῷ. μὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἐὰν οἶκ ἐκβαίνης ἤδη ἄρτι ὑπάγω λέγω τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ οὐαὶ σοι ἔχει
 5 ποιῆσαι. προσεδυσφήμει πάλιν ὁ δαίμων κράζων· Οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι. χολέσας οὖν ὁ Παῦλος κατὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς ξενίας κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν σταθερὰν μεσημβρίαν· τῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τὸ καῦμα συγγενές ἐστι τῆς καμίνου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. καὶ στὰς κατὰ πέτρας ἐν τῷ ὄρει προσεύχεται καὶ λέγει οὕτως·
 10 Σὺ βλέπεις, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ὅτι οὐ μὴ κατέλθω ὑπὸ τῆς πέτρας, οὐ φάγω οὐ πῖω ἕως οὐ ἀποθάνω, ἐὰν μὴ ἐκβάλῃς τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐλευθερώσῃς τὸν ἄνθρωπον. πρὸ τοῦ δὲ τελεσθῆναι τοὺς λόγους τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀνέκραξεν ὁ δαίμων λέγων· Ὡ βία, ἐλαύνο-
 15 μαι· ἢ ἀπλότης με τοῦ Παύλου ἐλαύνει, | καὶ ποῦ ἀπέλθω; καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐξῆλθε τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ εἰς δράκοντα μέγαν ἐβδομήκοντα πῆχεων μετεβλήθη συρόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἐρυθράν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν· Ἐπιδεικνυμένην πίστιν ἀπαγγελεῖ δίκαιος. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ θαῦμα Παύλου ὃς ἐπεκλήθη ἀπλοῦς
 20 παρὰ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος.

(XXIII) Πάχων τις ὀνόματι ἀμφὶ τὸ ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος

18 Prov. xii. 17.

21 Critical texts of l and l_2 and full collations of s and s_2 for the first half of this chapter are supplied in *Introd.* § 5. Tullberg's mss. A and B give the full text of s for the whole chapter (*Paradisus Patrum* 29—33).

PTOIs

2 αὐτῷ] + ὁ Παῦλος B1s 3, 4 Μά...Χρ.] om TB† (homoeotel.) 3 οὐκ] om O 4 ἦδη] P1 (iam nuno); ἐγὼ OB†(s) 5 δυσφήμει T 6 χολέσας O 7 αὐτὴν] om O 8 ἐ] οὖν O 8 τῆς Βαβ. καμ. TOB 9 πέτραν TO ἐν τῷ ὄρει] om A²s 10 βλέπεις] προσηύξατο O καὶ λέγει] PT; λέγων OB οὕτως] TOB1s; om P 11 κύριε T 11 δτι] om T ἀπὸ] ἐκ T οὐ] οὐ μὴ (bis) TB† οὐ] ἄν O 12 πνεῦμα] PO; δαιμόνιον T; δαίμονα B 12, 13 καὶ...ἀνθ.] om. TI 13 ἀνθρωπον] + ἐτι ταῦτα λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ B1 (quo ista dicente) καὶ πρὸ T 14 ἀπλοῦς] om TB 14 λέγων before ὁ δ. TO 14, 15 ἐλαύνομαι] ἐλαύνει με, stop after Παύλου and om με, O 15 τοῦ] PO; om TB ἀπέλθω]+ οὐκ οἶδα B1 17 πῆχεων] PB⁴⁵⁻⁶; πηχῶν TOB† πῆχ. ἐβδ. TB 18 ἀπαγγελλει O 19 τοῦτο]+ δὲ O 20 π. τῆς δδ.] PB; π. τῆ δδ. (dat.) TA²; π. τῆ δδ. (acc.) O

XXIII (Περὶ Πάχωνος): PTVCS611,2,22

21, 1 (p. 75) Πάχων...Σκῆται] 86 tr to p. 75, l. 8 21 τις] T 21 ελ-
 ετος TVC(B)

(XXV) Οὐάλης τις γέγονε τῷ μὲν γένει Παλαιστίνος, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ Κορινθίος· Κορινθίοις γὰρ προσήψε τὸ πάθος τῆς φυσιώσεως ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος. οὗτος τὴν ἔρημον καταλαβὼν ᾤκησε μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείονα ἔτη· ὃς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασεν ὑπερηφανίας ὡς ὑπὸ δαιμόνων ἀπατηθῆναι. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ 5 μικρὸν ἀπατᾶσθαι αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασαν αὐτὸν μέγα φρονῆσαι, ὡς ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ συντυγχανόντων. μιᾶς γοῦν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὡς διηγούντο, ὅτι ἐργαζόμενος ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ τὴν βελόνην ἀφήκεν ἐν ἧ κατέρραπτε τὴν σπυρίδα· καὶ μὴ εὐρόντος αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ, λαμπάδα ἐποίησεν ὁ δαίμων καὶ εὔρε τὴν βελόνην. πάλιν 10 φυσιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφυσιώθη ὡς καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτὸν καταφρονῆσαι. συνέβη δὲ ἐλθόντας τινὰς ξένους τραγήματα ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀδελφότητι. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἡμῶν, ἀπέστειλεν ἡμῖν ἐκάστῳ εἰς τὴν κέλλαν 15 πρὸς δράκα, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῷ Οὐάλεντι. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Οὐάλης τὸν ἀπενεγκόντα ὕβρισε καὶ ἐτύπησε, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἄπελθε καὶ εἶπέ Μακαρίφ· Οὐκ εἰμί σου χείρων, ἵνα σὺ ἐμοὶ εὐλογίαν πέμψῃς. γνοὺς οὖν ὁ Μακάριος ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ἀπῆλθεν αὐτὸν παρακαλέσαι μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐάλη, 20 ἐνεπαίχθης· παῦσαι. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῶν παρμινέσεων ἀνεχώρησε. πληροφορηθεὶς οὖν ὁ δαίμων ὅτι εἰς ἄκρον αὐτοῦ ἐπέισθη τῇ πλάνῃ, ἀπέρχεται καὶ σχηματίζει ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὸν σωτήρα, καὶ παραγίνεται ἐν νυκτὶ ἐν φαντασίᾳ

XXV (Περὶ Οὐάλεντος): PTA²VC¹⁸₈₂

1 τὸ μὲν γένος VC Παλαιστιναῖος T 2 Κορινθίος] + πεφυσιωμένος τὸ φρόνημα
 A²⁰ 3 φύσεως (sic) PT 3, 4 ὁ ἅγιος Π. ἔτη] om l 3 οὗτος] om A
 καταλαβὼν] + καὶ αὐτὸς TA 4 τοσαύτην ἢ λ. ὑπερηφανίαν A 5 ὑπερηφ.] + βάρβαρον
 VC; ἄκρον κορυφῆς B1 (cacumen) (s): tct PTA₈₂ 6 αὐτὸν¹] om P παρεσκεύασαν]
 PTVCS₈₂; παρεσκεύασεν AB1 αὐτὸν²] om VC 7 ὡς ἀγγέλους οὖν τυγχάνοντας
 (sic) T μίαν T οὖν VC 8 διηγήσατο P τῇ] om P 9 εὐρών (om
 αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ) + εὐθύς A 11 μέγα ἐφρόνει] PA; μέγα φρονεῖ TB; μεγαλοφρονεῖ VC
 ἐφυσιώθη] ἐπήρθη A 12 αὐτῶν τῶν μ. (om αὐτὸν) A μυστ.] + τοῦ Χριστοῦ B:
 + 'of the holy Body and Blood of Christ' s 13 ἐνεγκεῖν after ἐκκλησίᾳ VC₂];
 14 τῇ ἀδ.] om VCS 15 ἡμῶν] om P ἡμῖν] PT; om AVCB1s ἐν τῇ κ.] om
 16 πρὸς δράκα] before ἐκάστῳ A δράκαν (sic) VC Οὐάλη (om τῷ) A τοῖς
 Οὐ. τὸν ἀπ. λαβὼν καὶ T 17 λέγων (om καὶ and αὐτῷ) T 18 χείρων δέ]
 μοι VCB εὐλογίαν] P₈₂; εὐλογία T; εὐλογίας AVCB1 19 πέμψῃς A ὀδεύων A
 AVCB1s₂ ἐνεπαίχθη] PVC; ἐπλανήθη TAB 21 ἤκουεν T 22 δεκαπ. VCB
 23 τῇ πλ. ἐπ. T 24 αὐτὸν T ἐν¹] τῇ (om ἐν) P [οἰκ.] μέγαν]

τὸν ἅγιον Ἀμμώνιον καὶ Εὐάγριον συντυχόντες μοι διηγήσαντο
 ὅτι Κατελάβομεν αὐτὸν ἀρρωστία τοιαύτη περιπεσόντα κατ'
 αὐτοὺς τοὺς τόπους τῶν διδύμων καὶ τῆς βαλάνου ἔλκος ποιή-
 σαντα τὸ λεγόμενον φαγέδαιναν. ὃν εὗρομεν τμηλούμενον
 5 ὑπὸ ἱατροῦ τινός, καὶ ταῖς μὲν χερσὶν ἐργαζόμενον καὶ
 πλέκοντα θαλλοὺς καὶ λαλοῦντα ἡμῖν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα
 χειριζόμενον· ὃς οὕτως ἦν διακείμενος ὡς ἄλλου τεμνομένου.
 ἀποκοπέντων οὖν τῶν μελῶν καθάπερ τριχῶν, ἀναίσθητος ἦν
 ὑπερβολῇ παρασκευῆς θεϊκῆς. ἡμῶν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπολυπου-
 10 μένων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ σιαινομένων ὅτι τοιοῦτος βίος τοιούτῳ περι-
 πέπτωκε πάθει καὶ χειρουργίαις τοιαύταις, λέγει ἡμῖν Τεκνία,
 μηδὲν βλαβήτε ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὧν ποιεῖ ὁ θεὸς
 κακία ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ τέλει χρηστῶ. ἴσως | γὰρ καὶ ὑπεύθυνα ἦσαν
 τὰ μέλη κολάσεως, καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶν αὐτὰ ὡς δοῦναι τὴν δίκην
 15 ἢ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ σταδίου. οὕτως οὖν ἡμᾶς παρακαλέσας
 καὶ ὑποστηρίξας ᾠκοδόμησε. ταῦτα δὲ διηγησάμην ἵνα μὴ ξενι-
 ζώμεθα ὅταν ἀγίους τινὰς ἴδωμεν τοιούτοις περιπεσόντας πάθεισιν.

ικανὸς τὰς τῶν λυπομένων ψυχὰς κηλεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐθυμον μεταβάλλειν, εἰ καὶ
 ἀναγκαίαις λύπαις προκατειλημμένοι ἐτύγχανον. (24) Τοιοῦτος δὲ ἦν καὶ περὶ
 τὰς οἰκείας συμφοράς. ἀμέλει χαλεποῦ καὶ ἀνιάτου πάθους ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτῶ,
 τὰ διεφθαρμένα μέλη τοῖς ἱατροῖς τέμνειν παραδοὺς εἰργάζετο ταῖς χερσὶ φύλλα
 φοινίκων πλέκων. καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι συνεβούλευε μὴ δυσφορεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ
 πάθει, μηδὲ ἄλλο τι διανοεῖσθαι πλὴν ὅτι πρὸς τέλος χρηστὸν πάντως ἂ ποιεῖ ὁ
 θεὸς ἐκβαίνει· καὶ αὐτῶ συνοίσειν τοιούτων πειραθῆναι παθῶν· καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτη-
 μάτων ἴσως, ὧν ἔνεκεν ἄμεινον ἐνθάδε διδοῦναι δίκην ἢ μετὰ τὴν βιοτήν ταύτην.

13—15 See Note 41.

PTVCI₂S₂

1 Εὐάγριον] TVCB₁S₂; Εὐλόγιον P₁ 2 περιπ. τοιαύτη VC
 3 αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόπου VC 4 λεγόμενον]+παρά τισι VCB (πᾶσι) I₂S₂ (ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ): tzt
 PTA₁S₂S₂ add εἵρομεν] VC*B; εἵρον PTC^{cor}; l obl orat; om I₂S₂ τμηλούμενον]
 TVC* ; ἐπιμελούμενον PBC^{cor} 5 τινός] om I₂S₂ μὲν] om T ἐργαζόμενον]
 +θαλλοῦς P 6 καὶ τοῦτους πλ. (om θαλλ.) P ὀμλοῦντα P 7 χειρουργού-
 μενον VC ἄλλου]+σώματος B1 (membra) 9 παρεσκευασμένος (om θεϊκῆς) T
 τοῦτο μὲν] om P ἐπιλυπομένων A^B 9, 10 τοῦτο δὲ κ. σιαινομ.] om C 10 δὲ]
 ἀλλὰ P σιαινομ.] λογιζόμενων T 8τι]+ὁ TVCB βίος] τῶ βίῳ VC: +τοῦ
 ἀνδρός B1 11 τεκνία] P; τέκνα TVCB 12 βλαβεῖτε P ἀπὸ] PT; ἐκ VCB
 ὁ] om VC 13 ἦσαν] P; εἰσι A^B; ἦν TVCB 14 ἐστὶν] om VC; after αὐτὰ T
 αὐτὰ]+τέως P τὴν] om VC 15 σταδίου]+ad aeterna tormenta reseruari l
 (I₂ sim. clause) 15, 16 οὕτως.....ᾠκοδόμησε] om C οὖν] om V 16 καί]+τοὺς
 τοιούτοις λόγοις B1 ξενιζώμεθο v. p. 36, l. 8 17 ἴδ. τινὰς VC περιπ.]
 ἰδ. τινὰς PRL... (om) ἀλλοίωτος P πάθεισιν] PB+I₂S₂; om TVCB†

(XXV) Οὐάλης τις γέγονε τῷ μὲν γένει Παλαιστίνος, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ Κορινθίος· Κορινθίοις γὰρ προσήψε τὸ πάθος τῆς φυσιώσεως ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος. οὗτος τὴν ἔρημον καταλαβὼν ᾤκησε μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείονα ἔτη· ὃς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασεν ὑπερηφανίας ὡς ὑπὸ δαιμόνων ἀπατηθῆναι. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ 5 μικρὸν ἀπατάσθαι αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασαν αὐτὸν μέγα φρονῆσαι, ὡς ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ συντυγχανόντων. μιᾶς γοῦν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὡς διηγούντο, ὅτι ἐργαζόμενος ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ τὴν βελόνην ἀφήκεν ἐν ἧ κατέρραπτε τὴν σπυρίδα· καὶ μὴ εὐρόντος αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ, λαμπάδα ἐποίησεν ὁ δαίμων καὶ εὔρε τὴν βελόνην. πάλιν 10 φυσιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφυσιώθη ὡς καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτὸν καταφρονῆσαι. συνέβη δὲ ἐλθόντας τινας ξένους τραγήματα ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀδελφότητι. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἡμῶν, ἀπέστειλεν ἡμῖν ἐκάστω εἰς τὴν κέλλαν 15 πρὸς δράκα, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῷ Οὐάλεντι. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Οὐάλης τὸν ἀπενεγκόντα ὕβρισε καὶ ἐτύπησε, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἄπελθε καὶ εἶπέ Μακαρίφ· Οὐκ εἰμί σου χείρων, ἵνα σὺ ἐμοὶ εὐλογίαν πέμψῃς. γνοὺς οὖν ὁ Μακάριος ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ἀπήλθεν αὐτὸν παρακαλέσαι μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐάλη, 20 ἐνεπαίχθης· παῦσαι. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῶν παραινέσεων ἀνεχώρησε. πληροφορηθεὶς οὖν ὁ δαίμων ὅτι εἰς ἄκρον αὐτοῦ ἐπέισθη τῇ πλάνῃ, ἀπέρχεται καὶ σχηματίζει ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν σωτήρα, καὶ παραγίνεται ἐν νυκτὶ ἐν φαντασίᾳ

XXV (Περὶ Οὐάλεντος): PTAVCls₂

1 τὸ μὲν γένος VC Παλαιστιναῖος T 2 Κορινθίος] + πεφυσιωμένος τὸ φρόνημα
 A²⁶ 3 φύσεως (sic) PT 3, 4 ὁ ἅγιος Π. ἔτη] om l 3 οὗτος] om A
 καταλαβὼν] + καὶ αὐτὸς TA 4 τοσαύτην ἢ λ. ὑπερηφανίαν A 5 ὑπερηφ.] + βέραθρον
 VC; ἄκρον κορυφῆς B1 (cacumen) (s): txt PTA₂ 6 αὐτὸν¹] om P παρεσκεύασαν]
 P¹TVCls₂; παρεσκεύασεν AB1 αὐτὸν²] om VC 7 ὡς ἀγγέλους οὖν τυγχάνοντας
 (sic) T μίαν T οὖν VC 8 διηγῆσατο P τῇ] om P 9 εὐρών (om
 αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ) + εὐθὺς A 11 μέγα ἐφρόνει] PA; μέγα φρονεῖ TB; μεγαλοφρονεῖ VC
 ἐφυσιώθη] ἐπήρθη A 12 αὐτῶν τῶν μ. (om αὐτὸν) A μυστ.] + τοῦ Χριστοῦ B:
 + 'of the holy Body and Blood of Christ' s 13 ἐνεγκεῖν after ἐκκλησίᾳ VC
 14 τῇ ἀδ.] om VCs 15 ἡμῶν] om P ἡμῖν] PT; om AVCBls ἐν τῇ κ. ¹
 16 πρὸς δράκα] before ἐκάστω A δράκαν (sic) VC Οὐάλη (om τῷ) A ²
 Οὐ. τὸν ἀπ. λαβὼν καὶ T 17 λέγων (om καὶ and αὐτῷ) T 18 χείρων ¹
 μοι VCB εὐλογίαν] P₂cs₂; εὐλογία T; εὐλογίας AVCBl 19 πέμψῃς A ¹
 AVCBl₂ ἐνεπαίχθη] PVC; ἐπλανήθη TAB 21 ἤκουεν T ² δδεύων A
 23 τῇ πλ. ἐπ. T 24 αὐτὸν T ἐν¹] τῇ (om ἐν) P ² δεκαπ. VCB
 .σκι.] μέγαν]

τὸν ἅγιον Ἀμμώνιον καὶ Εὐάγριον συντυχόντες μοι διηγήσαντο
 ὅτι Κατελάβομεν αὐτὸν ἀρρωστήα τοιαύτη περιπεσόντα κατ'
 αὐτοὺς τοὺς τόπους τῶν διδύμων καὶ τῆς βαλάνου ἔλκος ποιή-
 5 σαυτα τὸ λεγόμενον φαγέδαιναν. ὃν εὔρομεν τημελούμενον
 ὑπὸ ἱατροῦ τινός, καὶ ταῖς μὲν χερσὶν ἐργαζόμενον καὶ
 πλέκοντα θαλλοὺς καὶ λαλοῦντα ἡμῖν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα
 χειριζόμενον ὡς οὕτως ἦν διακείμενος ὡς ἄλλου τεμνομένου.
 ἀποκοπέωντων οὖν τῶν μελῶν καθάπερ τριχῶν, ἀναίσθητος ἦν
 10 ὑπερβολῇ παρασκευῆς θεϊκῆς. ἡμῶν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπολυπου-
 μένων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ σιαινομένων ὅτι τοιοῦτος βίος τοιοῦτῳ περι-
 πέπτωκε πάθει καὶ χειρουργίαις τοιαύταις, λέγει ἡμῖν Τεκνία,
 μηδὲν βλαβῆτε ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὧν ποιεῖ ὁ θεὸς
 κακία ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ τέλει χρηστῶ. ἴσως | γὰρ καὶ ὑπεύθυνα ἦσαν
 τὰ μέλη κολάσεως, καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶν αὐτὰ ὧδε δοῦναι τὴν δίκην
 15 ἢ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ σταδίου. οὕτως οὖν ἡμᾶς παρακαλέσας
 καὶ ὑποστηρίξας ὑποκόδησε. ταῦτα δὲ διηγησάμεν ἵνα μὴ ξενι-
 ζώμεθα ὅταν ἀγίους τινὰς ἴδωμεν τοιοῦτοις περιπεσόντας πάθεσιν.

ἱκανὸς τὰς τῶν λυπομένων ψυχὰς κηλεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐθυμον μεταβάλλειν, εἰ καὶ
 ἀναγκαιῶς λύπαις προκατειλημμένοι ἐτύγχανον. (24) Τοιοῦτος δὲ ἦν καὶ περὶ
 τὰς οἰκειὰς συμφορὰς. ἀμέλει χαλεποῦ καὶ ἀνιάτου πάθους ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτῷ,
 τὰ διεφθαρμένα μέλη τοῖς ἱατροῖς τέμνειν παραδοὺς εἰργάζετο ταῖς χερσὶ φύλλα
 φοινίκων πλέκων. καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι συνεβούλευε μὴ δυσφορεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ
 πάθεσι, μηδὲ ἄλλο τι διανοεῖσθαι πλὴν ὅτι πρὸς τέλος χρηστὸν πάντως ἂ ποιεῖ ὁ
 θεὸς ἐκβαίνει· καὶ αὐτῷ συνοίσειν τοιοῦτων πειραθῆναι παθῶν· καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτη-
 μάτων ἴσως, ὧν ἔνεκεν ἄμεινον ἐνθάδε δίδοναι δίκην ἢ μετὰ τὴν βιοτὴν ταύτην.

13—15 See Note 41.

PTVCll₂³

1 Εὐάγριον] TVCBls₂; Εὐλόγιον Pl₂ διηγ. μοι VC 2 περιπ. τοιαύτη VC
 3 αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόπου VC 4 λεγόμενον] + παρά τισι VCB (πᾶσι) ls₂^{rat} (ⲣⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁ) : txt
 PTA^Bl₂³ εὔρομεν] VC*B; εὔρον PTC^{cor}; l obl orat; om l₂³ τημελούμενον]
 TVC* ; ἐπιμελούμενον PBC^{cor} 5 τινός] om l₂³ μὲν] om T ἐργαζόμενον]
 + θαλλοὺς P 6 καὶ τοῦτους πλ. (om θαλλ.) P ὁμλοῦντα P 7 χειρουργού-
 μενον VC ἄλλου] + σώματος Bl (membra) 9 παρεσκευασμένος (om θεϊκῆς) T
 τοῦτο μὲν] om P ἐπιλυπομένων A^B 9, 10 τοῦτο δὲ κ. σιαινομ.] om C 10 δέ]
 ἀλλὰ P σιαινομ.] λογιζομένων T 8τι] + ὁ TVCB βίος] τῷ βίῳ VC: + τοῦ
 ἀνδρός Bl 11 τεκνία] P; τέκνα TVCB 12 βλαβεῖτε P ἀπό] PT; ἐκ VCB
 ὁ] om VC 13 ἦσαν] P; εἰσι A^B; ἦν TVCB 14 ἐστίν] om VC; after αὐτὰ T
 αὐτὰ] + τῶς P τῆν] om VC 15 σταδίου] + ad aeterna tormenta reseruari l
 (l₂ sim. clause) 15 * ὡς.....ὑποκόδησε] om C οὖν] om V 16 καί] + τοῖς
 τοιοῦτοις λόγῳ 17 ἐπιζώμεθα cf. p. 86, l. 8 17 ἰδ. τινὰς VC περιπ.]
 ὡς PB. τάθεσιν lPBll₂³; om TVCB†

(XXV) Οὐάλης τις γέγονε τῷ μὲν γένει Παλαιστίνος, τῇ δὲ γνῶμη Κορίνθιος· Κορινθίοις γὰρ προσῆψε τὸ πάθος τῆς φυσιώσεως ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος. οὗτος τὴν ἔρημον καταλαβῶν ᾤκησε μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείονα ἔτη ὃς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασεν ὑπερηφανίας ὡς ὑπὸ δαιμόνων ἀπατηθῆναι. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ 5 μικρὸν ἀπατᾶσθαι αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασαν αὐτὸν μέγα φρονησθαι, ὡς ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ συντυγχανόντων. μιᾶς γοῦν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὡς διηγοῦντο, ὅτι ἐργαζόμενος ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ τὴν βελόνην ἀφήκεν ἐν ἧ κατέρραπτε τὴν σπυρίδα· καὶ μὴ εὐρόντος αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ, λαμπάδα ἐποίησεν ὁ δαίμων καὶ εὔρε τὴν βελόνην. πάλιν 10 φυσιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφυσιώθη ὡς καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτὸν καταφρονησθαι. συνέβη δὲ ἐλθόντας τινὰς ξένους τραγήματα ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀδελφότητι. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ ἅγιος Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἡμῶν, ἀπέστειλεν ἡμῖν ἐκάστῳ εἰς τὴν κέλλαν 15 πρὸς δράκα, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῷ Οὐάλεντι. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Οὐάλης τὸν ἀπενεγκόντα ὕβρισε καὶ ἐτύπησε, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἄπελθε καὶ εἰπέ Μακαρίφ· Οὐκ εἰμί σου χεῖρων, ἵνα σὺ ἐμοὶ εὐλογίαν πέμψῃς. γνοὺς οὖν ὁ Μακάριος ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ἀπῆλθεν αὐτὸν παρακαλέσαι μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐάλη, 20 ἐνεπαίχθης· παῦσαι. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῶν παραινέσεων ἀνεχώρησε. πληροφορηθεὶς οὖν ὁ δαίμων ὅτι εἰς ἄκρον αὐτοῦ ἐπέισθη τῇ πλάνῃ, ἀπέρχεται καὶ σχηματίζει ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν σωτήρα, καὶ παραγίνεται ἐν νυκτὶ ἐν φαντασίᾳ

XXV (Περὶ Οὐάλεντος) : PTAVCls₂

1 τὸ μὲν γένος VC Παλαιστιναίος T 2 Κορίνθιος] + πεφυσιωμένος τὸ φρόνημα
 A²⁶ 3 φύσεως (sio) PT 3, 4 ὁ ἅγιος Π. ἔτη] om l 3 οὗτος] om A
 καταλαβῶν] + καὶ αὐτὸς TA 4 τοσαύτην ἢ λ. ὑπερηφανίαν A 5 ὑπερηφ.] + βάραθρον
 VC; ἄκρον κορυφῆς B1 (cacumen) (s) : txi PTA₂ 6 αὐτὸν¹] om P παρεσκεύασαν]
 P¹TVC₂ss₂; παρεσκεύασεν AB1 αὐτὸν²] om VC 7 ὡς ἀγγέλουσιν οὖν τυγχάνοντας
 (sio) T μίαν T οὖν VC 8 διηγήσατο P τῇ] om P 9 εὐρών (om
 αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ) + εὐθὺς A 11 μέγα ἐφρόνει] PA; μέγα φρονεῖ TB; μεγαλοφρονεῖ VC
 ἐφυσιώθη] ἐπήρθη A 12 αὐτῶν τῶν μ. (om αὐτὸν) A μυστ.] + τοῦ Χριστοῦ B:
 + 'of the holy Body and Blood of Christ' s 13 ἐνεγκεῖν after ἐκκλησίᾳ VC;
 14 τῇ ἀδ.] om VCs 15 ἡμῶν] om P ἡμῶν] PT; om AVCBls ἐν τῇ κ. om
 16 πρὸς δράκα] before ἐκάστῳ A δράκαν (sic) VC Οὐάλη (om τῷ) A τοῖς
 Οὐ. τὸν ἀπ. λαβὼν καὶ T 17 λέγων (om καὶ and αὐτῷ) T 18 χεῖρων δέ]
 μοι VCB εὐλογίαν] Pss₂; εὐλογία T; εὐλογίας AVCB1 19 πέμψῃς A ὀδεύων A
 AVCBls₂ ἐνεπαίχθη] PVC; ἐπλανήθη TAB 21 ἤκουεν T 22 ἄ. δεκαπ. VCB
 23 τῇ πλ. ἐπ. T 24 αὐτὸν T ἐν¹] τῇ (om ἐν) P [οσιχ.] μέγαν]

ἀγγέλων χιλίων λαμπάδας ἔχόντων καὶ τροχὸν πύρινον, ἐν ᾧ
 ἔδοξε τὸν σωτῆρα σχηματίζειν, καὶ ἕνα προλαμβάνοντα καὶ
 λέγοντα· Ἡράσθη σου ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ
 τοῦ βίου, καὶ ἦλθεν ἰδεῖν σε. ἔξελθε οὖν τῆς κέλλης, καὶ μηδὲν
 5 ἄλλο ποιήσης ἄλλ' ἢ πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἰδὼν κύψας προσκύν-
 ῃσιν, καὶ εἰσελθέ σου εἰς τὴν κέλλαν. ἔξελθὼν οὖν καὶ
 θεασάμενος τὴν παράταξιν τῶν λαμπαδηφόρων, ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου
 δὲ τὸν ἀντίχριστον, πεσὼν προσεκύνησεν. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον οὖν
 10 ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ συνηγμένης τῆς ἀδελφότητος εἰπεῖν· Ἐγὼ κοι-
 νωνίας χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχω· τὸν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἐώρακα σήμερον.
 τότε δῆσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ πατέρες καὶ σιδηρώσαντες ἐπὶ ἔτος ἐν
 ἀπεθεράπευσαν, εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀδιαφορίᾳ καὶ ἀπραγοτέρῳ βίῳ τὸ
 οἴημα αὐτοῦ καθελόντες, καὶ ὡς λέγεται· Τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ἐναν-
 15 τίοις ἰάματα.

Ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστι καὶ τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων βίους ἐνθεῖναι
 τῷ βιβλιδαρίῳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἐντυχανόντων, καθάπερ
 καὶ ἀγίοις φυτοῖς τοῦ παραδείσου τὸ ξύλον τὸ γνωστὸν καλοῦ
 καὶ πονηροῦ· ἵνα εἴ ποτε αὐτοῖς συμβαίῃ κατόρθωμά τι, μὴ μέγα
 20 φρονήσωσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ. πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ἀρετῇ ὑπόθεσις
 γίνεται πτώσεως, ὅταν μὴ σκοπῶ ὀρθῶ ἐπιτελεσθῇ· γέγραπται
 γάρ· Εἶδον δίκαιον ἀπολλύμενον ἐν δικαιώματι αἵτου· καὶ γε τοῦτο
 ματαιότης.

14 See Note 42.

22 Ec. vii. 16, 7.

PTAVClss₂

1 ἀγγέλων] + ὡς VCB (before ἀγγ.) 1 2 ἔδοξε] + μέσον VCB 3 λέγοντα]
 + αὐτῷ VCB(1ss₂) 4 ἠρέσθη B†(1s₂ placuit) τῇ πολ. καὶ τῇ παρ.] (P)TB; τῆς πολ.
 καὶ τῆς παρ. AVC παρρησίᾳ] καθαρότητι P 4 οὖν] + ἐκ A 5 ἀλλ' ἢ] TVC;
 ἀλλὰ PAB ἰδ. αὐτὸν P κύψας] + ταχέως VC(1) 6 καὶ¹] + πάλιν VC σου]
 om T 7 τῶν λαμπαδηφόρων] PB†; λαμπαδηφόρον TAVCB† 8 δέ] om TA
 πεσῶν] om A; + ἐπὶ πρόσωπον VCl 8, 9 ἐπὶ τος.....ἐφρενοβλ.] om T 8 οὖν]
 δὲ P 9 πάλιν] om Al εἰσελθ.] PA; ἐλθεῖν TVCB; + αὐτὸν VC 10 συνηγμ.]
 + πάσης VCBs 11 τὸν Χρ. γὰρ AB 12 ἐπὶ ἔτος ἐν before οἱ πατέρες A
 13 καὶ] om Pl (they connect εὐχαῖς with ἀπεθερ.; ss₂ paraphr) ἀδιαφορίᾳ] PTA;
 ποικίλη ἀδιαφορήσει VCB; (versions paraphr) 14 καὶ ὡς] TA; ὡς γὰρ P;
 ὁθῶς VCB τοῖς ἐναντίοις] τῶν ἐναντίων A 15 ἰάματα] ἰώνται VC(1s)
 ὁ] *3 ἀναγκαῖον] s tr this parag. to beginning of cap. 16 δέ] οὖν VC ἐστὶ]
 αὐτῶ] ἢ VCl 17 τῷ βιβλ.....ἐντυχ.] om T βιβλίῳ AVC; + τούτῳ Bl₂
 (1₂ sim. ὡς VCB τὸ ξ. τοῦ παραδ. A 19 πονηροῦ] + καὶ A συμβ. αὐτοῖς A
 τοιοῦτοισι λθ. τι κατ. P μὴ] οὐ T 22 δικαιώματι] TAVC; δικαιώμασιν P;
 + δεινοῖς PB₂

(XXVI) "Ἦρων τις γέγονε γειτυῶν μοι, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῷ γένει ἀστείος νεώτερος, εὐφύης τὴν διάνοιαν, καθαρὸς τὸν βίον· ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ πόνους πολλοὺς τύφῃ βληθεὶς ἐξετραχηλιάσθη καὶ κατὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐφρόνησε μέγα, ὑβρίσας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Εὐάγριον, λέγων ὅτι Οἱ πειθόμενοι τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ σου ἀπατῶνται· οὐ γὰρ διδασκάλους ἑτέροις προσέχειν παρεκτὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀπεχρήσατο δὲ καὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μωρίας, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ εἶπε· Μὴ καλέσητε διδάσκαλον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ὃς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσκοτώθη ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὕστερον σιδηρωθῆναι, μὴ ἰθὺς θέλοντα μηδὲ τοῖς μυστηρίοις προσέρχεσθαι. φίλη δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια. καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἦν λεπτὸς τῇ πολυτείᾳ, ὡς πολλοὺς διηγείσθαι τοὺς ἐν συνηθείᾳ ὅτι πολλάκις διὰ τριῶν μηνῶν ἦσθιεν, ἰρκούμενος τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων καὶ εἴ που ἂν φανῆ ἰγριολάχαιον. πείραν δὲ αὐτοῦ εἶληφα καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀλβανίου ἀπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆτιν. ἀπέιχε δὲ ἡμῶν ἡ Σκῆτις τεσσαράκοντα σημεῖα· ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα σημεῖοις ἡμεῖς δευτέρον βεβρώκαμεν καὶ τρίτον ἐπίομεν ὕδωρ, ἐκεῖνος δὲ μηδενὸς γευσάμενος πεζὸς βαδίζων ἀπεστήθισε πεντεκαίδεκα ψαλμούς, ἔπειτα τὸν μέγαν, εἶτα τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους 20

1 See Note 43.

9 Mt. xxiii. 9.

XXVI (Περὶ Ἦρωνος)· PTAVC13M

1 Cheron 1 τις | ὄνυματι VC1(μκ₂) 3 νεώτερος] om A καθάρως VC
 3 πολλὰ πόν. VC πόνους | χρώσει; A τὴν φῶ βληθεὶς] P; τ. ληφθεὶς TA²; τ. ἐρθεὶς B; τυφλωθεὶς VCA^{2M} (τυφλωθεὶς) 4 τῶν | ἀγίων B1 ὑβρίσας] PA²B;
 ἦβρισε δὲ VC1; ὡς καὶ M. ὑβρίσας A^{2M} 5 τὸν μακάριον Εὐάγριον] VCBI₂ε₂; τὸν (om A) Μακάριον τὸν πρεσβύτερον PTA 6 ἀπατῶνται] 1(a) add adverb, 'greatly' γὰρ] + φησὶ VC (after διδασκ.) B (οὐ γὰρ χρή φ.) προσέχειν] PTA; χρῆσθαι VCBI;
 om κ₂ 7 τῇ] om VC μαρτυρίαν C 8 τῆς ἀφροσύνης αὐτοῦ T 8, 9 ὅτι...
 ..εἶπε] om A 9 εἶπε] P; ἔλεγε T; λέγει B; ἔφη VC 10 καὶ αὐτὸς] οὗτος A;
 om T ἐσκοτώθη] + τὸν λογισμὸν VCB(1κ) 11 μηδὲ] om AVC₂ συνέρ-
 χεσθαι A^{2M}; προσεῖναι T 12 τῇ] + ἀρίστη] VCB (om B1)ε₂ 13 ἡμερῶν VC
 'σθίει TAB1 14 ἀρκοίμενος] + μόνη VCB11κ τῶν] + θεῶν PT (1 sanctorum)
 βανῆ] P; φανῆ T; παραφανῆ VC; παραφανῆ B 15 ἀγριολάχαιον] PA; ἀγριον
 λαχ. T; ἀγρια λάχανα VCB (ἀγριολάχαινα B1) 16 Ἀλβανίου] PTVCB11 (Albanus);
 Ἀλβινίου AB1s (Albinus); (om. κ₂) ἀπὼν after Σκ. VC ἀπέιχε A δέ] om
 V; + ἀφ' VC 17 σημεῖοις VCB ἐν τοῖτοις.....σημεῖοις] om B1κ₂ τοῖς
 τεσσ. σημεῖοις] om T1 τεσσαράκοντα²] om VC 19 ἐκεῖνος (om δέ) T δέ]
 ὡν A μηδενὸς γευσ. ἐκεῖνος ἀπ. πεζὸς βαδ. VC πεζὸς] + δέ T ὀδεύων A
 ἀπεστήθισε VCB πεντεκαίδεκα ψαλ.] PA; δεκαπέντε ψαλ. T; ψαλ. δεκακ. VCB
 20 ἔπειτα τ. μεγ.] om P; κ₂ 'he recited' + 'Blessed,'" i.e. P_s. cxviii. [cxix.] μέγαν]
 + προφήτην T εἶτα] ἔπειτα A

ἐπιστολήν, εἶτα τὸν Ἡσαΐαν καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ Ἱερεμίου, εἶτα Λουκᾶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν, εἶτα τὰς παροιμίας. καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων καταλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδυνάμεθα βαδίζοντα. οὗτος τελευταῖον ὡς ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐλαυνόμενος ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ μὲν 5 αὐτοῦ καθεσθῆναι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη· ἀπελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατ' οἰκονομίαν, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἤλω τὸν ἦλον ἐξέκρουσε. περιέπεσε γὰρ ἐκουσίως τῇ ἀδιαφορίᾳ, ἐς ὕστερον ἀκούσιον εὐράμενος σωτηρίαν. παρέβαλε γὰρ θεάτρῳ καὶ ἵπποδρομίαις καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς εἶχεν ἐν καπηλείοις· οὕτως δὲ γαστρι- 10 μαργῶν | καὶ οἰνοφλυγῶν ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸν βόρβορον τῆς γυναικείας ἐπιθυμίας. καὶ ὡς ἐσκέπτετο ἀμαρτήσαι, μιμᾶδι τινὶ συντυχῶν τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἔλκος αὐτοῦ διελέγετο. τούτων οὕτως διαπραττομένων γέγονεν αὐτῷ ἄνθραξ κατ' αὐτῆς τῆς βαλάνου, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐνόσησεν ἐξαμηνιαῖον χρόνον ὡς κατασαπῆναι 15 αὐτοῦ τὰ μόρια καὶ ἀποπεσεῖν. ὕστερον δὲ ὑγιάνας ἄνευ τῶν μελῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς φρόνημα θεϊκόν, ἦλθεν ἐξομολογούμενος ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς πατράσι· ἐνεργῆσαι δὲ μὴ φθάσας ἐκοιμήθη μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας.

(XXVII) Ἄλλος πάλιν Πτολεμαῖος ὀνόματι δυσδιήγητον 20 ἢ ἀνεκδιήγητον ζήσας βίον· ᾤκησε γὰρ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σκήτews εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Κλίμακα· τόπος δὲ ἐστὶν οὕτω καλούμενος εἰς ὃν οἰκῆσαι οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ δεκαοκτῶ σημείων εἶναι τὸ φρέαρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. βαστάσας οὖν ἐκείνος κεράμια

6 See Note 42.

21 See Note 44.

PTAVClss₂

1 τὸν] om A τι] om A τοῦ] om T 1, 2 (ss₂ om Is. and puts Prov. before Lk.) 2, 3 καὶ τούτων.....βαδίζοντα] om ss₂ καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχ.] VCB(l)B (Κλασσο); om PTA 3 καταλ.] + δὲ PTA 4 οὕτω P 5 δὲ] οὖν Δ³⁸ εἰς] + τὴν AVCB 6 τὸ δὴ λεγ.] VCB^{lss₂}; om PTA 7 περιπεσῶν T 8 εὐράμενος] + τὴν A θεάτροις] TAB ἵπποδρομίαις TAB 9 καπηλείοις] τούτοις A 10 ἐνέπεσεν] + καὶ VCB^{ss₂} 12 συντυχῶν] προσομιλῶν B1 διηγείτο] VC 13 αὐτῆς] om AB 15, 16 ἄνευ.....ἐκείνων] om A 16 καὶ] + πάλιν T ἐπανελθὼν] ἐπανῆλθεν (om καὶ) A θεϊκόν] + καὶ A ἦλθεν] + εἰς τὴν ἐρημον AVCB^{ss₂}; + καὶ B ἐξομολογησάμενος VCB1 17 τοῖς] + ἀγίοις B1 δὲ] Pl (tamen); om TAVCB (but they insert καὶ in various places): (ss₂ paraphr) 18 φθάσας] + τὸ τέλειον VC; poenitentiam l: + καὶ TAVC

XXVII (Περὶ Πτολεμαίου): PTAVClss₂

19 ἄλλος] + τις AB δυσδιεξήγητον P 20 ἢ ἀνεκδ.] om P ἢ] καὶ A γάρ] om PTB 22 οἰκῆσαι] + ἐκεῖ VC ἐν τῷ] P; διὰ τὸ TAVC; τῷ B δεκαοκτῶ after εἶναι VC 23 βαστάξαι T

κιλικίσια πολλά ἀπήνεγκε, καὶ τῷ δεκεμβρίῳ καὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ
 μηνὶ συνάγων τὴν δρόσον—δρoσίξει γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσι
 τότε πολλά—σπόγγῳ ἐκ τῶν λίθων, διήρκεσεν ἐπὶ ἔτη δεκα-
 πέντε οἰκήσας ἐκεῖ. ὃς ἀποξενωθεὶς διδασκαλίας καὶ συντυχίας
 ἀνδρῶν ὁσίων καὶ ὠφελείας, καὶ συνεχοῦς κοινωνίας τῶν μυστη- 5
 ρίων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξέστη τῆς εὐθείας ὡς λέγειν μηδὲν εἶναι
 τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἢ φέρεσθαι μετέωρος ἄχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἀλω-
 μενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἔκδοτον ἑαυτὸν δεδωκῶς γαστριμαργίῳ
 καὶ οἰνοφλυγίᾳ, μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀμιλῶν. καὶ αὕτη δὲ ἡ συμφορὰ
 συνέβη Πτολεμαίῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγου οἰήσεως, | κατὰ τὸ γεγραμ- 10
 μένον· Οἷς μὴ ἵπάρχει κυβέρνησις πίπτοισιν ὡσπερ φύλλα.

(XXVIII) Παρθένον πάλιν ἔγνω ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις σακκο-
 φοροῦσαν ἐπὶ ἐξαετίαν καὶ ἐγκεκλεισμένην, μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς
 ἡδονὴν συντεινόντων λαμβάνουσαν ἥτις ἐς ὕστερον ἐγκατα- 15
 λειφθεῖσα ὑπερβολῇ ὑπερηφανίας περιέπεσε πτώσει. καὶ ἀνοί-
 ξασα τὴν θυρίδα εἰσεδέξατο τὸν ὑπηρετοῦμενον καὶ αὐτῷ
 συνεφύρη ἐν τῷ μὴ κατὰ θεϊκὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ ἀγάπην θεοῦ

4—9 The texts of this passage are discussed in Note 45. 11 Prov.
 xi. 14.

PTAVClss₂

1 πολλά] om T; + ἐκέισε B1 δεκεμβρίῳ PA²⁸ ἰαννουαρίῳ TB† 2 μηνί]
 om A συναγαγὼν AB ἐκείνοις after μέρεσι VC 3 τότε] after πολλά A: om
 CBB₂ σπόγγῳ] TAVCB1ss₂; σπογγίζων P; + οὖν VC λίθων] + συνάγων (repeated
 from above) VC (ss₂): δρoσίξει...πολλά tr to here TBI: + καὶ πληρώσας B1 (καὶ τὰ
 κεράμα πλ. τοῦ δρόσου: quas.....implebat) διήρκεσεν] + ἑαυτῷ B1 δεκαπ. ἔτη
 VCB 4 συντυχίας] TAVCB₂ (↖↗); ὀμιλίας P; (colloquio l) 5 καὶ τῆς
 ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτῶν ὠφ. P: (l quorum sermo prodesse poterat; s 'and from the help
 of their serviceable conversation') τῶν] + θείων T 6 εὐθείας] + ὁδοῦ B(la)
 μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ πράγματα] PTA (μὴ δεῖν εἶναι A†) VCs ('that things are nothing, that
 is, the holy mysterien'): (for B1ss₂ see Note 45) 7 ἀλλ' ἢ] PA; om ἢ VC(B);
 ὥστε T φέρεσθαι] εἰσφέρεσθαι VC: + αὐτὸν T μετέωρος] P(B); μετέωρον
 TAVC: + ἐξεστηκῶς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν φρενῶν B (s, see Note 45) ἄχρι] PVC; μέχρι
 TAB ἀλώμενος] P (B); ἀλώμενον TAVC 8 δεδ. ἑαυτὸν A δεδωκῶς] B;
 ἐκδεδωκῶς P; δεδωκῶτα TAVC 9 ὀμιλῶν] PTAB; ὀμιλοῦντα VC καὶ αὕτη δέ]
 TVCB1₂ (↖↗↘↙); om δὲ A; om καὶ and δὲ P; (l autem) 10 οἰήσεως]
 + καὶ VC 10, 11 κατὰ.....κυβ.] om T

XXVIII (Περὶ ἐκπεσοῦσης Παρθένου): TAVClss₂

12 ἔγνω πάλιν TVC: + τινὰ A 13 εἰς] om A 16 θυρίδα] θύραν VC: + τῆς
 κέλλης B1 ἐδέξατο A ὑπηρετοῦντα P: + αὐτῷ 17] (ss₂) τοῦτῳ VCB†
 7 συνεφύρη αὐτῷ P ἐν τῷ] PA; om ἐν TVCB πρ προαίρεσιν VC θεοῦ]
 μιστοῦ T; om VC

ἔσχηκέναι τὴν ἀσκησιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σκηπὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, ὃ ἐστὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ σαθρᾶς προαιρέσεως. τῶν γὰρ λογισμῶν αὐτῆ ἀπασχοληθέντων εἰς τὸ καταγινώσκειν τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἦ ὁ φύλαξ τῆς σωφροσύνης.

- 5 (XXIX) Ἡλίας τις ἀσκητῆς σφόδρα γέγονε φιλοπάρθενος εἰσὶ γὰρ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ αἰς μαρτυρεῖ τὸ τέλος κατὰ ἀρετῆ δς κατοικτειρήσας τὸ τάγμα τῶν ἀσκητριῶν, ἐν Ἀθριβῇ πόλει ἔχων ἀναλώματα ὑποκόδομησε μέγα μοναστήριον, καὶ συνήγαγε πάσας τὰς ἀλωμένας ἐντὸς ἀκολουθῶν αὐτῶν φρονιζῶν, ποιήσας
10 αὐταῖς ἀνάπανσιν πᾶσαν καὶ κήπους καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ ἄλλων ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ βίος. αὐταὶ ἐκ διαφόρων βίων ἡγμέναί τε συνεχεῖ ἐποιοῦν μάχας μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν κα διακουεῖν καὶ εἰρηνεύειν, συνήγαγε γὰρ ὡς τριακοσίας, ἀνάγκη εἶχε μεσιτεύειν ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη. νέαν οὖν ἄγων τὴν ἡλικίαι
15 ἦν γὰρ ὡς τριάκοντα ἔτων ἢ τεσσαράκοντα, οὗτος ἐπειράσθη καθ' ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ μοναστηρίου νῆστις ἐπλανᾶτ

4 τῆς σωφροσύνης] B^{10v} add (text of B¹⁰): Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο γεγράφηται πιστότατε τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λαῦσε, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρετῆς κατορθωκότων τὸν βίον, καὶ τῶ ἀπὸ ραθυμίας ἐξ ἄκρας πολιτείας μετὰ πόνου πολλοὺς χειρωθέντων ὑπὸ το διαβόλου ταῖς παντοίαις τούτου σαγήνεσι, ἵν' ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείας τοῦ μισοκάλου καταμανθάνων τὰ κεκρυμμένα δίκτυα φεύγη τὰς τούτων παγίδαι πολλῶν τοίνυν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆ ἐνάρετον τῆς ἀσκήσεως πολιτείαν κατορθωσάντων, τελευταῖον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντι πάλου πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκριζωθέντων, ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν μνημονεύσας ὀλίγων ἀποσιωπήσω τοὺς πλείστους, μήτε αὐτοὺς ἀνιστῶν, μήτε ἐμαντὸν ὠφελῶν ἐπ πολὺ τούτοις προσδιατρίβων, καὶ τῶν ἐξόχων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμελῶν ἀθλητῶν, μ διηγούμενόν με μᾶλλον τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς τῆς ἐνθέου αὐτῶν ἀσκήσεως.

5 This cap. of l is printed *Bibl. Casin.* III. *Florileg.* 305: and for the first half, s may be found in Tullberg's ms. A (*Paradisius* 41). 7 O: Athribis see Note 46.

PTAVCIss₂

1 ὃ ἐστὶ κενοδοξίαν καὶ σαθρὰν πρόθεσιν VC 3 ἀπασχολισθέντων T κατὰ γινώσκειν] + τὰ P οὐκ ἦν] οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῆς VC; κατέλιπεν αὐτὴν P; ἀπέστη αἰ αὐτῆς B; 'there remained not with her' s; (l nullum omnino custodem propria reliquerat castitati); txt TA

XXIX (Περὶ Ἡλ(α): PTIss₂

5 τ(ς)] + τῶ ὀνόματι B¹(ss₂) 7 δς] καὶ T 'Αθριβῆ] Ἀκριθ T* Ἀβρίθει T^{cos} 'Αθλιβη A^B; (s 'a city in the Thebaid'): + τῆ TB 9 ἐντὸς] P₂; ἐν τῶ μοναστηρί TBs; ἐκεῖ A^B; l paraphr φρονιζῶν] + εἰς πάντα B¹(s ('in everything that was necessary') 10 ἀναπ. αὐταῖς T ἄλλα] om T 13 ἀκούειν T 14 ἔτη] om l οὖν] Ps; om TB: (l alters)

ἀνὰ τὴν ἔρημον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δύο, τοῦτο δεόμενος ὅτι Κύριε, ἡ ἀπόκτεινόν με ἵνα μὴ ἴδω αὐτὰς | θλιβομένας, ἢ τὸ πάθος λάβε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἵνα φροντίζω αὐτῶν κατὰ λόγον. ἐσπέρας οὖν γενομένης ὑπνωσεν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγγελοι τρεῖς, ὡς αὐτὸς διηγείτο, κατέσχον αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσι· Τί 5 ἐξῆλθες τοῦ μοναστηρίου τῶν γυναικῶν; οἷς διηγείτο τὸ πρᾶγμα· "Ὅτι ἐφοβήθην μήποτε κάκείνας βλάβω καὶ ἐμαυτὸν. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Οὐκοῦν εἴν σε τοῦ πάθους ἀπαλλάξωμεν ἀπέρχη καὶ φροντίζεις αὐτῶν; ἐπὶ τούτοις συνέθετο. εἰσπράττονται αὐτὸν ὄρκον. τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ἔλεγε τοιοῦτον εἶναι· "Ὁμοσον ἡμῖν ὅτι 10 Μὰ τὸν φροντίζοντά με φροντίσω αὐτῶν. καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ τότε κατέσχον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εἰς τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ὁ τρίτος λαβὼν ξυρὸν ἐξέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδύμους, οὐ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φαντασίαν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῇ ἐκστάσει, ὡς ἂν εἶποι τις, καὶ ἀποθεραπεῦσθαι. ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτὸν 15 Ἱσισθήθης ὠφελείας; λέγει αὐτοῖς· Σφόδρα ἐκουφίσθη καὶ πέπεισμαι ἀπὸ πηλῆχθαι τοῦ πάθους. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἄπελθε οὖν. καὶ ὑποστρέψας μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας πειθοῦντος τοῦ μοναστηρίου εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἔμεινεν ἔνδον ἔκτοτε ἐν κελλίῳ πλαγιῷ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγγύτερος ὢν συνεχῶς αὐτὰς διωρθοῦτο τὸ ὄσον 20 ἐπ' αὐτῷ. ἐξῆσε δὲ ἄλλα τεσσαρῆκοντα ἔτη διαβεβαιούμενος τοῖς πατράσις ὅτι εἰς τὴν διάνοιάν μου οὐκ ἀναβαίνει πάθος. τοῦτο τὸ χίρισμα τοῦ ἀγίου ἐκείνου ὃς οὕτως ἐφρόντισε τοῦ

P^T188₂

1 δεόμενος] + τοῦ θεοῦ T(18); + καὶ λέγων TB: (s paragrph) 2 πάθος] + μου TB
 3 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ] om TB 4 τρεῖς ἀγγ. T 5 λέγουσι] + αὐτῷ B (τούτῳ B) s₂
 6 οἷς] καὶ T πρᾶγμα] + ἐπιπῶν B(18) 7 ἐμαυτὸν] s in Tullb. ends here
 8 πάθος] + τούτου TB(188₂) καὶ] om T 9 ἐπὶ] ἐπει οὖν P δρκω
 εἰσπρ. αὐτῷ P 10 διηγείτο TB εἶναι] om T 11 μου TB
 φροντίζω TB καὶ] + ἐπὶ τούτῳ B(in hanc uerba) 12 καὶ] om T κατέσχον T
 εἰς] εἰς (bis) T 13 καὶ δισλαβῶν ξ. (sic) T 14 οὖν] + ἐν TB 15 ἀποθερα-
 πείσθαι TB ἐπερωτῶσιν] + οὖν T(18) αὐτὸν] + οἱ ἄγγελοι B 16 θεραπείας P
 17 ἀπελθε οὖν] varioum additions: φρόντισον αὐτῶν P; ἀπόστρεψον (om οὖν) T; εἰς τὸ
 ἀσσητήριόν σου B; 'fear nothing' s₂: txt l (and probably s, where Διο seems to
 represent καὶ ὑποστρέψας, perhaps Διω) 18 πειθοῦντος τοῦ μον.] TB (π. περι
 αὐτῶν παντὸς τοῦ μον.) l (ingressusque lugentium monasterium feminarum) s ('while
 the women in the monastery were weeping at what had happened that he had
 deserted them'); εἶρε πειθοῦσας πάσας P; 'he found the women suffering from
 hunger' s₂ 19 εἰσῆλθε] + οὖν P ἔνδον ἔμεινεν T ἔκτοτε] om P 20 πλαγιῷ] P;
 κ πλαγιῶν (al πλαγιῶν) τοῦ μοναστηρίου B; 'outside' s₂; om T συχνωτέρως (sic) T
 ὃ] om TB 21 ἐξῆσε] The Vat ms of s₂ ends here 23 τῷ] om T ἐφρόντισε T

μοναστηρίου. (XXX) Ὅν διαδέχεται Δωρόθεος, ἀνὴρ δοκιμώτατος γηράσας ἐν βίῳ χρηστῶ καὶ ἐμπράκτῳ· μὴ δυνηθεὶς μὲν οὕτως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μοναστηρίῳ μείναι, ἐν ἀνώγειν δὲ ἀποκεκλεισμένος θυρίδα ἐποίησεν ὀρώσαν ἐπὶ τὸ μοναστήριον τῶν 5 γυναικῶν, καὶ ταύτην ἔκλειε καὶ ἤνοιγεν· ἀδιαλείπτως οὖν παρακαθέζετο τῇ θυρίδι τὴν ἀμαχίαν αὐταῖς μνηστευόμενος. καὶ οὕτως ἐπεγήρασεν ἄνω εἰς τὸ ἀνώγειν, μήτε τῶν γυναικῶν ἄνω ἀνερχομένων μήτε ἐκείνου δυναμένου κάτω κατελθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἰστήκει ἡ κλίμαξ.

10 (XXXI) Πιαμοῦν γέγονε παρθένος ἥτις τὰ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς ἔζησε μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας μητρὸς μίαν παρὰ μίαν ἐσθίουσα ἐν ἐσπέρᾳ καὶ νήθουσα λίνον. αὕτη κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος προρρησεων. ἐν οἷς συνέβη ποτὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῆς ἀναβάσεως οὐσης 15 κώμην κώμη ἐπιθέσθαι· μάχονται γὰρ εἰς τὰς ὑδρομερισίας, ὡς καὶ φόνους παρακολουθεῖν καὶ κατακοπάς. δυνατωτέρα οὖν κώμη ἐπέθετο τῇ ταύτης κώμῃ, καὶ ἤρχοντο ἄνδρες ἐν πλήθει μετὰ δοράτων καὶ ῥοπάλων κόψαι τὴν κώμην αὐτῆς. παρέστη δὲ αὐτῇ ἄγγελος ἀποκαλύπτων αὐτῇ τὴν ἐπιθεσιν τούτων. καὶ μεταστειλαμένη τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς 20 κώμης λέγει· Ἐξέλθατε | καὶ ἀπαντήσατε τοῖς ἐρχομένοις ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς κώμης καθ' ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς συναπόλησθε τῇ

XXX (Περὶ Δωροθέου): PTAIs

1 τούτον τὸν Ἡλίαν Δ. διαδέχεται T 2 ἐμπράκτῳ]+δς A βουληθεὶς T
3 μὲν] om TA οὕτως] οὗτος T μείναι] om A: + ut prior l (B) δὲ] om A
ἐναποκλειθεὶς T; ἀπέκλεισεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ A 4 ἐπ. θυρ. A ἐπὶ] PB; εἰς TA
5 καὶ ταύτην] ἦν P διεκλ. A οὖν] PA; δὲ TB παρακάθητο A 7 ἄνω
εἰς τὸ ἀνώγειν] PTA; ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀνώγειν (ἀναγαλῶ) B(l)s 7, 8 οὕτως (bis) TA
7 ἄνω²] om T 8 ἐκείνου] αὐτοῦ T δυναμένου...κατελθεῖν] TABIs; κατελθόντος P
κάτω] om T οὐ] οὐδὲ A 9 ἔστηκε A ἡ] om TA

XXXI (Περὶ Πιαμοῦν): PTAVCIs:

10 Πιαμοῦ (sic) T: + τις TAVCl: + ὀνόματι VCB l ἥτις]+πάντα B l 11 τῆς
ιδ. μ.] PT; τῆς μ. τῆς ιδ. AVC 12 χάριτος VC προρρησεως TAB 13 τῆς
ἀναβ. οὐσης] om s ἀναβάσεως]+ τοῦ Νείλου VCB l 14 ἐπιθ. κώμῃ T ὑδρο-
μερισίας] P; ὑδρομερισίας A; ὑδρομερίας TVC (-εας VC); ὑδρομερίας B 15 καὶ¹
om P κατακολουθεῖν A 16 ταύτης] PA; αὐτῆς TB; ἐαυτῆς VC ἐρχονται A
17 κόψαι] TA; κατακόψαι P; συγκόψαι VCB τὴν κώμην] τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ VC
18 δὲ] οὖν VC αὐτῇ] TVCl (B ταύτῃ τῇ μακαρίᾳ); τῇ ἀγίᾳ (after ἀγγ.) P; om. A
ἐπίστασιν] T 19 αὐτῶν A μεταστ.] + δὲ (om καὶ) VCB 20 ἐξέλθατε TVCB
καὶ] om P ἐκ] ἀπὸ VC 21 ὑμῶν] TVC(B)Is; ἡμῶν PA συναπόλ-
υσθε VC

κώμη, καὶ παρακαλέσατε αὐτοὺς λωφῆσαι τῆς μάχης· φοβη-
θέντες δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πίπτουσιν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς παρα-
καλοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες αὐτῇ ὅτι Ἡμεῖς οὐ τολμῶμεν συναν-
τῆσαι αὐτοῖς· οἶδαμεν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν μέθην καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν.
ἀλλ' εἰ ποιεῖς ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κώμην καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν 5
οἶκον τὸν σόν, ἐξελθοῦσα αὐτῇ αὐτοῖς συνάντησον. ἐκείνη τοῦτο
μὴ συνθεμένη, ἀνελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον τὸ ἴδιον ἐν νυκτὶ
ἔστη διὰ παντὸς εὐχομένη καὶ μὴ κλίνουσα γόνυ καὶ δεομένη
τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι Κύριε ὁ κρίνων τὴν γῆν, ᾧ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀδίκων
ἰρέσκει, τῆς προσευχῆς ταύτης ἐλθούσης πρὸς σέ ἡ δύναμις 10
σου ἠλωσάτω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἂν αὐτοὺς καταλάβῃ.
καὶ περὶ ὥραν πρώτην ἀπὸ τριῶν μυρίων ἠλωθέντες εἰς τὸν
τόπον σαλευθῆναι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν· ἀπεκαλύφθη δὲ κἀκείνοις ὅτι
πρεσβείαις ταύτης γέγονεν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐμπόδιον· καὶ ἀποστεί-
λαντες εἰς τὴν κώμην ἤτήσαντο εἰρήνην, δηλώσαντες ὅτι Εὐχα- 15
ριστήσατε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς Πιαμοῦν αἱ καὶ συνεπόδισαν
ἡμᾶς.

(XXXII) Ταβέννησις ἐστι τόπος ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι οὕτω

18 On the authorities for the text see Note 47. On Tabonnisi see Note 48.

18 Soz. III. 14 (16) Διέτριβε δὲ ἐν Ταβεννήσῳ (vulg. Ταβέννη νήσῳ) τῆς Θη-

ΡΤΑΥCII_h:

1 αὐτοὺς.....μάχης] τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην T μάχης] AI (ab apparatu certaminis
huius) (cf. T, sup.); κακίας P; ἀδικίας VC; ἀηδίας θανατικῆς B¹; ἐπιβουλῆς B²;
'audacity' s 2 δέ] οὖν VC πίπτουσι] + αὐτῆς T; αὐτῇ A αὐτῆς] om TA
παρακαλοῦντες] + αὐτῆν AVCB¹ 3 καὶ λέγοντες] om T αὐτῇ] om TAVCB¹
αὐτοῖς συναντ. VCB 5 ποιεῖς] + ἐφ' ἡμᾶς VCB 6 τὸν σόν] σοῦ P ὑπάντησον
VC ἐκείνη] + δὲ A 7 ἀνελθοῦσα VC τὸ ἴδιον] om T 8 διὰ π. ἔστη A
μῆ] VCBT (μηδὲν) ls; om PA γονῆ (sic) κλῖνασα T καὶ²] PTAI; ἀλλά VCB_h
9 θεοῦ] + λέγουσα AB(s) ὅτι] om A κρίνων] + πᾶσαν VCB¹ 10 προσευχῆς]
+ μου VCI 11 ἠλωσάτω] PTVCI; στηλωσάτω AB; (s 'fix': 'bind' next l.)
ἂν] om TVC αὐτοῖς] om P 12 πρώτην] TABI; τρίτην PVC; (om s) μυρίων]
P; σημείων TAVCB στηλωθέντες AB (ἐστηλώθησαν) 13 ἠδυνάτο VC δέ]
οὖν VC; om T καὶ τοῖτοις VC 14 ταύτης] ἐκείνης A; αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγίας P καὶ]
PA; om TVCB ἀποστείλαντες] + οὖν TB; δὲ VC 15 ἤτήσαντο] ἤτησαν A: + τὰ
εἰς TVC; τὰ πρὸς A 16 καὶ ταῖς εὐχ.....ἡμᾶς] TAVCB_h; ὅτι ταῖς εὐχαῖς II. ἡμεῖς
συνεπόδισθημεν P; qui nos orationibus P. ab excidio uestrae possessionis auertit l

XXXII (Περὶ Παχωμίου καὶ τῶν Ταβεννησιωτῶν):

PTO 33-47 [34] ls^meth [ar] (see Note 47).

18 Ταβέννησις] P¹ B¹; Ταβέννησος 34 B¹; Ταβένσιος O; Ταβένη 33-47 (2nd v in-
serted l m.); Ταβέννη νήσος is vulgate reading in Soz., but one ms. has Ταβέννησος
(cf. Valois' Annot.). (The Coptic name is Tabennisi) (see Note 48). τότε ἐστὶ
O 33-47 τῇ] om O

καλούμενος, ἐν ᾧ Παχώμιός τις γέγονεν, ἀνὴρ τῶν εἰς εὐθείαν βεβιωκότων ὡς καταξιωθῆναι καὶ προρρήσεων καὶ ὄπτασιῶν ἀγγελικῶν. οὗτος εἰς ἄγαν ἐγένετο φιλάνθρωπός τε καὶ φιλάδελφος. καθεζομένῳ οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ ᾤφθη ἄγγελος
5 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ: Τὰ κατὰ σαυτὸν κατώρθωσας· περιπτῶς οὖν καθέξῃ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ· δεῦρο καὶ ἐξελθὼν συνάγαγε πάντας τοὺς νέους μοναχοὺς καὶ οἴκησον μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὃν δίδωμί σοι οὕτως αὐτοῖς νομοθέτησον. καὶ ἐπέδωκεν αὐτῷ δέλτον χαλκῆν ἐν ἣ ἐγγράπτο ταῦτα·

10 Συγχωρήσεις ἐκάστω κατὰ δύναμιν φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν· καὶ

βαΐδος, ὅθεν Ταβεννησιῶται εἰσέτι νῦν ὀνομάζονται. 1—4 Soz. (16) Κατὰ τούτους τοὺς νόμους, τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς ἤγεν ὁ Παχώμιος, ἀνὴρ τὰ μάλιστα φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ θεοφιλὴς εἰς ἄγαν ὡς προειδέναι τὰ ἐσόμενα, καὶ θείους ἀγγέλους ὁμλεῖν πολλάκις. 4—9 (9) Τὸν γε μὴν Παχώμιον φασι μόνον ἐν σπηλαίῳ τὰ πρῶτα φιλοσοφῆσαι· προφανέντα δὲ αὐτῷ θείον ἄγγελον παρακελεύεσθαι νέους ἀθροῖσαι μοναχοὺς καὶ συνεῖναι αὐτοῖς· εὐ γὰρ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καταρωθῆκέναι καὶ χρῆναι καὶ συνοικίῶν ἡγούμενον ὠφελεῖν πολλούς· ἄγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς νόμοις οἷς ἂν δοίη· δεδωκέναι δὲ αὐτῷ δέλτον ἣν ἔτι φυλάττουσιν.

1 On Pachomius see Note 49.

7 οἴκησον μετ' αὐτῶν] At this point P departs from the structure of all the other authorities, including Soz.: it omits καὶ κατὰ...νομοθέτησον (7, 8), and goes on (cf. 7, p. 93): ὅς συναγαγὼν ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας κατέταξεν ἐν διαφόροις μοναστηρίοις δούς αὐτοῖς καὶ κανόνα κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ πρῶτον κ.τ.λ. (9, p. 93) το ...συνωνήσασθαι δὲ τὰς χρείας (4, p. 94). περιεῖχε δὲ ἡ διάταξις τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἣν ἐπέδωκε τῷ Π. εἰς δέλτον χαλκοῦν, ἐν ἣ ἐγγράπτο ταῦτα· Συγχωρήσεις κ.τ.λ. (10 above).

10 On the Rule see Note 50.

10—4 (p. 89) Soz. (10) Ἐνούσα δὲ ταύτη γραφὴ προσέταττε συγχωρεῖν ἐκάστω

PTO 33-47 [34] 1s^m eth [ar]

1 εἰς εὐθείαν] εὐαρέστως P 2, 3 ὡς.....ἀγγ. om s^m 2 καταξιωθῆναι] + αὐτὸν OB[†] καὶ¹] om P ἀγγ. ὄπτ. PB[†] 3 γέγονε O 'love of God and of men' s^m (cf. Soz) τε] om T τε καὶ φιλαδ.] om 33-47 4 καθ. οὖν αὐτῷ] POB; καθεζομένου οὖν αὐτοῦ T 34 (B[†]); ἐν μῆ οὖν καθ. αὐτοῦ 33-47 ᾤφθη] + αὐτῷ TO 33-47 B[†] ἄγγελος] + θεοῦ 33-47; κυρίου B; ('of the Lord (God) eth) 5 καὶ λέγει] λέγων 33-47, B[†] (l) αὐτῷ] om 33-47; + Παχώμιε 33-47 34 B σαυτὸν] + πάντα POI; txt T 33-47 B eth s^m; + ἥδη 33-47 κατόρθωσας (sic) PO (κατορθώσας (om οὖν) B[†]) 6 καθ. after σπ. 33-47 ἐν τῷ σπ.] 'here' s^m καὶ] τοῖνον B (οὖν A^B) l 7 νέους] PO Soz; νεωτέρους T 33-47 34 B l; 'those that wander' s^m μοναχοῦς] μονάζοντες 34 B; om T eth s^m 7, 8 καὶ²...νομοθέτησον] om P (cf. Note above) 8 αὐτοὺς τύπωσον] 33-47 ἐπέδωκεν] (P) O 33 B[†]; ἐπιπέδωκεν TB[†]; ἐπέδοτο 47 9 ταῦτα] PB 33-47 (τάδε) eth s^m ('thus'); om TOI 10 συγχ.] + φησιν O κατὰ] + τὴν 33-47 (+ ἔβλεν 47) B[†] κατὰ δύν.] 'when they wish' s^m; om eth; κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῆς δυνάμεως O; + καὶ TO 33-47 B[†] s^m

πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ἐσθίωντων ἀνάλογα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρίσον· καὶ μήτε νηστεῦσαι κωλύσης μήτε φαγεῖν. οὕτω μέντοι τὰ ἰσχυρὰ τοῖς ἰσχυροτέροις καὶ ἐσθίουσι, καὶ τὰ ἄτονα τοῖς ἀτονωτέροις καὶ ἀσκητικωτέροις ἐγχειρίζει ἔργα. ποιήσον δὲ κέλλας διαφόρους ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ τρεῖς κατὰ κέλλαν 5 μενέτωσαν. ἡ δὲ τροφή πάντων ὑπὸ ἓνα οἶκον ἐξεταξέσθω. καθευδέτωσαν δὲ μὴ ἀνακείμενοι, ἀλλὰ θρόνους οἰκοδομητοὺς ὑπιωτέρους πεποικότες καὶ θέντες αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ τὰ στρώματα καθευδέτωσαν καθήμενοι. φορεῖτωσαν δὲ ἐν ταῖς νυξὶ λεβιτῶνας λινοῦς ἐξωσμένοι. ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐχέτω μηλωτὴν αἰγίαν 10 εἰργασμένην, ἧς ἄνευ μὴ ἐσθιέτωσαν. ἀπίοντες δὲ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν κατὰ σάββατον καὶ κυριακὴν τὰς ζώνας λυέτωσαν, τὴν μηλωτὴν ἀπυτιθέσθωσαν, καὶ μετὰ κουκουλίου μόνου εἰσιέ-

ως ἂν οἷός τε ἦν φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι, νηστεύειν τε καὶ μὴ τοῖς μέντοι ῥωμαιωτέροις ἐσθίουσι τὰ ἐπιπονώτερα τῶν ἔργων ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰ δὲ εὐχαρῆ τοῖς ἀσκειμένοις. 4—6 Soz. (11) Οἰκήματα δὲ μικρὰ κατασκευάσει πολλὰ, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον οἰκήμα τρεῖς καταμένειν· ὑπὸ ἓνα δὲ οἶκον πάντας τροφῆς μεταλαμβάνειν. 7—10 (13) Χιτῶσι δὲ λινοῖς καὶ ζώναις κεχρησθαι, καὶ ἐξωσμένους σὺν τοῖς χιτωνίοις καὶ ταῖς διφθέραις καθεῦδεν καθήμενους ἐν οἰκοδομητοῖς θρόνοις ἐκατέρωθεν περιπεφραγμένοι ὥστε τὴν ἐκάστου συνέχειν στρωμνῇν. 10 Διφθέρας δὲ ἀμφιένυσσθαι. 11—13 (14) Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ καὶ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσιώντας, τὰς ζώνας λυεῖν καὶ τὰς διφθέρας ἀποτίθεσθαι.

P^{TO} 33-47 [34] Is^m eth [ar]

1 ἀναλόγως 33-47 B†; (ἀνέλωσεν sic O) τὰ] om T αὐτοῖς after ἀναλ. 33-47
 2 ἐγχειρίσεις O κωλύσεις O 2-4 οὕτω.....[εργα] 'only as the food for the strong is powerful, and is weak for the weak, give them also the food of their works' eth 3 ἰσχυρότερα 33-47 καὶ ἐσθ.] om s^m καί] om T τὰ δὲ ἤττονα 33-47: † καὶ ἐλαφρὰ B ar (p. 366) 4 ἀτονωτέροις καὶ ἀσκητικωτέροις] BIs^m ar; ἀτονωτέροις (om καὶ ἀσκ.) P (eth); ἀσκητικωτέροις (om ἀτον. καὶ) TO 47 Soz (33 ἰσχυροτέροις) ἐγχειρίσεις O 5 δὲ] † καὶ O^m κελ. διαφ.] 'a cell' eth διαφ. ἐν τ. αὐλῇ] om s^m κέλλαν 33-47 6 ἐνὸς οἴκου P 7-9 ἀλλὰ...καθήμενοι] s^m paraphr 7 ἀλλά] † εἰς O 8 πεποικότες] om O θέντες] PO; ἐνθέντες T 33-47 B αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς O; αὐτῶν (after τὰ) 33-47 9 ἐν ταῖς νυξὶ] om eth ἐν] † μὲν P λεβιτῶνας] PT 34 B†; χιτῶνας O 33-47 (Soz) 10 λινοῦς] λευκοῖς O ἕκαστος . ἐργ.] om eth καὶ ἐχ. ἐλ. (om αὐτῶν) O ἕκαστος] † δὲ P 10, 11 αἰγίαν... ἐσθιέτωσαν] om s^m 11 μὴ] P B†; μὴδὲ O 47 B†; μήτε T 33 B† ἐσθιέτωσαν] † μὴδὲ (μήτε 33 B†) καθευδέτωσαν 33-47 B ar 11-3 (p. 90) ἀπίοντες...ἐπιτίθεσθαι] s^m paraphr and contracted ἀπίοντες] P T; εἰσιόντες OB 33-47 12 κοινωνίαν] 'sacrifice' eth 'on the Christian Sabbath' (om καὶ κυρ.) eth λυέτωσαν] † καὶ O B† 13 ἀποτίθετωσαν 47: (τὴν μ. ἀπ. om 33) κουκουλίων μόνων O: (one l' P^{TO} B† μόνου] om P: (eth om καὶ and μόνου εἰσιετ.)

τωςαν. κουκούλια δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐτύπωσεν | ἄμαλλα ὡς παιδίους, ἐν οἷς καὶ καυτήρα τύπον σταυροῦ διὰ πορφυρίου ἐκέλευσεν ἐντίθεσθαι. ἐκέλευσε δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα τάγματα εἶναι καὶ ἐκάστῳ τάγματι ἐπέθηκε στοιχείον ἑλληνικὸν ἀπὸ ἄλφα καὶ 5 βῆτα καὶ γάμμα καὶ δέλτα καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑξῆς. ἐν τῷ οὖν αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν καὶ φιλοπραγμανεῖν εἰς τοσοῦτον πλήθος ἡρώτα τὸν δεύτερον ὁ μειζότερος· Πῶς ἔχει τὸ τάγμα τοῦ ἄλφα; ἢ Πῶς ἔχει τὸ ζῆτα; πάλιν Ἄσπασαι τὸ ῥῶ, ἰδίῳ τινὶ σημείῳ

1—3 Soz. (13) Καὶ τῖραις ἐρίναις τὰς κεφαλὰς σκέπεσθαι κατασημαίνεσθαι δὲ ταύτας τὰς τῖρας οἰονεὶ κέντροις πορφυροῖς προσέταξε. 3—5 (p. 91) (15) Πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν συνοικίαν εἰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρα τάγματα διελεῖν, καὶ ἐπονομάσαι ταῦτα τοῖς ἑλλήνων στοιχείοις· καὶ ὅπως ἔχει βίον καὶ ἥθους ἐκάστῳ τάγματι τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐφαρμόσαι· οἷον, ἀπλουστέρους μὲν ἰῶτα ἀποκαλοῦντας, σκολιῶν δὲ ζήξ, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλως καθὼς ἐκλαμβάνειν εὐστόχος ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ γράμματος τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ τάγματος. 3—6 (p. 91) See Note 51.

6 καὶ φιλοπραγμανεῖν] Ο goes on: τί θέλη εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα, καὶ διὰ τί ἐκάστῳ τάγματι στοιχείον ἐνεκέλευσεν ἐπιγραφῆναι, τὸ μὲν τὸ ἄλφα, τὸ δὲ τὸ βῆτα, τὸ μὲν τὸ γάμμα, τὸ δὲ τὸ δέλτα καὶ καθ' ἑξῆς· ἔφη ὅτι ἐκάστῳ τάγματι κατ' ἀναλογίαν κ.τ.λ. (3, p. 91).

7 Δεύτερος is the word for the second in command in the *Vita Pach.* also, §§ 19, 35.

PTO 33-47 [34] | s^{an} eth [ar]

1 καὶ κουκ. δὲ P τύπωσον and (3) κέλευσον eth ἄμαλλαι ὡς (sic) T ven: (one l PO 33-47 Bt) 2 καυτήρα τύπον στ.] PTA^B; καυτήρά τινα (-ράς τινας Bt) στ. B; κ. τινα τύπον στ. 47 (33 omi τύπον στ.); κούτηρα (sic) εἶνα (om τυκ. στ.) O; quaedam signa de purpura l; 'a purple cross' s^{an}; 'the sign of the cross in purple' eth: (om καυτήρα | s^{an} eth) διὰ πορφυρίου] P 33 Bt; διαπορφυρίου T 47 Bt; πορφυροῦν (om διὰ) O ἐκέλευσεν] before διὰ 47: + τούτοις B 47 3 τίθεσθαι O; γενέσθαι 33; om eth ἐκέλευσε...εἶναι] om P καὶ προσέταξε O; 'there shall be' eth εἶναι] + τῶν ἀδελφῶν B1 4 ἐπέθηκε] 'thou shalt call' eth ἀπὸ] + τοῦ O 'from alaph to oh (al. tau)' s^{an} (+ 'and one letter to each division. And holy P. did as was commanded him by the angel') 5 καὶ¹] om 33-47 l καὶ²] om 47 l τῶν] om O καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς T 33-47 ἐξῆς] + ἕως τοῦ ὦ O B ar αὐτὸν] om 33-47 eth 6 καὶ...πλήθος] om 33-47 eth s^{an} πολυπρ. 34: + περὶ τινος B1 (singulorum uitam) (s^{an} 'concerning the doings of the brethren') 6-3 (p. 91) εἰς τοσοῦτον...κατ' ἀναλογίαν] rewritten in O (see above) 6, 7 ἡρώτα...μειζότερος] P T1; ὁ πρῶτος τὸν δεύτερον ἔλεγε 33-47; 'and when in the community one asked a second' eth; (O vac) 7 ὁ μειζότερος] 'the head of the monastery' s^{an} (cf. B ἀρχιμανδρίτης) τὸ τάγμα τοῦ ἄλφα] τὸ γάμμα T1 eth 8 βῆτα T* Bt s^{an} eth l^{rv} πάλιν...ῥῶ] om l πάλιν] P B; om T 33-47 eth s^{an} ῥῶ] + καὶ 33-47 σημείῳ γραμμάτων] l (ex propriae signo litterae) B (σημείῳ ὀνόματος γραμμ.); σημείῳ (om γραμμ.) T 33-47 34 (eth s^{an}); ὀνόματι γραμμ. (om σημ.) P; (O vac) (s^{an} 'and so he had signs for all the congregation of brethren from the figures of the 24 letters he had placed on them'; eth 'and each shall be known in his order and by his sign')

γραμμάτων ἀκολουθοῦντες. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀπλουστέροις καὶ ἀκεραιότεροις ἐπιθήσεις τὸ ἰῶτα, τοῖς δὲ δυσχερεστέροις καὶ σκολιωτέροις προσάξεις τὸ ξὶ καὶ οὕτως κατ' ἀναλογίαν τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν προαιρέσεων καὶ τῶν τρόπων καὶ τῶν βίων, ἐκάστῳ τάγματι τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐφήρμοσε, μόνων τῶν πνευματικῶν 5 εἰδῶν τὰ σημαίνοντα. ἐγγράπτο δὲ ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ ὅτι Ξένος ἄλλου μοναστηρίου ἄλλον ἔχοντος τύπον μὴ συμφάγη τούτοις, μὴ συμπῆ, μὴ εἰσέλθη εἰς τὴν μονὴν ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐν ὁδῷ εὐρεθῆ. τὸν μέντοι εἰσελθόντα συμμῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τριετίαν εἴσω τῶν ἀδύτων οὐ δέχονται· ἀλλ' ἐργατικώτερα ἔργα ποιήσας, οὕτως 10 εἰσβαίνει μετὰ τριετίαν. ἐσθίοντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς καλυ-

6—11 Soz. (12) Ξένον δὲ μὴ συνεσθίειν αὐτοῖς μόνον εἰ μὴ παροδεύον ἐπιξενωθῆναι τὸν δὲ συνοικεῖν αὐτοῖς βουλούμενον πρότερον ἐπὶ τριετίαν τὰ χαλεπώτερα τῶν ἔργων πονεῖν, καὶ οὕτω μετέχειν τῆς αὐτῶν συνοικίας. 11—3 (p. 92) (11) Σιγῇ τε ἐσθίειν, καὶ καθῆσθαι παρὰ τὰς τραπέζας ἐπικεκαλυμμένους τὰ πρόσωπα, ὥς μήτε ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν μήτε ἄλλο τι πλὴν τῆς τραπέζης καὶ τῶν προκειμένων. 11—3 (p. 92) See Note 52.

PTO 33-47 [34] *ls^{an} eth [ar]*

1 ἀκολουθοῦντες] *PB*; ἠκολούθουν 33-47 *T* (ἐξηκ.); om 34: (1 *paraphr.*, *O* *vas*) 1-3 καὶ 1.....ξὶ] *O* *tr* *to* *after* *σημαίνοντα* (6) καὶ 1] om *T* 33-47 *μὲν*] οὐν *T*: + οὐν 33-47 καὶ ἀκεραιστ.] om 33-47 (Soz) *eth* (*l^{an}*) 2 ἐπιθήσεις] *PB* *eth* *ar*; ἐπέθηκε *TO* 33-47 *I* (*imponens*) *s^{an}* 3 καὶ σκολ.] *TO* 33-47 *B¹Soz*; om *PB¹A^B* *eth* *s^{an}* προσάξεις] *PB* *eth*; 'he imposed' *s^{an}*; om *TO* 33-47 *I* 4 καὶ τῶν τρόπων] *P* (*τροφῶν*) *B* *eth* (Soz *ἥθους*); om *TO* 33-47 34 *s^{an}* (1 *uncertain*) 5 ἐκάστῳ.....στοιχεῖον] om *O* στοιχεῖον] + τοῦ γράμματος *Bl* (*vocabulorum notas*) ἐφήρμοσε] *T* 33-47: συνήρμοσε *P*; ἐφαρμόσαι *Soz*; ἐφαρμόσεις *B* *eth*; ἐνεφηρμόσθαι *O* μόνων.....σημαίνοντα] om *s^{an}*: + ἃ *eth* μόνον *O* 6 ἰδόντων *O* ἐνεγγράπτο 47; 'he ordered' *s^{an}* 8] om *P* ξένος] + μοναχὸς 47 *s^{an}* (om *dl.* *μον.*): + ἀπὸ *O* 7 μοναστηρίου] + ἐὰν ἔλθῃ *B*; ἐὰν παραγένηται *O*; 'if there come' *I* *eth*: *txt* *PT* 33-47 34 *s^{an}* ἄλλον] om 33-47 συμφαγεῖν and συμμῆναι *O* τούτοις] before *μὴ* *συμφ.* 33-47 *B*: αὐτοῖς *O* 8 μὴ εἰσέλθῃ.....εὐρεθῆ] om *s^{an}* μὴ εἰσέλθῃ *eis* *τ.* *μονὴν*] om *P* μὴ²] ἕως *dn* *O* εἰσέλθοι 33 ἐκτὸς] + *dn* *T* 33-47 *B* ὁδῷ] + *που* *O* 9-11 τὸν μέντοι.....εἰσβαίνει μετὰ τριετίαν] om *P* 9, 10 ἐπὶ τριετίαν.....δέχονται] om *s^{an}* 9 ἐπὶ τριετ.] *tr* 33-47 *after* *ποιήσας* εἴσω τῶν ἀδύτων] *TO* (ἔσω) 33-47 34 *I* (in *loca* *monasterii* (*sui*) *secretiora*) *eth* ('into their community'): (*B* *eis* *ἀγῶνα* *ἀδύτων*, with variations) 10 οὐ δέχονται] *TO* 33-47 (before *εἴσω* τῶν *ἀδ.*); οὐ δέξῃ *B*; μὴ εἰσαγαγεῖν 34; 'let them not receive him' *eth* ἀλλ' ἔργατ. ἔργα ποιήσας] *T* 34 *B* *s^{an}* (om *ἔργατ.*); εἰ μὴ πρότερον τὰ ἔργατ. ἔργα (om 33) ποιήσῃ ἐπὶ τριετίαν 33-47 (cf. *Soz* *πρότερον*, *I* *sed* *cum* *prius*); ἀλλ' εἰς ἔργα τυποῦσιν αὐτὸν *O*; 'they shall employ him as a servant' *eth* οὕτως] + *eis* τὸ στάδιον *B* (see *Prol.* 161) 11 εἰσβαίνει] *T* 23; εἰσβαίνετω *B* *eth*; εἰσδέχσθαι 34; (καὶ οὕτως εἰσέρχεσθαι (om *μετὰ* *τρ.*) 33-47; καὶ οὕτως μετὰ τὴν *τρ.* εἰσέρχονται *O*): (*s^{an}* 'he shall be tonsured') εἰσθιόντων 33 καλυπτέτωσαν] *PB¹* *eth* *s^{an}* *ar*; καλύπτουσι *TO* 33-47

(XXXIV) Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μοναστηρίῳ ἄλλη γέγονε παρθένος ὑποκρινομένη μωρίαν καὶ δαίμονα· καὶ ἐπὶ τοσούτου αὐτὴν ἐβδελύξαντο ὡς μηδὲ συνεσθίειν αὐτῇ, τοῦτο ἐκείνης αἰρησαμένης. ἀλωμένη οὖν ἀνὰ τὸ μαγειρεῖον πᾶσαν ἐποίει ὑπηρεσίαν, καὶ ἦν, 5 τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, σπόγγος τῆς μονῆς, ἔργῳ πληροῦσα τὸ γεγραμμένον· Εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφός εἶναι ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τοῦτῳ μωρός γενέσθω ἵνα γένηται σοφός. αὐτὴ ῥάκος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς δῆσασα — αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι πᾶσαι εἰσι κεκαρμέναι, ἔχουσαι κουκούλια, — οὕτως ἦν ὑπηρετοῦσα. ταύτην μασωμένην οὐκ εἶδεν οὐδεμία τῶν 10 τετρακοσίων τὰ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς· ἐπὶ τραπέζης οὐκ ἐκαθέσθη, οὐ κλάσματος μετέλαβεν ἄρτου, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψύχας σπογγίζουσα τῶν τραπέζων καὶ τὰς χύτρας περιπλύνουσα τούτοις ἠρκέιτο· μὴ ὑβρίσασά ποτέ τινα, μὴ γογγύσασα, μὴ λαλήσασα μικρὸν ἢ μέγα, καίπερ κονδυλιζομένη καὶ ὑβριζομένη καὶ καταρωμένη καὶ 15 μυσσαττομένη.

Παρέστη οὖν ἄγγελος τῷ ἀγίῳ Πιτηροῦμ ἐν τῷ Πορφυρίτῃ καθεζομένῳ ἀναχωρητῇ ἀνδρὶ δοκιμωτάτῳ, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Διὰ τί μέγα φρονεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτῷ ὡς εὐλαβῆς, καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ καθεζόμενος τόπῳ; θέλεις ἰδεῖν εὐλαβεστέραν σου γυναῖκα; 20 ἄπελθε εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν Ταβεννησιωτῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖ εὐρήσεις μίαν διάδημα ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς· αὕτη σου ἀμείνων ἐστί. τοσούτῳ γὰρ ὄχλῳ πικτεύουσα, τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῆς οὐδέποτε ἀπέστησε τοῦ θεοῦ· σὺ δὲ καθεζόμενος ἴδε, ἀνὰ

1 The text of l in c. xxxiv is contained in the Latin Apophthegmata, Bk v. xviii. 19 (Rosweyd, p. 639, P. L. lxxiii. 984). 5 See Note 42.

6 1 Cor. iii. 18.

16 See Note 60.

XXXIV (Περὶ τῆς ὑποκρινομένης μωρίας): PT [33-47] las^{an}

3 ἐβδελύσσοντο T: + αἱ ἄλλαι παρθένοι P; αἱ λοιπαὶ B; ab omnibus aliis l; 'the sisters' s^{an}: txt T 33-47 (s) ἐκείνης τοῦτο T ἐκείνης] + οὕτως P; μετὰ χαρᾶς B; 'voluntarily' s 4 οὖν] om T 5 μονῆς] + uniuersae ls^{an} 6 ἐν ἡμῶν] PT; ἐν ἡμῶν 33-47 A^{B1}; om Bs^{an}; 'in the Lord' s ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τοῦτῳ] om T 7 σοφός] + 'with God' s 8 πᾶσαι] om B¹ls^{an} ἔχουσαι] + καὶ P 9 ὑπηρετοῦσα] + omnibus ls 10 τὰ ἔτη.....αὐτῆς] ls construe with foll. clause 14 μέγα] + λόγον T καὶ ὑβρίζου.] om Tl καὶ καταρωμ.] om Ps^{an} (s^{an} ὑβριζ. καὶ μυσ. καὶ κονδ.) 16 τῷ ἀγίῳ οὖν Π. ἀγγ. παρέστη T ἀγγελος] + domini l; 'of God' s Πιτηροῦμ] TB; Πιτηροῦμ P; Πιτυροῦμ 33-47 (Πιτυρίων below, and so Hist. Mon. xvii. and Soz. iii. 14 4); Piterius l (Pyoterius apophth) (cf. Soer. iv. 23 Πιτηροῦς); Pitroum s; Pitourim (al Pitour) s^{an} 18 φρονεῖς] + ὡ Πιτυρίων 33-47 19 σου εὐλαβ. TB 21 ἐκεῖ] om T ἐπὶ τῆς κεφ.] om T 22 ἀμείνων] 'much better' s^{an} 23 αὐτῆς] om T ἀπέστησε] + ἀπὸ T θεοῦ] + καίπερ παρὰ πασῶν ὑπερφανευομένη Bs καθήμενος T ἴδε] om T

τὰς πόλεις πλανᾶσαι τῇ διανοίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μηδέποτε ἐξελθὼν ἀπ-
 ἤλθεν ἕως τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐκείνου, καὶ παρακαλεῖ τοὺς διδα-
 σκάλους εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τῶν γυναικῶν. ἐκείνοι ὡς
 ἐπίδοξον καὶ γεγηρακότα ἐθάρρησαν αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν. καὶ
 εἰσελθὼν ἐπέζητησε πάσας ἰδεῖν. ἐκείνη οὐ παρεφάινετο. τέλος 5
 λέγει αὐταῖς· Φέρετέ μοι πάσας· λείπει γὰρ καὶ ἄλλη. λέγουσιν
 αὐτῷ· Μίαν ἔχομεν σαλὴν ἔνδον ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ·—οὕτω γὰρ
 καλοῦσι τὰς πασχούσας. λέγει αὐταῖς· Ἀγάγετέ μοι κάκεινην
 ἄφετε αὐτὴν ἰδῶ. | ἀπῆλθον αὐτῇ φωνῆσαι· αὐτὴ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν,
 ἴσως αἰσθημένη τοῦ πράγματος, ἣ καὶ ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα. σύρουσι 10
 βία καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ· Ὁ ἅγιος Πιτηροῦμ σε θέλει ἰδεῖν. ἦν
 γὰρ ὀνομαστός. ἐλθούσης οὖν αὐτῆς ἐθεάσατο τὸ ῥάκος τὸ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ μετώπου αὐτῆς, καὶ πεσὼν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς λέγει αὐτῇ·
 Εὐλόγησόν με. ὁμοίως κάκεινη ἔπεσεν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ
 λέγουσα· Σὺ με εὐλόγησον, κύριε. ἐξέστησαν πᾶσαι καὶ λέγουσιν 15
 αὐτῷ· Ἀββᾶ, μὴ πάσχε ὕβριω· σαλή ἐστι. λέγει αὐταῖς
 πάσαις ὁ Πιτηροῦμ· Ὅτι μὲν ἐστὲ σαλαί· αὕτη γὰρ καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ
 ὑμῶν ἀμμᾶς ἐστίν·—οὕτως γὰρ καλοῦσι τὰς πνευματικὰς·—
 καὶ εὐχομαι ἄξιον αὐτῆς εὐρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως.
 ἀκούσασαι ταῦτα ἔπεσον αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς πόδας, ἐξομολογούμεναι 20
 πᾶσαι διαφόρως· ἡ μὲν ὡς τὸ ἀπόπλυμα τοῦ πίνακος ἐπιχέασα
 αὐτῇ· ἄλλη ὡς κουνύλους ἐπιτριψαμένη· ἄλλη ὡς τὴν ῥίνα
 αὐτῆς σιναπίσασα· καὶ ἰπλῶς πᾶσαι διαφόρους ὕβρεις ἀπήγ-

PT [33-47] 188^{an}

1 καὶ] statim l; ἀναστὰς οὖν T(B); 'when he heard this' 88^{an} (+ 'he arose' s): txt
 P ὁ μηδ. ἐξελθὼν] B1 connect with previous sentence: + τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κέλλης
 T88^{an}(B) ἤλθ. v TB 2 διδασκάλους]+ εἶσαι αὐτὸν P 3 ἐκείνοι] P1; om
 TB ὡς]+ οὖν TB 4 καὶ!]+ ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει B8 ἰθάρρησαν T καὶ εἰσελθ.]
 om T 5 ἐπέζητησε]+ δὲ T κάκεινη T παρεγένετο T 7 ἔνδον] om B 8^{an}
 οὕτω..... πασχούσας] om 33-47 88^{an} 9 ἄφετε] lra T φων. αὐτῆν· ἣ δὲ TB
 10 [σωσ] om TB8^{an} αἰσθητομένη T ἣ] [σωσ TB8^{an}: txt P1 καὶ]+ παρὰ θεοῦ
 33-47 n(1) σύρουσι]+ αὐτὴν TB 11 αὐτῇ] om T Πιτηροῦμ P ἰδεῖν before
 σε TB 12 ὀνομαστός]+ ὁ γέρων P ἐθεάσατο]+ καὶ T(B) τῷ] om TB
 13 αὐτῆς!]+ om T(B) αὐτῆς?]+ before εἰς TB 14 με]+ ἀμμᾶ B8^{an} (←
 (ēmā) . mother) ἔπεσε κάκ. ὁμ. T 15 κύριε]+ ἰδοῦσαι δὲ τοῦτο B8^{an} (33-47 θεω-
 ροῦσαι after πᾶσαι) 17 πάσαις] PB1s; om T 33-47 A8^{an} Πιτηροῦμ P
 18 οὕτως..... πνευματικὰς] T1sB(+μητέρας); δ ἐστὶ πνευματικὴ μήτηρ P; om 33-47
 A8^{an} 20 ταῦτα] τούτων TB 21 διαφόρως]+ 'what they had done to her' 88^{an}
 αὶ μὲν P8^{an} ἀπόπλυμα]+ πολλαῖς 33-47 B ἐπιχέασαι P 22 κουνύλους
 ἐτριψ. TB 23 ἀπήγγειλαν]+ αὐτῷ P

γειλαν. εὐξάμενος οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθε. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας μὴ ἐνεγκούσα ἐκείνη τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ ταῖς ἀπολογίας βαρυνθεῖσα, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ μοναστηρίου· καὶ ποῦ ἀπῆλθεν, ἢ ποῦ κατέδου, ἢ πῶς ἐτελεύτησεν, 5 ἔγνω οὐδεὶς.

(XXXV) Γέγονέ τις Ἰωάννης ἐν Λυκῶ τῇ πόλει, ὃς ἐν παιδίῳ μὲν ἔμαθε τὴν τεκτονικὴν· ᾧ ἀδελφὸς ὑπῆρχε βαφεύς. ἐς ὕστερον δὲ γενόμενος ὡς ἐτῶν εἰκοσιπέντε ἀπετάξατο· καὶ διατρίψας ἐν διαφόροις μοναστηρίοις πέντε ἔτη ἀνεχώρησε μόνος 10 εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Λυκῶ, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόρειαν ποιήσας ἑαυτῷ τρεῖς θόλους καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἀνφοδόμησεν ἑαυτόν. ἦν οὖν ὁ εἰς θόλος εἰς τὰς χρείας τῆς σαρκός, καὶ ὁ εἰς ἔνθα εἰργάζετο καὶ ἤσθιε, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ἔνθα προσήχετο. οὗτος τριάκοντα 15 τοῦ διακουοῦντος αὐτῷ τὰς χρείας κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος προρρήσεων. ἐν οἷς καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφόρους ἀπέστειλε προρρήσεις, | περὶ τε Μαξίμου τοῦ τυράννου, ὅτι

6 From this point the readings of W are incorporated where extant: only the differences, however, of W from P are recorded; so that on whatever pages of the text (W) follows P in the list of sources, P is always to be taken in the apparatus as equivalent to PW, unless there is an explicit mention of W.

Chapter xxxv is edited by Preuschen *Pall. u. Ruf.* (98—105): Tullberg's mss. A and N give the text of s (*Paradisus Patrum* 1—9). On John see Note 61. 16 See Note 62.

PT [33-47] lss^{an}

1 ἐξῆλθε TB(l) καὶ μεθ' ἡμ. ὀλ.] P; μετ' ὀλ. οὖν ἡμ. T; μετὰ δὲ ἡμ. ὀλ. B
2 ἐνέγκασα T ἐκείνη] ἐκείνην T: + ἡ μακαρίτης Bs^{an} δόξαν and τιμὴν tr T
3 ταῖς ἀπολογίαις] P1; τὰς ἀπολογίας TBs^{an} βαρυνθεῖσα T ἐξῆλθε] + λάθρα
33-47 Bs (l^{apophth}); txt PTs^{an} (l^{can. rom. rom}) 4 πῶς] P1 (quo fine); ποῦ T 33-47 Bs;
om clause s^{an}

XXXV (Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν Λυκῶ τῇ πόλει): P(W)TAVClS

6 ἐν παιδίῳ] WTVC (παιδία C); ἐκ παιδὸς P; ἐκ παιδίου AB 8 ἐς] PTA; om VC; ὃς B(l) γεγωνὸς A ὡς] PTAs; om VCB1 9 διαφ. μον.] μοναστηρίῳ A
ἐτη πέντε VC 10 τῆς] PTA; τὸ VCB (τῶν Λύκων B1): + λεγόμενον VC Λυκῶ]
+ καὶ (and ἐποίησεν) P (txt W) ἀκρόρειαν] + καὶ VC(s) 11 ἑαυτῷ after θόλους
T καὶ] om VC εἰσελθὼν] + εἰς αὐτοὺς B1 (illuc) ψοδόμησεν A; ἐνφοδ. B
οὖν] + αὐτῷ VC 12 καὶ ὁ εἰς] P; ὁ δὲ εἰς AVC; ὁ ἕτερος TB1; ὁ δεύτερος B1
13 καὶ ἤσθιε] om A καὶ ὁ ἄλλος] P; ὁ δὲ ἄλλος AVC; ὁ ἄλλος TB1; ὁ δὲ τρίτος B1
14 πλ. ἐτη] PTB; ἐτη πλ. AVC: (om ἐτη W) 16-3 (p. 101) ἐν οἷς.....ἐναρτέου]
om A (substitutes long interpolation from *Hist. Mon.* See *Prot.* 24) 16 κα] om VC
VC 17 ἀπέστειλε TB1 τε] om VC Μαξίμου VC (-α-)

νικήσας αὐτὸν ὑποστρέψει τῶν Γαλλίων· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ
Εὐγενίου τοῦ τυράννου εὐηγγελίσατο. τούτου ἐξήλθε φήμη
πολλή ὡς ἐναρέτου.

*Οντες οὖν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Νιτρίας, ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ
περὶ τὸν μακάριον Εὐάγριον, ἐζητοῦμεν μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, 5
τίς ἢ ἀρετὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός. λέγει οὖν ὁ μακάριος Εὐάγριος· Ἠδέως
ἐμάνθανον παρὰ τοῦ εἰδότος δοκιμάζειν νοῦν καὶ λόγον, ποταπὸς
εἶη ὁ ἀνὴρ· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ δυνηθῶ, τὰ δὲ
τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαι ἀκριβῶς δυνηθῶ ἄλλου διηγου-
μένου, οὐκ ἀπέρχομαι ἕως τοῦ ὄρους. ἀκούσας ἐγὼ καὶ μηδεὶ 10
μηδὲν εἰρηκῶς ἠσύχασα μίαν ἡμέραν· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀποκλείσας
μου τὸ κέλλιον καὶ θεῶ παραθέμενος ἑαυτὸν καὶ αὐτὸ ἐσκύλην
ἕως Θηβαίδος. καὶ ἐφθασα δι' ἡμερῶν δεκαοκτώ, τὰ μὲν πεζεύ-
σας, τὰ δὲ καὶ πλεύσας ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ. ὁ καιρὸς δὲ ἦν τῆς ἀνα-
βάσεως, ἐν ᾧ νοσοῦσι πολλοί· ὃ δὴ καὶ ὑπέστην. ἀπελθὼν οὖν 15

2 εὐηγγελίσατο] B adds: ὅτι νικήσει μὲν τούτον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ
βίου ἐκείσε πληρώσει καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ βασιλείαν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ καταλείψει.

8—10 ἐὰν γὰρ.....τοῦ ὄρους] Text is supported by PWTAs and I 1:

[¹ and ² read: Nam etiam si eum ipse non uideam, si uitam tamen eius
alio referente cognoscam, necesse iam non erit ut ad montem eius ascendam.

is follows text closely (see Tullberg, p. 2, l. 14).

VC'B om ἐὰν γὰρ.....διηγουμένου: VC' read: ἵνα οὕτως αὐτῷ συντύχω,
ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ μάθω αὐτοῖ τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκ ἀπέρχομαι ἕως ἐκεῖ. B reads: ἐὰν γὰρ
μάθω ἵνα αὐτὸν συντύχω, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μάθω (+ αὐτοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν B¹) οὐκ
ἀπέρχομαι ἕως τοῦ ὄρους.

here presents a text conflated out of A and B, the text and margin
respectively of Ottoboni 377 (ms. 42): vat 863 (ms. 22) presents a text almost
identically conflated: (on these two mss. see *Introd.* § 2).

P(W)TAVCI₁

1 ὑποστρέψει P¹B¹ δέ] om VC περὶ] + 'his victory over' s (cf. B above)
2 τοῦ τυρ.] om P ἐξ. φήμη πολλή] P¹T (ἢ φ.) B¹; φ. π. ἐξ. VC B¹; φ. ἐξ. π. B¹;
A vac 4 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] P¹T A B¹ (+ τῇ A B¹); εἰς τὸ ὄρος VC; ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ B¹
Nηρίας P: (W Nηρ. throughout) 5 Εὐάγριον] + καὶ Ἀλβάνιον καὶ Ἀμμώνιον VC B¹
(Ἀλβάνιον B¹; Ἀλβίνιον B¹; Ἀλβίνον VC); txt P T A εἰρηκῶς] + δὲ A 6 τίς ἢ
ἀρ.] τῆς ἀρετῆς T μακάριος μέγας A 8 εἶη] ἢ VC 8—10 ἐὰν.....ὄρους] P T A₁
(cf. Note above) 8 αὐτῶ] T₁ (, \rightarrow \leftarrow); om P A αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν P
9 ἀκούσας P δυνηθῶ ἀκριβῶς A ἀκριβῶς] + παρ' ἄλλου (om ἄλλου διηγ.) P
10 ἀκούσας] + δὲ A καὶ] om VC 11 ἠσυχάσας T B¹ δέ] om W T Δλαρ]
+ ἡμέραν VC (s) ἀπέκλεισα A; ἀποκλείω B 12 αὐτῶ] P; ἐμάνταν TAVCB
καὶ αὐτῶ] WAVCI; καὶ αὐτὸς B; om P T s 13 καὶ ἐφθ.] φθῆσαι δὲ A παιζέσας
P A² 14 δέ] γὰρ A ἀναβάσεως] + τοῦ Νεβλου VC

εὔρον αὐτοῦ κεκλεισμένον τὸ προεισοδικόν· ὕστερον γὰρ προσφ-
 κοδόμησαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ προεισοδικὸν μέγιστον, ἐν ᾧ χωροῦσιν
 ἄνδρες ὡς ἑκατὸν· καὶ κλειδίῳ ἀποκλείοντες κατὰ σάββατον
 καὶ κυριακὴν ἡνοιγον. μαθὼν οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐγκέκλειστο,
 5 ἡσύχασα ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου. καὶ παραγενόμενος ὤραν δευτέραν
 ἐν τῇ συντυχίᾳ εὔρον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θυρίδι παρακαθεζόμενον, δι'
 ἧς ἐδόκει παρακαλεῖν τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. ἀσπασάμενος
 οὖν με ἔλεγε δι' ἑρμηνέως· Πόθεν εἶ, καὶ τί παραγένοντας ;
 στοχάζομαι γὰρ σε τῆς συνοδίας εἶναι τῆς Εὐαγρίου. εἶπον
 10 ὅτι Ξένος ἐκ Γαλατίας ὠρμημένος· ὠμολόγησα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῆς
 ἑταιρείας Εὐαγρίου. ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ λαλούντων ἡμῶν ἐπισηλθην
 ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς χώρας, Ἀλύπιος ὀνόματι· ᾧ προσδραμὼν ἀφήκε
 τὴν ἐμὴν ὀμίλιαν. ἀναχωρήσας οὖν ὀλίγον δέδωκα αὐτοῖς τόπον
 ἐστῶς πόρρωθεν. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ συνομιλούντων αὐτῶν ἠκηδίασα,
 15 καὶ ἀκηδίας κατεγόγγυσα τοῦ καλογήρου, ὡς ἐμοῦ μὲν κατα-
 φρονήσαντος τιμήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σιανθεὶς τὴν
 διάνοιαν ἐσκεπτόμην ἀναχωρῆσαι καταφρονήσας αὐτοῦ. προσ-
 καλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἑρμηνέα, Θεόδωρον ὀνόματι, λέγει αὐτῷ·
 Ἄπελθε, εἰπέ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐκείνῳ· Μὴ μικροψύχει· ἄρτι ἀπολύω
 20 τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ λαλῶ σοι. ἔδοξα οὖν ὡς πνευματικῷ αὐτῷ |

8, 18 See Note 63.

12 On Alypius see *Prol.* 296.

P(W)TAVClS

1 εὔρον] καὶ εὐρών VC προεισοδικόν P; προεισοδικόν W γὰρ] δὲ P 2 χωροῦ-
 σιν] PT; ἐχώρουν VCB†; ἐχώρει (ἄνδρας) AB†(s) 3 ὡσεὶ A ἀποκλείσαντες VC
 4 κυριακὴν]+ μόνον B1 ἦν] ἧς P ἐγκέκλειστο] WVC; ἐγκέκλειστο P; ἐκέκλειστο
 TAB1 5 ἡσύχασα after σαββάτου VC παραγενόμενος]+ περὶ VCl δευτ. ὤραν
 T 6 ἐν¹] PA; ἐπὶ TVCB τῇ¹] PTA; om VCB ἐν²] PTA; om VCB1
 καθεζόμενον VC 8 οὖν] δὲ A; om C ἔλεγε after ἑρμ. A 9 συνοδίας]
 ἑταιρείας A³⁸; ὀδοιπορίας A³⁷ τῆς²] om TVC Εὐαγρίου]+ καὶ P (txt W)
 9-11 εἶπον...Εὐαγρίου] om B (homoeotel.), (on ms. 22 see *Introd.* § 2) 9 εἶπον]+ δὲ
 AT (+ ἐγώ) 10 ὅτι¹] om P (txt W) ὀρμώμενος VC; om A καὶ] om P
 (txt W) 11 ἑταιρείας] PTA; συνοδίας VC: + τῆς A Εὐαγρίου]+ εἰμί P ἐν τῷ]
 WTVC(1); ἐν δὲ τῷ PA; καὶ ἐν τῷ B: + οὖν after μεταξὺ VC 12 ἄρχων TB
 13 ἐμῶν] PTA; πρὸς με VCB συντυχίαν T οὖν] om T ὀλίγον]+ ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν VCl 18, 14 δέδωκα.....πόρρωθεν] om P (stet δέδωκα αὐτοῖς τόπον W): + καὶ
 (om δὲ) P; ὡς δὲ W 14 ἐστῶς] ὡς (sic) A συνομιλούντων A 15 ἀκηδίας]
 ὀλιγοψύχας P; om Ts(1) κατεγόγγυσα]+ κατὰ P τῷ] om T 16 τοῦτο] PCB†;
 τοῦτω AVB† (τοῦτω sic T) σκαθισθεὶς TP†, 17 ἀπολύω]+ δὲ 18 δὲ]
 οὖν T; om VC 20 αὐτῷ before ὡς πν. VC

προσχῶν προσκαρτερεῖν. καὶ ἐξελθόντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος προσκαλεῖται με καὶ λέγει μοι· Διὰ τί ἐβλάβης κατ' ἐμοῦ; τί ἄξιον βλάβης εὔρες, ὅτι ἐκεῖνα ἐλογίσω ἄπερ οὔτε ἐμοὶ πρόσεστιν οὔτε σοι ἔπρεπεν; ἢ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι γέγραπται· Οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἴγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες; σὲ ὅτε θέλω εὐρίσκω, 5 καὶ σὺ ἐμέ. καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἐγὼ σε παρακαλέσω, ἄλλοι σε ἀδελφοὶ παρακαλοῦσι καὶ ἄλλοι πατέρες. οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐκδεδομένος τῷ διαβόλῳ διὰ τῶν κοσμικῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ βραχίαιαν ἀναπνεύσας ὠραν, ὡς δραπετεύσας οἰκέτης δεσπότην, παρεγένετο ὠφεληθῆναι· ἄτοπον οὖν ἦν καταλείψαντας αὐτὸν σοὶ προσδιατρίψαι, σοῦ 10 ἀδιαλείπτως τῇ σωτηρίᾳ σχολάζοντος. παρακαλέσας οὖν αὐτὸν εὔξασθαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπληροφορήθην ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἦν πνευματικός. τότε χαριεντιζόμενος τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ εἰς τὴν ἀριστεράν μου σιαγόνα ἠρέμα κοσσίσας, λέγει μοι· Πολλαὶ σε μένουσι θλίψεις, καὶ πολλὰ ἐπολεμήθης ἐξελθεῖν τῆς ἐρήμου· καὶ ἐδειλάνθης καὶ 15 ὑπερέθου· εὐλαβεῖς δὲ σοὶ προφάσεις καὶ εὐλόγους φέρων ὁ δαίμων ἀναρριπίζει. ὑπέθετο γάρ σοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρός σου ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ τὴν κατήχησιν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς εἰς τὸν μονήρη βίον. ἰδὲ οὖν σοὶ εὐαγγελίζομαι· Ἀμφότεροι

4 Lc. v. 31.

P(W)TAVClis

1 προσχῶν] AVC'T (προσεσχηκῶς); ὄντι P; (l corpi igitur ex hoc ut spiritalia iam illum uidere et idcirco remorari; s' as therefore he seemed in my eyes then as a spiritual man who knew hidden things, I was minded to stay'; B ἔγγων οὖν ἀκριβῶς πνευματικὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ προγινώσκειν πάντα· καὶ τούτῳ προσχῶν (al. προσέχων) μᾶλλον προσεκαρτέρο·ν) προσκαρτερεῖν] PT(B); καρτερεῖν AVC καὶ] P; δὲ (after ἐξ.) AB1; οὖν VC; om T προσκαλεσάμενος (om καὶ) A 2 με] om PA^σB¹ κατ' ἐμοῦ] εἰς ἐμέ P ἢ τίνα ἄξια VC 3 εὔρες] + κατ' ἐμοῦ VC; ἐν ἐμοὶ B¹¹ ἐλογίσω] + κατ' ἐμοῦ VC 5 ἴγιαίνοντες] (Lc. v. 31) P; ἰγιαίεις AB¹; ἰσχύοντες (Mt. ix. 12, Mc. ii. 17) TVCB¹ (s. citen Pesh of Mc. ii. 17; l in-columen ac fortes) 6 μὴ ἐγὼ σε] P (σοὶ) (txt W); μὴ σε ἐγὼ A; ἐγὼ μὴ σε T; ἐγὼ σε μὴ VCB 7 παρακαλέσουσι P(l) δὲ] om W; + ὁ (om ἐστίν) AB ἐκδεδομένος] P'TAB1; ἐκδοτος VC; ἐκδοτος (ἐκ-)δεδομένος B¹ 8 ἀναπνεύσας T 9 οἰκέτης before δραπ. P; after δεσπ. B; txt TAVC 10 ἦν] om AVC (B¹) καταλείψαντας] WVVCB; καταλείψαντα PTA; + με P (txt W); ἡμᾶς B (before κατ.) προσδια-τρῆβειν T 11 τῆς σωτηρίας T αὐτὸν after ἐμοῦ V 12 ὅτι] + ἀλλοῦ VC * P ἦν] PT; ἴστι AVCB 13 χαριεντιζόμενος] PA; χαριεντισάμενος TVC; (B various) εἰς] ἐπὶ VC μου] om A 14 ἠρέμα before τῇ δεξιᾷ P κοσσίσας before εἰς τὴν P 15 ἐξελθεῖν] + ἐκ VC 16 ὁ δαίμων] om A; δαίμων φέρ. (om ὁ) T 17 ἀναρριπίζει VC σοὶ] om C 18 κατάσχεσι····· καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς] om VC ἀδελφῆς] σου A 19 ἰδοὶ TVC εὐαγγ.] + ὅτι A

ἐσώθησαν· ἀπετάξαντο γάρ. καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ζῆσαι ἔχει ἀκμὴν ἄλλα ἔτη. ἐγκαρτέρει οὖν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ μὴ τούτων χάριν θελήσης ἀπελθεῖν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου· γέγραπται γάρ· Οὐδεὶς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον καὶ στραφείς εἰς τὰ
5 ὀπίσω εἴθετός ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὠφελῆθεις οὖν ἐκ τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων καὶ στυφθεὶς ἰκανῶς, ἠὲ χαρίστησα τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐλαυνούσας με προφάσεις ἡνυσμένας μαθῶν.

Εἶτα πάλιν λέγει μοι χαριεντιζόμενος· Θέλεις ἐπίσκοπος γενέσθαι; εἶπον αὐτῷ ὅτι Εἰμί. καὶ λέγει μοι· Ποῦ; εἶπον
10 ὅτι εἰς τὰ μαγειρεία, εἰς τὰ καπηλεία, εἰς τὰς τραπέζας, εἰς τὰ κεράμια· ἐπισκοπῶ αὐτά, καὶ ἐὰν ἢ οἰνάριον ὄξινον ἀφορίζω αὐτό, τὸ δὲ χρυστὸν πίνω· ὁμοίως ἐπισκοπῶ καὶ τὴν χύτραν, καὶ ἐὰν λείπη ἄλλας ἢ τι τῶν ἀρτυμάτων βάλλω καὶ ἀρτύω, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐσθίω. αὕτη μού ἐστιν ἡ ἐπισκοπή· χειροτόνησε
15 γάρ με ἡ γαστριμαργία. λέγει μοι οὗτος μειδιάσας· Ἄφες τὰ παίγνια· ἐπίσκοπος ἔχεις χειροτονηθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ καμῆν καὶ θλιβῆναι· εἰ τοῖνυν φεύγεις τὰς θλίψεις, μὴ ἐξέληθης τῆς ἐρήμου· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐπίσκοπόν σε οὐδεὶς ἔχει χειροτονησαι.
Ἄναχωρήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον εἰς τὸν τόπον
20 μου τὸν συνήθη, αὐτὰ ταῦτα διηγησάμενος τοῖς μακαρίοις

4 Lc. ix. 62.

P(W)TAVClS

1, 2 ζῆσαι.....ἔτη] ἐτελεύτησεν P 2 ἔτη]+ἐπτά AB; πέντε (before ἔτη) VC :
txt TIs ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] τῷ τόπῳ ἐνθα κατοικεῖς VC 3 θελήσης before τούτων VC
εἰς τὴν πατρίδα P τῇ]+σῆ (om σου) T 4 χεῖρα]+αὐτοῦ AB 5 ἐν τῇ
βασιλείᾳ AB† οὖν] om VC 7 προφάσεις] χρεῖας ἢτοι προφάσεις VC 8 ἔπειτα P
πάλιν] om T 9 εἶπον¹] PTA; λέγω VCB: +δὲ TAB αὐτῷ] om A ὅτι] om TA
Oδ· εἰμί γάρ A καὶ] om T ποῦ]+καὶ A εἶπον²] PTA; λέγω VCB: +αὐτῷ
VCB 10 εἰς τὰ μαγ.] om P 11 ἐπισκοπῶ αὐτά] om VC 11, 12 καὶ ἐὰν
.....πίνω] καὶ τὸν μὲν χρυστὸν οἶνον πίνω, τὸν δὲ ὄξινον ἀφορίζω VC 11 οἰνάριον] PT;
οἶνος AB(VC): +ὁ A ὄξινον] PVCB (-nos); ὄξισας A διαφορίζω A
12 αὐτόν, τὸν AB ὁμοίως]+δὲ VC ἐπισκοπῶ] om VC τὴν χύτ.] εἰς τὰς
χύτρας VC 13, 14 καὶ ἐὰν.....ἐσθίω] om VC 13 λείπη T βάλλω καὶ] P;
ἐμβάλλω(λ)ω κ. B†; ἐκβάλλω κ. B†; ἐμβάλλων (om καὶ) TB†; ἐκβαλῶν (om καὶ) A; (VC
v20) 15 γαστρ.] +καὶ P (txt W); ὁ δὲ (om οὗτος) VC μοι] om A 17 φεύγει T
18 ἐρήμου] μοῦ] σου VC σε before ἐπίσκ. VCB† οὐδεὶς ἔχει χειροτονησαι] P;
χειροτονησαι οὐδεὶς ὄνο. u. : ; ; χυμῶσι ΓVGB† 19-2 (p. 105) ἀναχ.....
αὐτῷ] A in the after 18 (p. 105) | WT† εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον
VC; om P εἰ] εἰ] P | εἰ | ΓCA ταῦτα] |
(after διηγ.) + πᾶσα A

πατράσιν· οἷτινες μετὰ δύο μῆνας πλεύσαντες ἦλθον καὶ
 συνέτυχον αὐτῷ. ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ ἐπελαθόμην.
 μετὰ γὰρ τρία ἔτη ἠρρώστησα ἀρρωστίαν τὴν ἀπὸ σπληνὸς καὶ
 στομάχου· ἐκείθεν ἀπεστάλην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παρὰ
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὕδρωπα μελετήσας. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας 5
 συμβουλευσάντες οἱ ἰατροί, τῶν ἀέρων ἔνεκεν, καταλαμβάνειν με
 τὴν Παλαιστίνην· ἔχει γὰρ λεπτοὺς ἀέρας, ὡς πρὸς τὴν κρᾶσιν
 τὴν ἡμετέραν· ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης κατέλαβον τὴν | Βιθυνίαν·
 καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ—οὐκ οἶδα πῶς, εἴτε ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης σπουδῆς, εἴτε
 ἐξ εὐδοκίας τοῦ κρείττονος· θεὸς ἂν εἰδείη—κατηξιώθην τῆς 10
 ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ χειροτονίας, κοινωήσας τῇ περιστάσει τῇ κατὰ τὸν
 μακάριον Ἰωάννην· καὶ ἐπὶ ἔνδεκα μῆνας ἐν ζοφερῷ κελλίῳ
 κρυπτόμενος ἐμνήσθην τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου, ὅτι ταῦτά μοι
 προειρήκει ἄπερ ὑπέστην. καὶ τοῦτο δέ μοι διηγείτο ὡς ὀφείλων
 με διὰ τοῦ διηγήματος ἀγαγεῖν εἰς ὑπομονὴν τῆς ἐρήμου, ὅτι 15
 Τεσσαρακονταοκτῶ ἔτη ἔχω ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ ταύτῃ· οὐ γυναικὸς
 πρόσωπον εἶδον, οὐ νομίματος ἰδέαν· οὐ μασώμενόν τινα εἶδον·
 οὐκ ἐσθίοντα, οὐ πίνοντά με εἶδε τις. |

3 See Note 64. 16—18 οὐ γυναικός.....με εἶδε τις] I alone preserves the full text: Nullius se unquam feminae uultum uidisse confirmans; ne (nec sensu) solidi quidem nosse speciem; non se alium unquam aspexisse mandentem; neque semetipsum edentem aut bibentem ab altero uisum. A and W agree with this, except for the omission of ἰδέαν (speciem) by A, and τινα (alium) by W.

P(W)TAVClis

1 πλεύσαντες] P; διαπλ. TVCB; om As ἀπῆλθον T 2 ἐπελαθ.] + καὶ (om γὰρ) VCB 4 ἐκείθεν PB (txt W): + δὲ A; οὐν VC ἐπι] PT; εἰς AVCB παρὰ] ὑπὸ VC 5 ὕδρωπα μελετήσας] PTAIs (I atque illio hydropem medicans; n' an they thought I was dropsical?); εἰς ὕδρωπα γὰρ (+ λοιπὸν B) ἐμελέτα (ἐμελετᾶτο B) τὸ πάθος VCB ἀπὸ] + δὲ A 6 συμβουλευσάντες] WAVC; συνεβούλευσαν PTB καταλαμβάνειν] PABt; καταλαβεῖν TVCBt 7 ἔχει γὰρ] διὰ τὸ ἔχειν VC λεπτοῦς] PTAByIs; λεπτοτέρους VCBt ἀέρας] om TA τὴν ἡμ. κρ. A 8 ἀπὸ] + δὲ A καταλαβῶν A 9 ταύτῃ] + ὧν T; γενόμενος VC 10 εἰδείη] ἴδοι VC 12 μακαρίου] ἀγίου VC 13, 14 ὅτι.....προειρήκει] ταῦτα προειρηκέναι A 14 προειρήκει] P (txt W) καὶ] om VCB δὲ] om PT (txt W) ὀφείλων] ἰθὺλων P; ὀφελῶν W 15 ἀγαγεῖν] ἀγειν A: + ἀληθῶς P (W om ἄλ. but adds με βουλόμενος ᾿ς) τῆς ἐρήμου] τοῦ ἀσκητηρίου VC 16 τῷ σπηλαίῳ ταύτῃ P 17 ἐν νομίματος ἰδέαν] om κ ἰδέαν] P; om TAVCB ἐν μασώμενόν τινα εἶδον] om Ts τινα εἶδον] A; με τις εἶδον VCB; om P (W om τινα, ἐπιτ εἶδον) 18 οὐ] οὐδὲ TA με εἶδε τις] P (ἴδε) ABtT (εἶδε με τις) Is; om VCBt

γειλαν. εὐξάμενος οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθε. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας
 ὀλίγας μὴ ἐνεγκούσα ἐκείνη τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν, καὶ ταῖς ἀπολογίαις βαρυνθείσα, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ μονα-
 στηρίου· καὶ ποῦ ἀπῆλθεν, ἢ ποῦ κατέδου, ἢ πῶς ἐτελεύτησεν,
 5 ἔγνω οὐδεὶς.

(XXXV) Γέγονέ τις Ἰωάννης ἐν Λυκῶ τῇ πόλει, ὃς ἐν
 παιδίῳ μὲν ἔμαθε τὴν τεκτονικὴν· ᾧ ἀδελφὸς ὑπῆρχε βαφεύς.
 ἐς ὕστερον δὲ γενόμενος ὡς ἐτῶν εἰκοσιπέντε ἀπετάξατο· καὶ
 διατρίψας ἐν διαφόροις μοναστηρίοις πέντε ἔτη ἀνεχώρησε μόνος
 10 εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Λυκῶ, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόρειαν ποιήσας
 ἑαυτῷ τρεῖς θόλους καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἀνφοδομήσεν ἑαυτόν. ἦν οὖν
 ὁ εἰς θόλος εἰς τὰς χρείας τῆς σαρκός, καὶ ὁ εἰς ἔνθα εἰργάζετο
 καὶ ἦσθιε, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ἔνθα προσήχετο. οὗτος τριάκοντα
 πληρώσας ἔτη ἐγκεκλεισμένος καὶ διὰ θυρίδος λαμβάνων παρὰ
 15 τοῦ διακονούντος αὐτῷ τὰς χρείας κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος προρρή-
 σεων. ἐν οἷς καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφόρους
 ἀπέστειλε προρρήσεις, | περὶ τε Μαξίμου τοῦ τυράννου, ὅτι

6 From this point the readings of W are incorporated where extant: only the differences, however, of W from P are recorded; so that on whatever pages of the text (W) follows P in the list of sources, P is always to be taken in the apparatus as equivalent to PW, unless there is an explicit mention of W.

Chapter xxxv is edited by Preuschen *Pall. u. Ruf.* (98—105): Tullberg's mss. A and N give the text of s (*Paradisus Patrum* 1—9). On John see Note 61. 16 See Note 62.

PT [33-47] lss^{an}

1 ἐξῆλθε TB(l) καὶ μεθ' ἡμ. ὀλ.] P; μετ' ὀλ. οὖν ἡμ. T; μετὰ δὲ ἡμ. ὀλ. B
 2 ἐνέγκασα T ἐκείνη] ἐκείνην T: + ἡ μακαρίτης Bs^{an} δόξαν and τιμὴν tr T
 3 ταῖς ἀπολογίαις] Pl; τὰς ἀπολογίας TBs^{an} βαρυνθείσα T ἐξῆλθε] + λάθρα
 33-47 Bs (l^{apophth}); txt PTs^{an} (l^{com. rom. ror}) 4 πῶς] Pl (quo fine); ποῦ T 33-47 Bs;
 om clause s^{an}

XXXV (Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν Λυκῶ τῇ πόλει): P(W)TAVClS

6 ἐν παιδίῳ] WTVC (παιδία C); ἐκ παιδὸς P; ἐκ παιδίου ΔB 8 ἐς] PTA; om
 VC; δς B(l) γεγονώς A ὡς] PTAs; om VCB1 9 διαφ. μον.] μοναστηρίῳ A
 ἔτη πέντε VC 10 τῆς] PTA; τὸ VCB (τῶν Λύκων B†): + λεγόμενον VC Λυκῶ]
 + καὶ (and ἐποίησεν) P (txt W) ἀκρόρειαν] + καὶ VC(s) 11 ἑαυτῷ after θόλους
 T καὶ] om VC εἰσελθὼν] + εἰς αὐτοῦς B1 (illuc) ᾠκοδόμησεν A; ἐνφοδ. B
 οὖν] + αὐτῷ VC 12 καὶ ὁ εἰς] P; ὁ δὲ εἰς AVC; ὁ ἕτερος TB†; ὁ δεύτερος B†
 13 καὶ ἦσθιε] om A καὶ ὁ ἄλλος] P; ὁ δὲ ἄλλος AVC; ὁ ἄλλος TB†; ὁ δὲ τρίτος B†
 14 πλ. ἔτη] PTB; ἔτη πλ. AVC: (om ἔτη W) 16-3 (p. 101) ἐν οἷς.....ἐναρέτου]
 om A (substitutes long interpolation from *Hist. Mon.* See *Prol.* 24) 16 καὶ] om
 VC 17 ἀπέστειλε TB† τε] om VC Μαξίμου VC (-ει-)

τύχηκά τι. συνέζησα γὰρ τούτῳ ἐπὶ ἔτος ἓν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ὀπηνίκα ἐκαθέσθη ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ποιμενίου, καὶ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ κατείδον ἀρετάς· ἐν οἷς μοι αὐτὸς διηγείτο μίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὅτιπερ εἰς τὸν Πορφυρίτην τόπον οἰκήσας ἔτος ἓν ἀνθρώπων οὐ συντετύχηκα ὄλῳ τῷ ἔτει, οὐχ ὀμίλιας ἀκήκοα, οὐκ ἄρτου 5 ἠψάμην· ἀλλ' ἡ βραχέσι φοινικίοις διεγεγόμενῃ καὶ εἶ που βοτάνας εὗρον ἀγρίας. ἐν οἷς ποτὲ ἐκλειπόντων μου τῶν βρωμάτων, ἐξήλθον τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐπὶ τὸ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην. καὶ περιπατήσας διὰ πύσης τῆς ἡμέρας μόλις ἀπέσχον τοῦ σπηλαίου σημεῖα δύο. περιβλεψάμενος οὖν ὀρῶ ἰππέα στρατιῶ- 10 του ἔχοντα σχῆμα, τιαρηφόρον κράνος ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς· καὶ προσδοκήσας αὐτὸν εἶναι στρατιώτην ὄρμησα ἕως τοῦ σπηλαίου, καὶ εὗρον κάρταλον σταφυλῶν καὶ συκῶν νεαροτμήτων· ὃν λαβὼν καὶ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ σπηλαίον, ἐπὶ μῆνας δύο ἔχων ἐκεῖνα τὰ βρώματα παραμυθίαν. 15 τοῦτο δὲ πεποίηκε τὸ θαῦμα ἐν Βηθλεὲμ· γυνή τις ἐγκύμων πνεῦμα εἶχεν ἀκάθαρτον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μέλλειν γεννᾶν ἔδυσ-τόκει, | τοῦ πνεύματος συντρίβοντος αὐτήν. τῆς γυναικὸς οὖν δαιμονιζομένης ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐπέστη καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν ἄγιον ἐκεῖνοι παραγενέσθαι. εἰσελθόντων οὖν ἡμῶν ἅμα εὗξασθαι, 20 στὰς καὶ προσευξάμενος μετὰ δευτέραν γονυκλισίαν ἐξέβαλε τὸ πνεῦμα. ἀναστὰς οὖν λέγει ἡμῖν· Εὗξασθε, ἄρτι γὰρ ἐξελαύνει

1 See Note 66.

4 See Note 60.

P(W)TAVCIH

1 τινι] + τοιοῦτῳ VC(κ) γὰρ] + καὶ VC τούτῳ αὐτῷ A 2 Ποιμαίνου TA²⁷
3 ἐν αἰς A μοι] + καὶ A διηγείτο] WTAB; διηγῆσατο PVC μῆ TB (ἐν μῆ)
4 τόπον] om PT οἰκήσας] + ἐπὶ A 5 συντετύχηκα] + ἐπὶ P; ἐν TB; + πῶποτε
VC 6 ἀλλ' ἢ] ἀλλὰ PB† διεγεγόμενῃ] WTA²⁷VB1 (uixi); διεγεγόμενῃ PA²⁰C;
(om κ) 7 ἀγρ. εὗρ. VC ἐκλειπόντων PVCB† (txt W) βρωμάτων] ἀρτων A²⁷
8 ἐπὶ τῷ] PT; ἐπὶ τῷ WVC; τοῦ A; om B εἰς] ἐπὶ AB† 9 τῆς] om TAB†
μόγις] A ἀπέχων (om οὖν) A 10 μῆλια AB στρατιώτην τῷ σχήματι T
11 (VCA place comma after τιαρηφόρον) τιαρηφ. κεφ.] om T τίαρον
φοροῦντα A ἐχ. κράνος A ἔχοντα²] ἔχων W 12 ὄρμησας (om καὶ) A ἕως] ἐπὶ VC
13 κάρταλον] PTVCB†; ἢ AB† νεαροτμήτων] WVCAB†; νεοτμήτων PB†; νεαρῶν T
14 ἦλθον A 15 παραμύθημα AB 16 τὸ θ. πεπ. P ἔγκυος A 17 αὐτῶ
om T τῷ μέλλειν] τῷ καιρῷ ἢ ἡμελλε A τίαταιν TB 18 οὖν 4/5
19 αὐτῆς] om VC ἐπέστη ἢ ἴτε ὁ ἀν. VC παρεκάλει] PB; παρεκάλεσε TAVC
20 ἐλείδον] ἐκεῖ A²⁸ παραγε· σθαι] + εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶ P; + καὶ εὗξασθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
VC(κ) αἷμα] PTB(κ); om VCA 22 οὖν] ἐπὶ A εὗξασθε] + ἐν VC ἀρτι]
τῷ T γὰρ] om VC ἐξελαύνει] PVC (+ ὁ θεὸς VC); ἐξελαύνεται TA1; ἐλαύνεται
B†; ἐξέρχεται B†

εὔρον αὐτοῦ κεκλεισμένον τὸ προεισοδικόν· ὕστερον γὰρ προσφ-
 κοδόμησαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ προεισοδικὸν μέγιστον, ἐν ᾧ χωροῦσιν
 ἄνδρες ὡς ἑκατόν· καὶ κλειδίῳ ἀποκλείοντες κατὰ σάββατον
 καὶ κυριακὴν ἤνοιγον. μαθὼν οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐγκέκλειστο,
 5 ἡσύχασα ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου. καὶ παραγενόμενος ὤραν δευτέραν
 ἐν τῇ συντυχίᾳ εὔρον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θυρίδι παρακαθεζόμενον, δι'
 ἧς ἐδόκει παρακαλεῖν τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. ἀσπασάμενος
 οὖν με ἔλεγε δι' ἑρμηνέως· Πόθεν εἶ, καὶ τί παραγέγονας;
 στοχάζομαι γὰρ σε τῆς συνοδίας εἶναι τῆς Εὐαγγελίου. εἶπον
 10 ὅτι Ξένος ἐκ Γαλατίας ὠρμημένος· ὠμολόγησα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῆς
 ἑταιρείας Εὐαγγελίου. ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ λαλούντων ἡμῶν ἐπισηλθην
 ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς χώρας, Ἀλύπιος ὀνόματι· ᾧ προσδραμῶν ἀφήκε
 τὴν ἐμὴν ὀμιλίαν. ἀναχωρήσας οὖν ὀλίγον δέδωκα αὐτοῖς τόπον
 ἐστὼς πόρρωθεν. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ συνομιλούντων αὐτῶν ἠκηδίασα,
 15 καὶ ἀκηδιάσας κατεγόγγυσα τοῦ καλογήρου, ὡς ἐμοῦ μὲν κατα-
 φρονήσαντος τιμῆσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σιανθεῖς τὴν
 διάνοιαν ἐσκεπτόμην ἀναχωρῆσαι καταφρονήσας αὐτοῦ. προσ-
 καλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἑρμηνέα, Θεόδωρον ὀνόματι, λέγει αὐτῷ·
 "Ἀπελθε, εἰπέ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐκείνῳ· Μὴ μικροψύχει· ἄρτι ἀπολύω
 20 τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ λαλῶ σοι. ἔδοξα οὖν ὡς πνευματικῷ αὐτῷ |

8, 18 See Note 63.

12 On Alypius see *Prol.* 296.

P(W)TAVClS

1 εὔρον] καὶ εὐρών VC προεισοδικόν P; προεισοδικόν W γὰρ] δὲ P 2 χωροῦ-
 σιν] PT; ἐχώρουν VCB†; ἐχώρει (ἄνδρας) AB†l(s) 3 ὡσεὶ A ἀποκλείσαντες VC
 4 κυριακὴν]+ μόνον B1 ἦν] ἧς P ἐγκέκλειστο] WVC; ἐγκέκλειτο P; ἐκέκλειστο
 TABl 5 ἡσύχασα after σαββάτου VC παραγενόμενος]+ περὶ VCl δευτ. ὤραν
 T 6 ἐν¹] PA; ἐπὶ TVCB τῇ¹] PTA; om VCB ἐν²] PTA; om VCB1
 καθεζόμενον VC 8 οὖν] δὲ A; om C ἔλεγε after ἐρμ. A 9 συνοδίας]
 ἑταιρείας A²⁸; ὀδοιπορίας A²⁷ τῆς²] om TVC Εὐαγγελίου]+ καὶ P (txt W)
 9-11 εἶπον...Εὐαγγελίου] om B (homoeotel.), (om ms. 22 see *Introd.* § 2) 9 εἶπον]+ δὲ
 AT (+ ἐγώ) 10 ὅτι¹] om P (txt W) ὀρμώμενος VC; om A καὶ] om P
 (txt W) 11 ἑταιρείας] PTA; συνοδίας VC: + τῆς A Εὐαγγελίου]+ εἰμί P ἐν τῷ]
 WTVCl(s); ἐν τῷ PA; καὶ ἐν τῷ B: + οὖν after μεταξὺ VC 12 ἀρχων TB
 13 ἐ] PTA; V(σιωπῇ T οὖν] om T ὀλίγον]+ ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν 1 1] P δέδωκα αὐτοῖς τόπον W): + καὶ
 15 ἀκηδιάσας] A συ κηδίασας A 15 ἀκηδιάσας]
 ὀλιγωρῖ P Γ τοῦτο] PCB†;
 τοῦτο] ΔVBT (τοῦ T) 18 δέ]
 Γ; om VC

ἄρτου πείραν μὴ ἔχων ἀπὸ ἔτους τεσσαρακοστοῦ, μήτε μὴν
μνησικακήσας τινὶ μέχρι ἡμισείας ἡμέρας.

(XXXVII) Ἄλλος Σαραπίων τις γέγονεν, ἐπεκέκλητο δὲ
σινδόνιος, παρεκτὸς γὰρ σινδονίου οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν περιεβάλλετο·
ὃς πολλὴν ἐξήσκησεν ἀκτημοσύνην, εὐγράμματος δὲ ὧν ἀπεστή- 5
θιζε πάσας τὰς γραφάς· καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῆς ἀκτημοσύνης καὶ
μελέτης γραφῶν οὐδὲ ἡρεμῆσαι ἴσχυσεν ἐν κελλίῳ, μὴ περισπώ-
μενος ὕλῃ, ἀλλὰ περιερχόμενος τὴν οἰκουμένην ταύτην κατώρθωσε
τὴν ἀρετὴν· ταύτης γὰρ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῆς φύσεως· διαφόροι γὰρ
εἰσιν φύσεων, οὐκ οὐσιῶν. 10

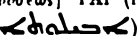
Διηγούντο οὖν οἱ πατέρες ὅτι λαβὼν τινα συμπαίκτην
| ἀσκητὴν πέπρακεν ἑαυτὸν μίμοις Ἑλλησιν ἐν πόλει τινὶ εἰκοσι
νομισμάτων. καὶ σφραγίσας τὰ νομίσματα ἐφύλαττε παρ'
ἑαυτῶ. ἐπὶ τοσούτου οὖν παρέμεινε καὶ ἐδούλευσε τοῖς ἀγορά-
σασιν αὐτὸν μίμοις μέχρις οὐ καὶ χριστιανούς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησε 15
καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀπέστησε, παρεκτὸς ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος
οὐδενὸς λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ ἡσυχάζων τῷ στόματι ἀπὸ μελέτης
γραφῶν. τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πρῶτος κατενύγη ὁ ἀνὴρ, εἶτα

3 This chapter of I is printed in *Bibl. Casin. III. Florileg.* 306. P includes W when not otherwise stated. On Sarapion see Note 68.

TVC18

1 ἔχον TVC εἰς τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη T μὴν] om VC 2 μνησικακήσαν T
μέχρι ἡμισ. ἡμ.] om T

XXXVII. (Περὶ Σαραπίωνος): P(W)TAVC[38]8: (T interpolated in places
with B readings)

3 Σαραπίων] P18⁹⁻¹⁰; Σαραπίων others (see Note 68) τις before Σαρ. TVC
γέγονεν] + ὀνόματι VCB1(s) ἐπεκέκλητο δέ] P (om δέ W); ἐπικλην δέ VC; ἐπικλητος
TB; om A (ὁ τὸ σινδόνιον περιβεβλημένος) 4 περιεβάλλετο WB 5 εὐγράμματος]
WTVA⁴⁰B1; ἀγράμματος PAC338 6 πάσας] om P τὰς] + ἀγίας P; θείας B
7 μελέτης] + τῶν TVC ἡρεμῆσαι T τῇ κέλλῃ A 8 ἀλλ' ἢ T ταύτην after
ἀρετὴν TVC; om A(B) 9 ἐγεγόνει] TAB; ἐπεκόνει (sic) VC; γέγονε P καὶ]
om TA φύσεως] TAI (natura); προαιρέσεως P; προθέσεως VC; ἔξεως B:
(= 'asceticism': ) 10 φύσεων] TA³⁷; προαιρέσεων P; προθέσεων
VC; ἔξεων BA³⁴: (= 'asceticism') 11 γοῦν A; δέ B πατέρες] + saneti 18
συμπαίκτην] + αὐτοῦ VC 12 Ἑλλ. after τινὶ TVC 14 οἶν] δέ AB ἐδούλευε
VC 17 οὐδενὸς] + ἐτέρου VCB (ἄλλου) (18) λαμβάνων] PA³⁰B¹; μεταλαμ,
TA³⁷VCB¹ ἀπὸ μελ. γραφ.] PB (θεῖων γραφ.); ἀπὸ γραφ. μελ. A: ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν
γραφ. μελ. VC; ἀπὸ μελ. τῶν θεῖων λογίων T: + ὅπως δὲ τοῦτοι ο μακαριοι παραμυνοι
τῷ μ. χρ. (T)B: (On significance of symbol (T)B see Note, p. 87) 18 τῷ] + οἶν P;
δέ A; interea 1; txt WVC (and (T)B, altering structure) τῷ μ. χρόνῳ] om s
χρόνῳ] + ἐκείνῳ. πρὸς τούτοις οὖν VC

ἐσώθησαν· ἀπετάξαντο γάρ. καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ζῆσαι ἔχει ἀκμήν ἄλλα ἔτη. ἐγκαρτέρει οὖν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ μὴ τούτων χάριν θελήσης ἀπελθεῖν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου· γέγραπται γάρ· Οὔδεὶς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον καὶ στραφεὶς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εἴθετός ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὠφεληθεὶς οὖν ἐκ τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων καὶ στυφθεὶς ἰκανῶς, ἠὲ χαρίστησα τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐλαυνούσας με προφάσεις ἡνυσμένας μαθῶν.

Εἶτα πάλιν λέγει μοι χαριεντιζόμενος· Θέλεις ἐπίσκοπος γενέσθαι; εἶπον αὐτῷ ὅτι Εἰμί. καὶ λέγει μοι· Ποῦ; εἶπον ὅτι εἰς τὰ μαγειρεία, εἰς τὰ καπηλεία, εἰς τὰς τραπέζας, εἰς τὰ κεράμια· ἐπισκοπῶ αὐτά, καὶ ἐὰν ἡ οἰνάριον ὄξινον ἀφορίζω αὐτό, τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν πίνω· ὁμοίως ἐπισκοπῶ καὶ τὴν χύτραν, καὶ ἐὰν λείπη ἄλλας ἢ τι τῶν ἀρτυμάτων βάλλω καὶ ἀρτύω, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐσθίω. αὕτη μού ἐστιν ἡ ἐπισκοπή· χειροτόνησε γάρ με ἡ γαστριμαργία. λέγει μοι οὗτος μειδιάσας· Ἄφες τὰ παίγνια· ἐπίσκοπος ἔχεις χειροτονηθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ καμεῖν καὶ θλιβῆναι· εἰ τοίνυν φεύγεις τὰς θλίψεις, μὴ ἐξέλθῃς τῆς ἐρήμου· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐπίσκοπόν σε οὐδεὶς ἔχει χειροτονῆσαι. Ἄναχωρήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον εἰς τὸν τόπον μου τὸν συνήθη, αὐτὰ ταῦτα διηγησάμενος τοῖς μακαρίοις

4 Lc. ix. 62.

P(W)TAVClS

1, 2 [ῆσαι.....ἔτη] ἐτελεύτησεν P 3 ἔτη]+ἐπτά AB; πέντε (before ἔτη) VC : txt TIs ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] τῷ τόπῳ ἐθα κατοικεῖς VC 3 θελήσης before ταύτων VC εἰς τὴν πατρίδα P τῇ]+σῆ (om σου) T 4 χεῖρα]+αὐτοῦ AB 5 ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ AB† οὖν] om VC 7 προφάσεις] χρεῖας ἦτοι προφάσεις VC 8 ἔπειτα P πάλιν] om T 9 εἶπον¹] PTA; λέγω VCB; +δὲ TAB αὐτῷ] om A ὅτι] om TA Oδ'· εἰμι γάρ A καὶ] om T ποῦ]+καὶ A εἶπον²] PTA; λέγω VCB; +αὐτῷ VCB 10 εἰς τὰ μαγ.] om P 11 ἐπισκοπῶ αὐτά] om VC 11, 12 καὶ ἐὰνπίνω] καὶ τὸν μὲν χρηστὸν οἶνον πίνω, τὸν δὲ ὄξινον ἀφορίζω VC 11 οἰνάριον] PT; οἶνος AB(VC); +ὁ A ὄξινον] PVCB (-νος); ὄξισον T; ὄξισας A διαφορίζω A 12 αὐτόν, τὸν AB ὁμοίως]+δὲ VC ἐπισκοπῶ] om VC τὴν χύτρ.] εἰς τὰς χύτρας VC 13, 14 καὶ ἐὰν.....ἐσθίω] om VC 18 λείπη T βάλλω καὶ] P; ἐμβάλλω κ. B†; ἐκβάλλω κ. B†; ἐμβάλλων (om καὶ) TB†; ἐκβαλῶν (om καὶ) A; (VC 15 γαστρ.] +καὶ P (txt W); ὁ δὲ (om οὗτος) VC μοι] om A 17 φεύγει T 18 ἐρήμου] μονῆ σου VC σε before ἐπίσκ. VCB† οὐδεὶς ἔχει χειροτονῆσαι] P; χειροτονῆσαι οὐδεὶς δύνα. α. AB†; οὐδεὶς χειροτονεῖ TVCB† 19-2 (p. 105) ἀναχ..... αὐτῷ] A tr to after 18 (p. 105) 19 ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον] WTABIs; εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον VC; om P εἰς] ἐπὶ P (txt W) 20] om AB αὐτά] om VCA ταῦτα] (after διηγ.) +πάντα A διηγοῦμενος AVC μακαρίοι] περὶ τὸν ἄγιον Εὐάγγιον VC

ἄρτου πείραν μὴ ἔχων ἀπὸ ἔτους τεσσαρακοστοῦ, μήτε μὴν μνησικακήσας τινὶ μέχρι ἡμισείας ἡμέρας.

(XXXVII) Ἄλλος Σαραπίων τις γέγονεν, ἐπεκέκλητο δὲ σινδόνιος, παρεκτὸς γὰρ σινδονίου οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν περιεβάλλετο· ὅς πολλὴν ἐξήσκησεν ἀκτημοσύνην, εὐγράμματος δὲ ὧν ἀπεστή- 5 θιζε πάσας τὰς γραφάς· καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῆς ἀκτημοσύνης καὶ μελέτης γραφῶν οὐδὲ ἡρεμῆσαι ἴσχυσεν ἐν κελλίῳ, μὴ περισπώμενος ὕλη, ἀλλὰ περιερχόμενος τὴν οἰκουμένην ταύτην κατώρθωσε τὴν ἀρετὴν· ταύτης γὰρ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῆς φύσεως· διαφόροι γὰρ εἰσιν φύσεων, οὐκ οὐσιῶν. 10


Διηγούντο οὖν οἱ πατέρες ὅτι λαβὼν τινα συμπαίκτην | ἀσκητὴν πέπρακεν ἑαυτὸν μίμοις Ἑλλησιν ἐν πόλει τινὶ εἰκοσινομισμάτων. καὶ σφραγίσας τὰ νομίσματα ἐφύλαττε παρ' ἑαυτῷ. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον οὖν παρέμεινε καὶ ἐδούλευσε τοῖς ἀγοράσασιν αὐτὸν μίμοις μέχρις οὐ καὶ χριστιανούς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησε 15 καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀπέστησε, παρεκτὸς ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος οὐδενὸς λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ ἡσυχάζων τῷ στόματι ἀπὸ μελέτης γραφῶν. τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πρῶτος κατενύγη ὁ ἀνὴρ, εἶτα

3 This chapter of I is printed in *Bibl. Cusin. III. Florileg.* 306. P includes W when not otherwise stated. On Sarapion see Note 68.

TVCla

1 ἔχων TVC εἰς τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη T μὴν] om VC 2 μνησικακήσαν T μίχρι ἡμισ. ἡμ.] om T

XXXVII. (Περὶ Σαραπίωνος): P(W)TAVC[38]a: (T interpolated in places with B readings)

3 Σαραπίων] P¹⁸⁻⁹⁻¹⁰; Σαραπίων others (see Note 68) τις before Σαρ. TVC γέγονεν] + ὀνόματι VCB1(s) ἐπεκέκλητο δὲ] P (om δὲ W); ἐπικλήν δὲ VC; ἐπικλήτος TB; om A (ὁ τὸ σινδόνιον περιβεβλημένος) 4 περιεβάλλετο WB 5 εὐγράμματος] WTVA⁴⁰B1; ἀγράμματος PAC33a 6 πάσας] om P τὰς] + ἀγίας P; θείας B 7 μελέτης] + τῶν TVC ἡρεμῆσαι T τῇ κέλλῃ A 8 ἀλλ' ἢ T ταύτην after ἀρετὴν TVC; om A(B) 9 ἐγεγόνει] TAB; ἐπεκόνει (sic) VC; γέγονε P καὶ] om TA φύσεως] TAI (natura); προαιρέσεως P; προθέσεως VC; ἔξεως B: (s 'asceticism': ) 10 φύσεων] TA³⁷; προαιρέσεων P; προθέσεων VC; ἔξεων BA³⁸: (s 'asceticism') 11 γούν A; δὲ B πατέρες] + saneti la συμπαίκτην] + αὐτοῦ VC 12 Ἑλλ. after τινὶ TVC 14 οἷν] δὲ AB ἐδούλευε VC 17 οὐδενὸς] + ἑτέρου VCB (ἄλλου) (ln λαμβάνων] PA³⁰B¹; μεταλαμ, TA³⁵VCB¹ ἀπὸ μελ. γραφ.] PB (θείων γραφ.); ἀπὸ γραφ. μελ. A: ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν γραφ. μελ. VC; ἀπὸ μελ. τῶν θείων λογίων T: + οὕτως δὲ τοῖς τοῖς ο μακάριοις παραμύσις τῷ μ. χρ. (T)B: (On significance of symbol (T)B see Note, p. 87) 18 τῷ] + οὖν P; δὲ A; interea I; txt WVC (and (T)B, altering structure) τῷ μ. χρόνῳ] om a χρόνῳ] + ἐκείνῳ. πρὸς τοῖς οὖν VC

ἡ μιμᾶς, εἶτα ὁ σύμπαρ οἶκος αὐτῶν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὅτι εἰς ὅσον αὐτὸν ἠγνῶον ἀμφοτέρων ἔνιπτε τοὺς πόδας. ἀμφότεροι οὖν βαπτισθέντες ἀπέστησαν τοῦ θεατρίζειν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σεμνὸν καὶ θεοσεβῆ ἐλάσαντες βίον σφόδρα ἠδοῦντο τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Δεῦρο, ἀδελφέ, ἐλευθερώσωμέν σε, ἐπειδὴ αἰσχρᾶς ἡμᾶς δουλείας ἠλευθέρωσας αὐτός. λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐπειδὴ ἐνήργησεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐσώθη ὑμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ, εἶπω ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ δράματος· ἐγὼ κατοικτειρήσας ὑμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐλεύθερος ὢν ἀσκητῆς τῷ γένει Αἰγύπτιος, τούτου χάριν πέπρακα ἑμαυτὸν ἵνα σώσω ὑμᾶς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο πεποίηκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐσώθη ὑμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινώσεως, λάβετε ὑμῶν τὸν χρυσὸν ἵνα ἀπέλθω καὶ ἄλλοις βοηθήσω. οἱ δὲ πολλὰ παρακαλέσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ διαβεβαιωσάμενοι ὅτι Ὡς πατέρα σε ἔξομεν καὶ δεσπότην, μόνον μείνον μεθ' ἡμῶν· οὐκ ἴσχυσαν αὐτὸν πείσαι. τότε λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Δὸς τὸ χρυσίον πτωχοῖς, ἀρραβῶν γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονε σωτηρίας· ἀλλὰ κἂν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμᾶς ὄρα.

Οὗτος ταῖς συνεχέσιν ἀποδημίαις κατήνησεν εἰς Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διατρίψας τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις οὐκ ἠξιώθη παρὰ τινος ἄρτου· οὔτε γὰρ κέρμα ἐβάσταζεν, οὐ πῆραν, οὐ μηλωτὴν, οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων. τετάρτης οὖν ἐπιλαβομένης ἡμέρας σφόδρα ἐπέιυασε· δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀκούσιος πείνα, συνήγορον ἔχουσα τὴν

P(W)TAVC[38]s

1 ὁ after σύμπ. VC 2 [τι] om WAB ἐν δσφ TB; εἰς δν A 3 ἠγνῶον] + χρόνον A 4 ἀπεστήσαντο VC 5 θεοσεβῆ] PT33; θεοφιλή AB; εὐσεβῆ VC ἄνδρα] ἄγιον P 6 ἐπειδὴ] + τῆς VC; καὶ T 7 ἡμᾶς after δουλείας VC; after αὐτός A: + σὺ P (txt W) 8 αὐτός] om VC; before ἠλευθ. PTB (txt W): + ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς VC 9 ἐσώθησαν ὑμῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ P1 10 κατοικτείρας VC 11 τὰς ψυχὰς P33C1 12 ἀσκητῆς after Αἰγύπτιος VC 13 ἐπειδὴ δὲ] καὶ ἐπειδὴ VC 14 ἐποίησεν T 15 καὶ ἐσώθη ὑμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ] TAs; καὶ ἐσώθησαν ὑμῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ P; om VCB1 16 τὸ χρυσίον TB 17 ἀπέλθω] P; ἀπελθῶν VCTB (after ἄλλοις TB); om A 18 πολλὰ] PTA1; om VCBs 19 αὐτὸν] PBLs; om TAVC 20 διαβεβαιούμενοι TB 21 σε] om A 22 καὶ δεσπότην before σε P 23 μείνον after ἡμῶν VC 24 τότε] om A 25 τὸν χρυσόν ΔVC 26 ἀρραβῶν] αἴτιος A 27 οὗτος γέγ. ἡμῶν A 28 ὄρα] + καὶ ὅτι 29 ὡς ἐξῆλθον ἐκ' αὐτῶν A: + ὁ δὲ φησιν· Ὑμεῖς δότε τὸ ὑμέτερον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀλλότρια χρήματα εἶμι; 30 γὰρ] (T 31 αἰ σωτηρίας) 32 τρεῖς ἡμέρας TA 33 ἡμερῶν] + ἄλλοις 34 γὰρ] T 35 ἐπεφέρετο A 36 οὐδὲν] οὐδ' ἄλλο τι 37 .. 38 ἡμ. ἐπιλαβ. A 39 ἡμέρας] + μηδὲν ἄλλοις εν 40 VCB 41 πείνα] PTA; 42 πτωχοῖς VCB 43 σὺν

ἀπιστίαν. καὶ στὰς ἐπὶ γεωλόφου τῆς πόλεως, ἔνθα οἱ ἐν τέλει ἦσαν συναθροϊζόμενοι τῆς πόλεως, ἤρξατο ἀποδύρεσθαι βίαν μετὰ κρότου χειρῶν καὶ κράζειν Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηθεῖτε. καὶ προσδραμόντες ἅπαντες ὑφ' ἑν, τριβονοφόροι τε καὶ βιρροφόροι, λέγουσιν αὐτῶ. Τί ἔχεις, ἄνθρωπε; ἢ πόθεν εἰ; ἢ τί πάσχεις; λέγει αὐτοῖς. Τῶ μὲν γένοι εἰμὶ Αἰγύπτιος· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τῆς ἀληθινῆς μου πατρίδος ἀπέστην τρισὶ δανεισταῖς περιέπεσα· καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο μου ἀπηλλάγησαν πληρωθέντες τὸ χρέος, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὃ ἐγκαλέσουσιν· ὃ δὲ εἰς μου οὐκ ἀπαλλάττεται. φιλοπραγμονοῦντες οὖν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς δανειστὰς ἵνα αὐτοὺς 10 πληροφορήσωσιν, ἠρώτων αὐτόν· Ποῦ εἰσὶ, καὶ τίνας εἰσὶ; τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ὄχλων σοι; δεῖξον ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἵνα σοι βοηθήσωμεν. τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ὀχλησάν μοι ἐκ νεότητος φιλαργυρία καὶ γαστριμαργία καὶ πορνεία· τῶν δύο ἀπηλλάγην, | φιλαργυρίας καὶ πορνείας· οὐκέτι μοι ὄχλοῦσι· γαστριμαργίας δὲ ἀπαλ- 15 λαγήναι οὐ δύναμαι. τετάρτην γὰρ ἔχω ἡμέραν μὴ φαγῶν, καὶ παραμένει μοι ὄχλοῦσα ἢ γαστήρ καὶ ζητούσα τὸ σύννηθες χρέος οὐ ἄνευ ζῆσαι οὐ δύναμαι. τότε τινὲς τῶν φιλοσόφων

P(W)TAVC[33]s

1 γεωλόφου] + τινὲς B1(s) ἐν τέλει] WTVCB; εὐτελείς PA 2 συναθροισμένοι T τῆς] + τοιαύτης P (txt W) τῆς πόλεως] om T; before ἦσαν A βίαν] WT; λιαν A³⁷B1; βία P33A³⁸VCB† 3 κρότου] + τῶν T καὶ κράζειν before μετὰ κρότου P (txt W) 4 προσδραμ.] + δὲ (om καὶ) TVCB ἅπαντες] om P ὑφ' ἑν] PBI; om TAVC; (s 'to hiim') οἱ τριβ. (om τε) TA τριβονοφόροι T; τριβονοφόροι P (txt W); (T repeats clause προσδρ. ἀπ.) βιρροφόροι A; βηροφ. VC; κηροφ. T; κηροφ. B†; + cuius uoce commoti ls (before προσδρ.) 5 ἄνθρωπε] PB; om TAVC 6 πάσχεις] + τότε TVC1 εἰμὶ] om T 7 ἀπέστην πατρ. A δαν. περιέπεσα] PB; περιέπεσα δαν. TA³⁸; περιέπεσον δαν. VCA³⁸ 8 μου] after ἀπ. VC; om P (txt W) πληρωθέντες τὸ χρέος] WTAVC33B1s; πληρωθέντος τοῦ χρέους PB1 9 ἔχοντες] + λοιπὸν VC δ] ὡς AB1 ἐγκαλέσουσιν] PVCB†; ἐγκαλέσωσιν TAB†; ἐγκαλοῦσιν B1 εἰς] τρίτος B1s μου] after ἀπ. AVC; με P (txt W) 10 οὖν] PTA; δὲ VCB 11 πληρώσω T αὐτόν] om T εἰσὶ²] + καὶ P (txt W) τίς ἐστὶν] om TB(s) τίς] ποῦ VC 12 ὁ ὄχλων] διανοχλοῦντες TB (διοχλοῦντες) αὐτοῖς] TBs βοθη. σοι A 13 ὄχλησαν] P†; ὄχλησεν AVCB με VC ἀπὸ νεότη. (before ὄχλ.) P; om A 13, 14 φιλαργυρία.....ἀπηλλάγην] om T 14 πορν. κ. γαστρ. B1s: + καὶ P (txt W) τῶν] + μὲν P (txt W); οὖν B 14, 15 καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο οὐκέτι μοι ὄχλ. (om ἀπηλλάγην φιλ. λ. πορνείας) A 15 καὶ οὐκέτι μοι ἐνοχλοῦσι T; om VC οὐκέτι] + γὰρ P (txt W) δὲ] om W ἀποστήναι A 16 ἡμέραν before ἔχω A; after φαγῶν VC; om W 17 ὄχλ. μοι A καὶ] om PAs (txt W) 18 ζῆσαι] ζῆ T; + δλωσ P (οὐ δυνάμεθα δλωσ W) τινὲς] + ἐπι T

Οὗτος καὶ τῇ δούλῃ τοῦ θεοῦ Ποιμενίῃ παραβαλοῦσῃ
 ἱστορίας χάριν οὐ συντετύχηκε μὲν, ἐδήλωσε δὲ αὐτῇ τινα καὶ
 τῶν ἀπορρήτων. παρήγγειλε δὲ αὐτῇ κατερχομένη ἀπὸ Θη-
 βαΐδος μὴ ἐκνεῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, Ἐπεὶ πειρασμοῖς
 5 ἔχεις περιπεσεῖν. ἡ δὲ παραλογισαμένη ἢ ἐπιλαθομένη ἐξένευσεν
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἱστορῆσαι τὴν πόλιν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν
 πλησίον Νικίου τῆς πόλεως παρέβαλεν αὐτῆς τὰ πλοῖα ἀνα-
 παύσεως χάριν. ἐξελθόντες οὖν οἱ παῖδες ἐξ ἀταξίας τινὸς συνέ-
 βαλον μάχην μετὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀνδρῶν ἀπονενομημένων·
 10 οἷτινες ἐνὸς μὲν εὐνούχου δάκτυλον ἦραν, ἄλλον δὲ ἐφόνευσαν,
 Διούσιον δὲ τὸν ἀγιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν
 ἔβαψαν ἀγνοήσαντες, κάκεινῃν αὐτὴν λοιδορίαις καὶ ἀπειλαῖς
 συνιέτριψαν, τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας τραυματίσαντες παῖδας. |

(XXXVI) Τὰ κατὰ Ποσειδώνιον τὸν Θηβαῖον πολλὰ μὲν
 15 καὶ δυσδιήγητα, πῶς τε ἦν πρᾶς καὶ ὅπως ἀσκητικώτατος,
 καὶ πόσῃν τινα εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀκακίαν, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ συντε-

7 See Note 65.

13 Between xxxv and xxxvi A inserts greater part of *Hist. Mon.* (Migne 1131 c to 1179 c).

14 P includes W when not otherwise stated.

P(W)TAVClS

1 οὗτος] Chapter in P (and others): in A comes long insertion from *Hist. Mon.* (Migne 1115 b to 1131 a) θεοῦ PT; Χριστοῦ AVCBIs Ποιμενίῃ VCB†IT (-μαν-) A (-μαιν-); Ποιμήν B†s; Ποταμαίνῃ P; Ποταμαίνῃ W παραβαλοῦσῃ]+ αὐτῷ VCB(Is) 2 μὲν] om TVC: + αὐτῇ κατὰ πρόσωπον VCB (l cui non uisae) καὶ] om VC 3 αὐτῇ]+ ὅτι A 4 ἐκνεύσῃς A τῇ] om VCB 5 ἔχεις] PTA; ἔχει VCB(Is) δέ]+ ἡ VCB† ἦ] καὶ T 6 ἐπὶ] εἰς T ἀνιστ. A τὴν πόλιν] αὐτὴν P (txt W) 7 τῆς Νικίου A παρέβαλεν P; παρέβαλον A1 αὐτὴν A; αὐτῇ VC τοῖς πλοίοις VC 8 οὖν] δὲ A παῖδες]+ αὐτῆς B†Is 10 ἐνὸς after εὐνούχου P (txt W) ἦραν] PTAVC; ἀπέκοψαν B; abscidit ac rapuit l 11 ἀγιώτατον] PTAVC; ἄγιον B1 καὶ] PTB; om AVClS 12 ἔβαψαν] PB(l); ἔρριψαν TAVC αὐτῷ]+ πολλὰ B(s) (magnis [causis], om [causis]) λοιδορίαις]+ πλύναντες TB (ἐπλυναν) καὶ ἀπ. συνιέτριψαν] om T 13 καὶ τοὺς PTA; τοὺς δὲ VCB; txt W πάντας τραυματίσαντες παῖδας] W; παῖδας πάντας τραυματίσαντες BT (om πάντας); πάντας ἐτραυμάτισαν παῖδας PA (παῖδας πάντας ἐτραυμ.) VC (om παῖδας VC): + ἀπέλυσαν T; καὶ εἶσαν B†; 'and hardly allowed them to get away' s

XXXVI Περὶ Ποσειδωνίου): P(W)TAVClS

14 Ποσειδώνιον] VCB†; Ποσειδώνιον WTA⁸⁷B†; Ποσειδώνιον PA⁸⁸B† μὲν]+ ἐστὶ P 15 δυσδιήγητα] PA; ἀνεκδιήγητα VCB†; ἀδιήγητα TB†; inenarrabilia l; 'surpassing narration' s τε] om A πρᾶς TVCB ὅπως] om TA 16 τινα] om A ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἶχε A τῇ] om P

ἀπιστίαν. καὶ στὰς ἐπὶ γεωλόφου τῆς πόλεως, ἔνθα οἱ ἐν τέλει ἦσαν συναθροϊζόμενοι τῆς πόλεως, ἤρξατο ἀποδύρεσθαι βίαν μετὰ κρότου χειρῶν καὶ κράζειν Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηθεῖτε. καὶ προσδραμόντες ἅπαντες ὑφ' ἐν, τριβωνοφόροι τε καὶ βιρροφόροι, λέγουσιν αὐτῷ. Τί ἔχεις, ἄνθρωπε; ἢ πόθεν εἶ; ἢ τίς πάσχεις; λέγει αὐτοῖς. Τῷ μὲν γένει εἰμὶ Αἰγύπτιος· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τῆς ἀληθινῆς μου πατρίδος ἀπέστην τρισὶ δανεισταῖς περιέπεσα· καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο μου ἀπηλλάγησαν πληρωθέντες τὸ χρέος, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁ ἐγκαλέουσιν· ὁ δὲ εἰς μου οὐκ ἀπαλλάττεται. φιλοπραγμονοῦντες οὖν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς δανειστὰς ἵνα αὐτοὺς 10 πληροφορήσωσιν, ἠρώτων αὐτόν· Ποῦ εἰσί, καὶ τίνες εἰσί; τίς ἐστίν ὁ ὀχλῶν σοι; δεῖξον ἡμῖν αὐτόν ἵνα σοι βοηθήσωμεν. τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ὁχλησάν μοι ἐκ νεότητος φιλαργυρία καὶ γαστριμαργία καὶ πορνεία· τῶν δύο ἀπηλλάγην, | φιλαργυρίας καὶ πορνείας· οὐκέτι μοι ὀχλοῦσι· γαστριμαργίας δὲ ἀπαλ- 15 λαγήναι οὐ δύναμαι. τετάρτην γὰρ ἔχω ἡμέραν μὴ φαγῶν, καὶ παραμένει μοι ὀχλοῦσα ἢ γαστήρ καὶ ζητοῦσα τὸ σύνηθες χρέος οὐ ἄνευ ζῆσαι οὐ δύναμαι. τότε τινὲς τῶν φιλοσόφων

P(W)TAVC[33]ls

1 γεωλόφου] + τινὸς B1(s) ἐν τέλει] WTVCB; εὐτελείς PA 2 συναθροισμένοι T τῆς] + τοιαύτης P (txt W) τῆς πόλεως] om T; before ἦσαν A βίαν] WT; λαν A³⁷B1; βία P33A³⁸VCB1 3 κρότου] + τῶν T καὶ κράζειν before μετὰ κρότου P (txt W) 4 προσδραμ.] + δὲ (om και) TVCB ἅπαντες] om P ὑφ' ἐν] PBI; om TAVC; (s 'to him') οἱ τριβ. (om τε) TA τριβωνοφόροι T; τριβωνοφόροι P (txt W); (T repeats clause προσδρ. ἀπ.) βιρροφόροι A; βηροφ. VC; κηροφ. T; κηροφ. B1; + cuius uoce commoti ls (before προσδρ.) 5 ἄνθρωπε] PB; om TAVCs ἦ] PB; και TAVCs; (om l) ἦ] PBI; και TAVCs 6 πάσχεις] + τότε TVCl εἰμὶ] om T 7 ἀπέστην πατρ. A δαν. περιέπεσα] PB; περιέπεσα δαν. TA³⁷; περιέπεσον δαν. VCA³⁸ 8 μου] after ἀπ. VC; om P (txt W) πληρωθέντες τὸ χρέος] WTAVC33B1a; πληρωθέντος τοῦ χρέους PBI 9 ἔχοντες] + λοιπὸν VC θ] ὧ AB1 ἐγκαλέουσιν] PVCB1; ἐγκαλέωσιν TAB1; ἐγκαλοῦσιν B1 εἰς] τριτοῦ B1ls μου] after ἀπ. AVC; με P (txt W) 10 οὖν] PTA; δὲ VCB 11 πληρώσωσιν T αὐτόν] om T εἰσὶ] + και P (txt W) τίς ἐστίν] om TB(s) τίς] ποθ VC 12 ὁ ὀχλῶν] διανοχλοῦντες TB (διοχλοῦντες) αὐτοῖς] TBs βοηθ. σοι A 13 ὀχλησάν] P1T; ὀχλησεν AVCB με VC ἀπὸ νεότη. (before ὄχλ.) P; om A 13, 14 φιλαργυρία.....ἀπηλλάγην] om T 14 πορν. κ. γαστρ. B1s; + και P (txt W) τῶν] + μὲν P (txt W); οὖν B 14, 15 και οἱ μὲν δύο οὐκέτι μοι ὄχλ. (om ἀπηλλάγην φιλ. κ. πορνείας) A 15 και οὐκέτι μοι ἐνοχλοῦσι T; om VC οὐκέτι] + γὰρ P (txt W) δὲ] om W ἀποστήναι A 16 ἡμέραν before ἔχω A; after φαγῶν VC; om W 17 ὄχλ. μοι A και] om PAs (txt W) 18 ζῆσαι] ζῆν T; + ὄλωσ P (οὐ δυνάμεθα ὄλωσ W) τινὲς] + ἐπὶ T

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον· σημεῖον δέ τι ἔχει ὑπάρξαι ἵνα
πληροφορηθῶμεν. ἐξερχόμενος οὖν ὁ δαίμων ἀπὸ θεμελίου τὸν
τοῖχον τῆς αὐλῆς ὄλον ἔβαλε κάτω. ἦν δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἐξαετίαν
μὴ λαλήσαν· μετὰ οὖν τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τὸν δαίμονα ἔτεκε καὶ
5 ἐλάλησεν.

Τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ προφητεῖαν ἔγνω ταύτην· Ἰερώνυμος
τις πρεσβύτερος ᾤκει εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους, ἀρετῇ λόγων
ῥωμαϊκῶν κεκοσμημένος καὶ εὐφύια· τοσαύτην δὲ εἶχε βα-
σκανίαν ὡς ὑπὸ ταύτης καλύπτεσθαι τῶν λόγων τὴν ἀρετὴν.
10 συγχρονίσας οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἡμέρας πλείους λέγει μοι
πρὸς τὸ οὖς ὅτι Ἡ μὲν ἐλευθέρα Παῦλα, ἡ φροντίζουσα αὐτοῦ,
προτελευτήσῃ, ἀπαλλαγείσα αὐτοῦ τῆς βασκανίας, ὡς οἶμαι.
χάριν δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μὴ οἰκήσῃ ἅγιος ἀνὴρ εἰς τοὺς
τόπους τούτους, ἀλλὰ φθάσει αὐτοῦ ὁ φθόνος καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
15 ἰδίου ἰδελφοῦ. ἐν οἷς καὶ συνέβη τὸ πρᾶγμα. καὶ γὰρ καὶ
Ἵουζεπρέντιον τὸν μακάριον ἤλασε τὸν Ἰταλόν, καὶ Πέτρον
ἄλλον τινὰ Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ Συμεῶνα, θαυμασίους ἀνδρας, οὓς
τέως ἐγὼ ἐπεσημνήαμην. οὗτός μοι διηγείτο ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ὡς

6 See Note 67.

P(W)TAVClS

1 ἡμῖν ἔχει τι VCB (om τι B+) Is ὑπάρξαι] δεῖξαι VClS 2 οὖν] om A
ἀπὸ θεμ. after ὄλον T 3 ὄλον] ὄλης A; om VC ἔβαλε κάτω] καταβάλλει A
ἐξαετίαν]+ ἔχον TVC 4 τὸ] τοῦ T δαίμονα]+ καὶ Pl herv 6 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς.....
ταύτην] VCT (ἀνέγνω) (B) l; ταύτην ἔγνω before τοῦ ἀνδ. P (not W) καὶ] τὴν P
ταύτην] om W

TVClS

6 Ἰερώνυμος] PW om rest of cap.; A becomes a B text 7 ἐν τοῖς τόποις
ἐκείνοις T 7, 8 ἀρετῇ λόγον (sic) γραμματικῆς κεκοσμ. καὶ μεγίστη εὐφύια ῥωμαϊκῶν T;
(cf. s: 'being ornamented with excellence in the word of grammar and skilful also
in the Roman speech') 8 ῥωμαϊκῶν]+ πολλῇ B1 (vehementer ornatus) καὶ]
+ ἰκανῇ B1 δὲ εἶχε] om T εἶχε] ἔσχε B: + τὴν VC βασκανίαν]+ ἐνδοσε T
9 ὑπὸ ταύτης καλύπτεσθαι] TBs; καλύπτειν VCl τὴν ἀρ. τῶν λ. VC 10 ὁ]+ ἅγιος
TB(s) ἡμέρας πλ.] om T 11 πρὸς τὸ οὖς] om Ts ἡ μὲν φρ. αὐτοῦ Π. ἡ
12 T 13 τούτου δὲ χάριν VC ἅγιος οἰκήσῃ (om ἀνὴρ) VC; ἅγιος ἀνὴρ εἰς τ.
τ. τ. οἰκήσῃ B ἐν τοῖς τόποις τούτοις VC 14 ἐφθασε γὰρ ὁ φθ. αὐτοῦ T
καὶ] om VC 15 τὰ πρᾶγματα VC; eius uerba l; 'what he foretold' s καὶ
γὰρ καὶ] om T 16 Ἰουζεπρέντιον γὰρ T φθασε]+ ὅσους B(s)(T): + ἐντεῦθεν
(al. ἐνθεν) B1(T): (T after Ἰταλόν: οἷτος ἤλασεν ἐντεῦθεν) 17 τινὰ ἄλλων T
ὁσίους VC οὓς] μετὰ ταῦτα οἷ VC 18 διηγείτο VC ὁ]+ μέγας Tz



του πείραν μὴ ἔχων ἀπὸ ἔτους τεσσαρακοστοῦ, μήτε μὴν
νησικακήσας τινὶ μέχρι ἡμισείας ἡμέρας.

(XXXVII) Ἄλλος Σαραπίων τις γέγονεν, ἐπέκκλητο δὲ
ινδόνιος, παρεκτὸς γὰρ σινδονίου οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν περιεβάλλετο
; πολλὴν ἐξήσκησεν ἀκτημοσύνην, εὐγράμματος δὲ ὧν ἀπεστή- 5
ιζε πάσας τὰς γραφάς· καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῆς ἀκτημοσύνης καὶ
ελέτης γραφῶν οὐδὲ ἡρεμῆσαι ἴσχυσεν ἐν κελλίῳ, μὴ περισπώ-
ενος ὕλη, ἀλλὰ περιερχόμενος τὴν οἰκουμένην ταύτην κατώρθωσε
ἦν ἀρετὴν· ταύτης γὰρ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῆς φύσεως· διαφόροι γὰρ
ἴσιν φύσεων, οὐκ οὐσιῶν.

10

Διηγούντο οὖν οἱ πατέρες ὅτι λαβὼν τινα συμπάικτην
ἰσκητὴν πέπρακεν ἑαυτὸν μίμοις Ἑλλησιν ἐν πόλει τινὶ εἰκοσι
ομισμάτων. καὶ σφραγίσας τὰ νομίσματα ἐφύλαττε παρ'
αυτῷ. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον οὖν παρέμεινε καὶ ἐδούλευσε τοῖς ἀγορά-
ασιν αὐτὸν μίμοις μέχρι οὗ καὶ χριστιανούς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησε 15
αὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀπέστησε, παρεκτὸς ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος
ὕδενος λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ ἡσυχάζων τῷ στόματι ἀπὸ μελέτης
ραφῶν. τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πρῶτος κατενύγη ὁ ἀνὴρ, εἶτα

3 This chapter of I is printed in *Bibl. Casin. III. Florileg.* 306. P in-
cludes W when not otherwise stated. On Sarapion see Note 68.

TVClS

1 ἔχων TVC εἰς τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη T μὴν] om VC 2 νησικακήσαν T
{χρημ. ἡμισ. ἡμ.] om T

XXXVII. (Περὶ Σαραπίωνος): P(W)TAVC[33]S: (T interpolated in places
ith B readings)

3 Σαραπίων] P^B8-9-10; Σεραπίων others (see Note 68) τις before Σαρ. TVC
έγονεν] + ὀνόματι VCB1(S) ἐπέκκλητο δέ] P (om δέ W); ἐπέκλην δέ VC; ἐπέκλητος
B; om A (ὁ τὸ σινδόνιον περιβεβλημένος) 4 περιεβάλλετο WB 5 εὐγράμματος]
[TVA⁴⁰B1; ἀγράμματος PAC33s 6 πάσας] om P τὰς] + ἀγίας P; θείας B
μελέτης] + τῶν TVC ἡρεμῆσαι T τῇ κέλλῳ A 8 ἀλλ' ἢ T ταύτην after
οστην TVC; om A(B) 9 ἐγεγόνει] TAB; ἐπεπόνει (sic) VC; γέγονε P καὶ]
m TA φύσεως] TAl (natura); προαιρέσεως P; προθέσεως VC; ἕξεως B;
'asceticism': <κθάλωκ> 10 φύσεων] T^A371; προαιρέσεων P; προθέσεων
C; ἕξεων BA⁸⁸: (s 'asceticism') 11 γούν A; δέ B πατέρες] + ἡσθητι S
μπαϊκτῆν] + αὐτοῦ VC 12 Ἑλλ. after τινὶ TVC 14 οἶν] δέ AB ἐδούλευε
C 17 οὐδενός] + ἐτέρου VCB (ἄλλου) (S) λαμβάνων] PA³⁸B⁴; μεταλαμ-
[A³⁷VCB¹ ἀπὸ μελ. γραφ.] P B (θειῶν γραφ.); ἀπὸ γραφ. μελ. A; ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν
ραφ. μελ. VC; ἀπὸ μελ. τῶν θείων λογίων T: + οὕτως δὲ τοῖσι τοῖσι ὁ μακάριος παραρῆνας
ῶ μ. χρ. (T)B: (On significance of symbol (T)B see Note, p. 37) 18 τῷ] + οὖν P;
A; Interea I; τῷ WVC (and (T)B, altering structure) τῷ μ. χρόνῳ] om S
ράνῳ] + ἐκείνῳ. πρὸς ταῦται οὖν VC

ἡ μιμᾶς, εἶτα ὁ σύμπας οἶκος αὐτῶν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὅτι εἰς ὅσον
 αὐτὸν ἡγνύουσαν ἀμφοτέρων ἐνιπτε τοὺς πόδας. ἀμφοτέροι οὖν
 βαπτισθέντες ἀπέστησαν τοῦ θεατρίζειν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σεμνὸν
 καὶ θεοσεβῆ ἐλάσαντες βίον σφόδρα ἡδούντο τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
 5 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Δεῦρο, ἀδελφέ, ἐλευθερώσωμέν σε, ἐπειδὴ
 αἰσχροῦς ἡμᾶς δουλείας ἠλευθέρωσας αὐτός. λέγει αὐτοῖς·
 Ἐπειδὴ ἐνήργησεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐσώθη ὑμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ, εἶπω ὑμῖν
 τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ δράματος· ἐγὼ κατοικτειρήσας ὑμῶν τὴν
 ψυχὴν, ἐλεύθερος ὢν ἀσκητῆς τῷ γένει Αἰγύπτιος, τούτου χάριν
 10 πέπρακα ἑμαυτὸν ἵνα σώσω ὑμᾶς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο πεποίηκεν
 ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐσώθη ὑμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινώσεως,
 λάβετε ὑμῶν τὸν χρυσὸν ἵνα ἀπέλθω καὶ ἄλλοις βοηθήσω. οἱ
 δὲ πολλὰ παρακαλέσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ διαβεβαιωσάμενοι ὅτι
 Ὡς πατέρα σε ἔξομεν καὶ δεσπότην, μόνον μείνον μεθ' ἡμῶν· οὐκ
 15 ἴσχυσαν αὐτὸν πείσαι. τότε λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Δὸς τὸ χρυσίον
 πτωχοῖς, ἀρραβῶν γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονε σωτηρίας· ἀλλὰ κἂν δι'
 ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμᾶς ὄρα.

Οὗτος ταῖς συνεχέσιν ἀποδημίαις κατήνησεν εἰς Ἑλλάδα,
 καὶ διατρίψας τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις οὐκ ἤξιώθη παρά τινος
 20 ἄρτου· οὔτε γὰρ κέρμα ἐβάσταζεν, οὐ πῆραν, οὐ μῆλωτήν, οὐδὲν
 τῶν τοιούτων. τετάρτης οὖν ἐπιλαβομένης ἡμέρας σφόδρα
 ἐπέινασε· δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀκούσιος πείνα, συνήγορον ἔχουσα τὴν

P(W)TAVC[38]ls

1 ὁ after σύμπ. VC 2 [δτι] om WAB 3 ἐν ὄσῳ TB; εἰς ὄν A 4 [ἡγνύουσαν]
 + χρόνον A 5 ἀπέστησαντο VC 6 θεοσεβῆ] PT33; θεοφιλή AB; εὐσεβῆ VC
 ἄνδρα] ἄγιον P 7 ἐπειδὴ] + τῆς VC; καὶ T 8 ἡμᾶς after δουλείας VC; after
 αὐτός A: + σὺ P (txt W) αὐτός] om VC; before ἠλευθ. PTB (txt W): + ὁ δὲ
 ἀποκριθεὶς VC 9 ἐσώθησαν ὑμῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ Pl 10 κατοικτειράς VC τὰς ψυχὰς
 P33Cl 11 ἀσκητῆς after Αἰγύπτιος VC 12 ἐπειδὴ δὲ] καὶ ἐπειδὴ VC ἐποίησεν T
 11 καὶ ἐσώθη ὑμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ] TAs; καὶ ἐσώθησαν ὑμῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ P; om VCB1 12 τὸ
 χρυσίον TB ἀπέλθω] P; ἀπελθῶν VCTB (after ἄλλοις TB); om A 13 πολλὰ]
 PTA1; om VCBs αὐτὸν] PBl; om TAVC διαβεβαιούμενοι TB 14 σε]
 om A καὶ δεσπότην before σε P μείνον after ἡμῶν VC 15 τότε] om A
 τὸν· σὺν AVC 16 ἀρραβῶν] αἰτίας A οὗτος γέγ. ἡμῖν A 17 ὄρα]+ καὶ
 ὢν A: + ὁ δὲ φησιν· Ἐμείς δότε τὸ ὑμέτερον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀλλότρια
 ; μὲ ; ; (T ; σωτηρίας) 19 τρεῖς ἡμέρας TA ἡμερῶν]
 + K 1] γὰρ] T ἐπεφέρετο A οὐδὲν]
 οὐδ' ἄλλο φαί ; ; W ἡμ. ἐπιλαβ. A ἡμέρας]
 + μῆδεν ὄλωσεν ἐν ; AVCB πείνα] PTA;
 νηστεία VCB σιωπ

πεντακοσίων Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤρξαντο οἱ ἐπιβάται περὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου ἐσθίειν, τῶν ναυτικῶν προφαγόντων. εἶδον οὖν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἐσθίει τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν, καὶ προσεδόκησαν διὰ τὸν πλοῦν· ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν δευτέραν, καὶ τὴν τρίτην, καὶ τὴν τετάρτην. τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ βλέπουσιν αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον 5 ἡσυχῇ ἐν τῷ πάντας ἐσθίειν, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Διὰ τί οὐκ ἐσθίεις, ἄνθρωπε; λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω. περιειργάσαντο οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· Τίς αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε τὰ σκεύη ἢ τὰ ἀναλώματα; καὶ ὡς εὔρον ὅτι οὐδεὶς, ἤρξαντο διαμάχεσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ λέγειν· Πῶς εἰσῆλθες ἄνευ ἀναλωμάτων; πόθεν ἡμῖν ἔχεις 10 δοῦναι τὸ ναῦλον; ἢ πόθεν ἔχεις τραφῆναι; λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔχω· ἀπενέγκατέ με καὶ ρίψατε ὅπου με εὔρατε. ἐκείνοι δὲ οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν χρυσίνων ἠδέως ἂν ἔλυον, ἀλλ' ἤνυον τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῶν. οὕτως οὖν ἦν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ εὐρέθησαν τρέφοντες αὐτὸν ἕως Ῥώμης. 15

Ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ περιειργάζεται τις εἴη μέγας ἀσκητῆς ἢ ἀσκήτρια ἐν τῇ πόλει. | ἐν οἷς περιέτυχε καὶ Δομνίνῳ τινὶ μαθητῇ Ὁριγιένους, οὗ ἡ κλίνη μετὰ θάνατον νοσοῦντας

P(W)TAVC[33]ls

2 ναυτῶν] P (txt W); + ἡδη VCl εἶδον] PT (ὡς οὖν εἶδον) As; ἰδόντες VCBl οὖν] δὲ A; om W 3 καὶ] PA(s); om TVCBl προσεδόκ.] + ὅτι A διὰ τὸν πλοῦν] PTAVC; ἀθλιὰν τιὰ ἐκ τοῦ πλοῦ B1; ἀθλιὰν ἐσχηκέναι 33; 'sea-sickness' s 5 τῇ] + δὲ TA33 πέμπτῃ] + οὖν VCB 6 ἡσυχῶς T καὶ] om A 7 ἄνθρωπε] + καὶ VC ὅτι] om T ἔχω] + ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ναυτικοὶ B1 περιειργάσαντο] PA; -ζοντο B; -εργάζονται TVC 8 οὖν] om TB πρὸς] om TAB ἀλλήλους TV τίς] + οὖν C; ἄρα B ἔλαβεν αὐτοῦ (τοῦτου C) VC; + ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ B1 ἦ] καὶ A 9 καὶ ὡς] P; ὡς οὖν TVC; ὡς δὲ AB εἶδον A μάχεσθαι P (txt W) αὐτῷ] πρὸς αὐτὸν VC; om T καὶ λέγειν] λέγοντες TBA (after ἀναλωμ.) 10 εἰσῆλθεις] + ὡδε TA ἀναλωμάτων] + ἄλλως τε δὲ VC; καὶ ἄλλως B πόθεν] + δὲ P ἡμῖν after ἔχεις P; after δοῦναι A; (txt W) 11 ἦ] PT33(s); om AVCBl πόθεν] + δὲ AC 12 ἀπενέγκατε VC με'] om P(s) (txt W) ρίψατε] + με PVC (txt W) με²] om WAC 13 εὔρατε VCB οὕτως WT εἰς ἐκ. χρυσίνους P (txt W) ἠδέως] + οὐκ A ἔλυον] WTAVC; τοῦτο ἐποίησαν PB (τ. ἐποιούμεν); illuc uenissent ls 14 ἡνιόν] om As 14 τὸν σκοπὸν] τὴν ὁδὸν T; τὸν κόπον A; om s αὐτῶν] PT; om AVCl 14, 15 οὕτως..... Ῥώμῃ] txt A (B); om T; others altered 14 ἦν ἐν τῷ πλ.] om P καὶ] om P; after εὔρ. W καὶ εὐρέθησαν] om ls 14, 15 καὶ εὔρ. ρέφ. αὐτῶν] εὐρέθεις καὶ τρέφόμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς (after Ῥώμῃ) VC; οὕτως οὖν εὐρέθησαν ἔροντες καὶ τρέφοντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ 33 15 αὐτὸν τρέφ. A ἔως] + τῆς AVC 3 εἰσελθὼν PB (txt W); εἰσθόντων VC τῇ Ῥώμῃ] αὐτῇ P (txt W) περιειργάσαντο VC33 ἐστὶ VCB 17 οἷς] ἦ P (txt W); + καὶ AVC καὶ] om TA(B)l δομνίνῳ] PTVC33B1; Δομνίνῳ AB'1 (Dominioni) 18 μαθ. Ὁ.] VCBl; om PT33 τὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ VCBl(s) νόσου B (s 'every malady')

ὑπονοήσαντες εἶναι αὐτὸ σκηνήν, διδῶσιν αὐτῷ νόμισμα· καὶ
 δεξάμενος ἔθηκεν ἐν ἄρτοπωλείῳ, καὶ λαβὼν ἕνα ἄρτον ἀνεχώ-
 ρησε παραχρήμα ὀδεύσας τῆς πόλεως καὶ μηκέτι ὑποστρέψας
 εἰς αὐτήν. τότε ἔγνωσαν οἱ φιλόσοφοι ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἐνάρετος ἦν,
 5 καὶ δόντες τῷ ἄρτοπώλῃ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ ἄρτου ἔλαβον τὸ
 νόμισμα. ἔλθων δὲ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Λακεδαίμονας τόπους ἤκουσέ
 τινα τὸν πρῶτον τῆς πόλεως Μαιναχάϊον εἶναι ἕμα παντὶ τῷ
 οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐνάρετον ὄντα τὰ ἄλλα. τούτῳ πάλιν πέπρακεν
 ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον δρᾶμα· καὶ ἐντὸς δύο ἐτῶν ἀποστήσας
 10 αὐτὸν τῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ τὴν τούτου ἐλευθέραν προσήγαγε τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ. τότε αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες οὐκέτι ὡς οἰκέτην ἀλλ' ὡς
 γνήσιον ἀδελφὸν ἢ πατέρα εἶχον καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν.

Οὗτος ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν ποτε εἰς πλοῖον ὡς ὀφείλοντα πλεύσαι
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην· οἱ ναυτικοὶ ὑπονοήσαντες ὅτι ἡ δαπάνης
 15 εἰσήνεγκεν ἢ ἐν χρυσῷ κέκτηται τὰ ἀναλώματα, ἀπεριέργως
 αὐτὸν ἐδέξαντο, ἄλλος ἄλλον νομίσαντες εἰληφέναι αὐτοῦ τὰ
 σκεύη. ἐν τῷ ἀποπλεύσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ σταδίων

13, 14 Οὗτος.....Ῥώμην] T : Παρακαλέσας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ παραθέμενος τῷ θεῷ
 ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς πλοῖον, ἀποδοὺς καὶ τούτοις τὸ τίμημα καὶ μὴδ' ὅλως τι ἐπικο-
 μιζόμενος, ἤρησαστο ἐπὶ Ῥώμην πλεύσαι.

B : Μετ' ὀλίγον πάλιν χρόνον παρακαλέσας πολλὰ τούτους καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὁ
 πνευματικὸς ἀδάμας Σεραπίων, ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς πλοῖον, ἀπεμπολήσας καὶ τούτοις
 ὁμοίως τοῖς δεσπότηται τὸ τίμημα, μὴδ' ὅλως τι ἐπικομιζόμενος, ὡς ὀφείλων ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ῥώμην πλεύσαι.

P(W)TAVC[33]s

1 εἶναι αὐτὸ] PT; αὐτὸ εἶναι A; τὸ δρᾶμα εἶναι VC: σκηνήν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα B
 νόμισμα] + ἐν B1(s) 2 ἄρτοπωλείῳ P (txt W) ἕνα] om TAVC ἀνεχώρησε]
 + καὶ A 3 ὀδεύσας] ἐκδημήσας T: after τῆς π. VC 4 εἰς] πρὸς P (txt W); ἐν T
 αὐτῇ T: + ἐξῆλθεν A 5 τοῦ ἄρτου τὴν τ. VC 6 Λακεδαίμονα TVCB 7 τὸν
 πρῶτον] P (om τὸν) TAs; τῶν πρῶτων VC33B1 εἶναι] ὄντα A ἕμα] οὖν T
 8 αὐτοῦ] om AVC ἐνάρετον] + δὲ AVC ὄντα] PTA; om VCB: + ἄνδρα B1;
 + περὶ A 10 καὶ τὴν τούτου ἐλευθέραν] καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τούτου ἐλευθέρους P
 (txt W): + ἅμα πάσῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ B: (μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου
 33) 10, 11 τούτου.....τότε] om T 10 προσήγαγε] + αὐτοὺς VCB (τούτου
 11 οὐκέτι] + αὐτὸν P 12 ἀδελφὸν ἢ] om VC (s 'lord and father') πατέρα
 ἀδελφὸν T ἢ] καὶ AB(s) θεόν] 33 inserts apophthegma and the story of "εἰ
 Little Gospel" (ProL. 98) 13, 14 οὗτος.....Ῥώμην] for T and B see abc
 13 οὗτος] om WA μετὰ τοῦτο ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν A ποτε] om A; ποτε ἑαυτὸν
 13, 14 ὡς.....Ῥώμην] om VC 14 οἱ] + δὲ PA; οὖν VCB; txt WT ἢ] οἱ
 15 εἰσήγαγεν A 16 ὑπονοήσαντες P; νομίσας AB αὐτοῦ] om T; after σκεῖ
 17 ἐν] + γούν P; δὲ A; (txt W) τῷ] τὸ P (txt W): + οὖν TVCB γενέ-
 + ὡς VCB33s

πεντακοσίων Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤρξαντο οἱ ἐπιβάται περὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου ἐσθίειν, τῶν ναυτικῶν προφαγόντων. εἶδον οὖν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἐσθίει τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν, καὶ προσεδόκησαν διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν δευτέραν, καὶ τὴν τρίτην, καὶ τὴν τετάρτην. τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ βλέπουσιν αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον 5 ἡσυχῇ ἐν τῷ πάντας ἐσθίειν, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Διὰ τί οὐκ ἐσθίεις, ἄνθρωπε; λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω. περιειργάσαντο οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· Τίς αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε τὰ σκευή ἢ τὰ ἀναλω- ματα; καὶ ὡς εὔρον ὅτι οὐδεὶς, ἤρξαντο διαμάχεσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ λέγειν· Πῶς εἰσῆλθες ἄνευ ἀναλωμάτων; πόθεν ἡμῖν ἔχεις 10 δοῦναι τὸ ναῦλον; ἢ πόθεν ἔχεις τραφῆναι; λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔχω· ἀπενέγκατέ με καὶ ρίψατε ὅπου με εὔρατε. ἐκείνοι δὲ οὐδὲ ἓκατὸν χρυσίνων ἡδέως ἂν ἔλουν, ἀλλ' ἦνουν τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῶν. οὕτως οὖν ἦν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ εὐρέθησαν τρέφοντες αὐτὸν ἕως Ῥώμης. 15

Ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ περιειργάζεται τις εἶη μέγας ἀσκητῆς ἢ ἀσκήτρια ἐν τῇ πόλει. | ἐν οἷς περιέτυχε καὶ Δομνίνῳ τινὶ μαθητῇ Ὀριγιένους, οὗ ἡ κλίμη μετὰ θάνατον νοσοῦντας

P(W)TAVC[33]ls

2 ναυτῶν] P (txt W): + ἡδη VCI εἶδον] PT (ὡς οὖν εἶδον) As; ἰδόντες VCB1 οὖν] δὲ A; om W 3 καὶ] PA(s); om TVCB1 προσεδόκ.] + ἔτι A διὰ τὸν πλοῦν] PTAVC; ἀπῆλθεν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ πλοῦ B1; ἀπῆλθεν ἐσχηκέναι 33; 'sea-sickness' s 5 τῇ] + δὲ TA33 πέμπτῃ] + οὖν VCB 6 ἡσυχῶς T καὶ] om A 7 ἄνθρωπε] + καὶ VC 8 τι] om T 9 ἔχω] + ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ναυτικοὶ B1 περιειργάσαντο] PA; -ζοντο B; -εργάζονται TVC 8 οὖν] om TB πρὸς] om TAB ἀλλήλοις TV 7(s) + οὖν C; ἀρα B 9 ελαβεν αὐτοῦ (τούτου C) VC: + ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ B1 ἢ] καὶ A 10 καὶ ὡς] P; ὡς οὖν TVC; ὡς δὲ AB εἶδον A μάχεσθαι P (txt W) αὐτῷ] πρὸς αὐτὸν VC; om T καὶ λέγειν] λέγοντες TBA (after ἀναλωμ.) 10 εἰσῆλθεις] + ὡδε TA ἀναλωμάτων] + ἄλλως τε δὲ VC; καὶ ἄλλως B πόθεν] + δὲ P μᾶν after ἔχεις P; after δοῦναι A; (txt W) 11 ἢ] PT33(s); om AVCB1 πόθεν] † δὲ AC 12 ἀπενέγκατε VC με!] om P(s) (txt W) ρίψατε] + με PVC (txt W) ε 3] om WAC 13 εἴρατε VCB οὔτε WT εἰς ἐκ. χρυσίνους P (txt W) 3(εως)] + οὐκ A ἔλουν] WTAVC; τοῦτο ἐποιοῦν PB (τ. ἐποιοῦμεν); illus neniassent ls λλ' ἦνουν] om As 14 τὸν σκοπὸν] τὴν ὁδὸν T; τὸν κόπον A; om s αὐτῶν] PT; 11 AVCI 14, 15 οὕτως..... Ῥώμης] txt A (B); om T; others altered 14 ἦν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ] om P καὶ] om P; after εὔρ. W καὶ εὐρέθησαν] om ls 14, 15 καὶ εὔρ. ἐφ. αὐτῶν] εἰρεθεῖς καὶ τρέφόμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς (after Ῥώμης) VC; οὕτως οὖν εὐρέθησαν οὔτε καὶ τρέφοντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ 33 15 αὐτὸν τρέφ. A 15] + τῆς AVC εἰσελθὼν PB (txt W); ἐλθόντων VC τῇ Ῥώμῃ] αὐτῇ P (txt W) περιειργάσαντο C33 ἐστὶ VCB 17 οἷς] ἢ P (txt W): + καὶ AVC καὶ] om TA(B)1 17] om P] TVC33B1; Δομνίνῳ AB1 (Dominioni) 18 μαθ. Ὁ.] VCB1s; om PT33 20 τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ VCB1(s) νόσους B (s 'every malady')

ιάσατο. περιτυχὼν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ὠφελῆθεις παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἦν τετορνευμένος ἐν τε ἤθει καὶ γνώσει, μαθὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ τίς ἄλλος εἶη, ἀσκητῆς ἢ ἀσκήτρια, ἔγνω περὶ ἡσυχάζουσας τινὸς παρθένου ἥτις οὐδενὶ συνετύγχανε. καὶ
 5 μαθὼν ποῦ μένει ἀπῆλθε καὶ λέγει τῇ ὑπηρετούσῃ αὐτῇ γραῖδι·
 Εἶπον τῇ παρθένῳ ὅτι Ἀναγκαίως σοι ἔχω συντυχεῖν, ὁ θεὸς γὰρ με ἀπέστειλε. παραμείνας οὖν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὕστερον αὐτῇ συνένυχε καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· Τί καθέξῃ; λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐ καθέξομαι ἀλλὰ ὀδεύω. λέγει αὐτῇ· Ποῦ ὀδεύεις; λέγει αὐτῷ·
 10 Πρὸς τὸν θεόν. λέγει αὐτῇ· Ζῆς ἢ ἀπέθανες; λέγει αὐτῷ· Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν θεόν ὅτι ἀπέθανον· ζῶν γὰρ σαρκί τις οὐ μὴ ὀδεύσῃ. λέγει αὐτῇ· Οὐκοῦν ἴνα με πληροφορήσῃς ὅτι ἀπέθανες ποίησον ὃ ποιῶ. λέγει αὐτῷ· Δυνατά μοι ἐπίταξον καὶ ποιῶ. ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῇ· Νεκρῷ πάντα ἐστὶ δυνατά, παρεκτὸς τοῦ
 15 ἀσεβῆσαι. τότε λέγει αὐτῇ· Ἐξέλθε καὶ πρόελθε. ἀπεκρίνατο

6 συντυχεῖν] 33 inserts: λέγει αὐτῷ ἢ γραῖς· Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν οὐδέ τι συνένυχε. καὶ πάλιν λέγει αὐτῇ· Εἶπέ αὐτῇ (sic) ὅτι ὁ θεὸς με ἀπέστειλε συντυχεῖν σοι. This insertion is from B, and from this point to the end 33 is largely interpolated from a B ms. 15—8 (p. 115) ἀπεκρίνατο.....ἐκδυσασμένη] VC: ἢ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἴδου τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἔχω ἐγκεκλεισμένη καὶ μηδενὶ συντυχοῦσα· ἐὰν οὖν ἐξέλθω σκανδαλίξω πολλούς. λέγει αὐτῇ ἐκείνος· Καί σοι τί

P(W)TAVC[33]ls

1 *iāto* W; *iātai* VC *συντυχῶν* T; *ἐπιτ.* VC *ὠφελῆθεις*] PTA33; *οικοδομηθεις* VCB(1s) *παρ'* ἀπ' A 2 *ἐν τε ἤθει*] *ἐν τῇ θείᾳ* (om *καὶ*) VC *γνώσει*] + *καὶ λόγῳ* B_s (before *γν.*) *μαθῶν*] + *τε* P; *οὖν* VC; *καὶ* (before *μαθ.*) A; *txt* WT 3 *παρ'* ἀπ' A *ἄλλος εἶη*] PT; *εἶη ἄλλος* VC(B); *om ἄλλος* A *εἶη*] + *ἐκεῖ* B1s 4 *παρθ.* τινὸς VC *παρθ.*] + *ὄσιας* A *ἥτις οὐδενὶ συνετύγχανε*] P; *ἥτις* (ὡς VCB) *εἶη* (+ *ἐγκατακεκλεισμένη ἐν κέλλῃ μηδέποτε* B1) *μηδενὶ συντυγχάουσα* TVCB1; *μηδενὶ συντυγχανούσης* A 5 *μαθῶν δὲ* A; *μ. οὖν* TVCB *ποῦ μένει*] P_s; *αὐτῆς τὸν οἶκον* TAVC (*ταύτης* VC) B1 *ὑπηρετούμενη* WB *αὐτῆς* A *γραῖδι*] + *οὖση* A: + *uade* 1s 6 *εἶπέ* PA (*txt* W) ὁ] om WVC ὁ γὰρ θεὸς A 7 *ἀπέστειλε*] + *πρὸς σε* B (1 *ad colloquium*) *δύο ἡμέρας ἢ* (+ *καὶ* VC) *τρεῖς* TVC *δύο ἢ*] om B33 *ἢ τρεῖς*] om s 8 *καὶ*] om T 9 *λέγει αὐτῇ*] om P; ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτῇ VC 11 *ἀπέθανον*] + *τῷ κόσμῳ* B (1 *cass* 143 and *rev.*, om *sess* and *cass* 348) *γὰρ*] + *τῇ* VCB *τις*] om VCB 12 *ὀδεύσῃ*] + *πρὸς τὸν θεόν* B1 *λέγει αὐτῇ*] om P *λέγει*] + *οὖν* VC 12, 13 *οὐκοῦν.....ὃ ποιῶ*] om VC and substitute similar passage: *οὐκοῦν..... ἀπέθανες* (5-7, p. 115) 13 δ] ἀ P (*txt* W) *δυνατά.....ποιῶ*] *εἰ τι ἐπιτάξεις μοι ποιῆσαι* *ἔχω* VC 14 *ἀπεκρίνατο*] PTB; *ἀποκρίνεται* VC; *λέγει* A: + *λέγει* P *αὐτῇ*] + *τῷ* VC π. *ἐστὶ* *δυν.*] WAVC; π. *δυν. ἐστὶ* P; *δυν. ἐστὶ* π. B; π. *δυν.* (om *ἐστὶ*) T 15 *ἀσκήσαι* (sic) T *ἐξέλθε*] P^{rev}; *ἐξελθοῦσα* (om *καὶ*) VC; *κάτελθε* TAB(s); om 1 *πρόελθε*] + *καὶ κοινωνήσῃς μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* VC 15-8 (p. 115) ἀπεκρίνατο.....ἐκδυσασμένη] (VO rewrite, see above)

αὐτῷ ἐκείνη· Εἰκοστὸν πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχω καὶ οὐ προήλθον· καὶ
 ἵνα τί προέλθω ; λέγει αὐτῇ· Εἰ ἀπέθανες τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ σοὶ
 ὁ κόσμος, ταυτόν σοί ἐστι καὶ προελθεῖν καὶ μὴ προελθεῖν·
 προέλθε οὖν. προήλθε· καὶ μετὰ τὸ προελθεῖν αὐτὴν ἔξω καὶ
 ἐλθεῖν ἕως ἐκκλησίας τινὸς λέγει αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· Οὐκοῦν 5
 εἰ θέλεις με πληροφορηῆσαι ὅτι ἀπέθανες καὶ οὐκέτι ζῆς ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ἀρέσκουσα, ποίησον ὃ ποιῶ, καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἀπέθανες·
 ἐκδυσσαμένη κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα σου τὰ ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων
 θές καὶ πάρελθε μέσην τὴν πόλιν ἐμοῦ προλαμβάνοντος τῷ
 σχήματι τούτῳ. λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκείνη· Σκανδαλίζω πολλοὺς 10
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἀσχήμῳ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ἔχουσι λέγειν ὅτι Ἐξέστη
 καὶ δαιμονιώσά ἐστιν. ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῇ· Καὶ σοὶ τί μέλει ἐὰν
 εἴπωσιν ὅτι Ἐξέστη καὶ δαιμονιώσά ἐστι ; σὺ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπέ-
 θανες. τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκείνη· Εἴ τι ἄλλο θέλεις | ποιῶ· εἰς
 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ μέτρον οὐδὲ εὐχομαι ἐλθεῖν. τότε λέγει αὐτῇ· 15
 Ἴδε οὖν μηκέτι μέγα φρόνει ἐπὶ σεαυτῇ ὡς πάντων εὐλαβεστέρα
 καὶ ἀποθανοῦσα τῷ κόσμῳ· ἐγὼ γὰρ σου νεκρότερός εἰμι, καὶ
 ἔργῳ δείκνυμι ὅτι ἀπέθανον τῷ κόσμῳ· ἀπαθῶς γὰρ καὶ

μέλει, νεκρᾷ οὔσῃ ; ἡ δὲ ἐξῆλθε καὶ παραγέγονεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. ἀπελθὼν
 οὖν καὶ εὐρών αὐτὴν λέγει αὐτῇ· Ἐπληροφόρησάς με ἐν τούτῳ· ἔτι ἐν σοὶ ἔχω
 εἰπεῖν, ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσης τελείως με πέπεικας ὅτι ἀπέθανες μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ, ζῆς δὲ
 τῷ θεῷ καθὼς ἔφησ. ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἶπεν· Πάντα ποιήσω λοιπὸν καὶ ἐν
 οὐδενὶ αἰσχυνθήσομαι. ὃ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Ἐκδυσσαμένη κ.τ.λ.

(The words in spaced type suggest the influence of B.)

P(W)TAVC[33]ls

1 ἐκείνη] PBl; om TAs(VC) καί²] + νῦν Ps (B σήμερον) (txt W) 4 οὖν] + ἡ δὲ
 TAVCl; txt Ps: (B altered) μετὰ] + οὖν (om και) T; δὲ B ἔξω καὶ ἐλθεῖν]
 om A 4, 5 και²;.....τινός] om l 5 τινός] + ἀπελθὼν οὖν καὶ εὐρών αὐτὴν VC;
 ἐλθὼν ὁ μακάριος εἶπεν αὐτὴν B; (l vac, l^{ov} om) 5-7 οὐκοῦν.....ἀπέθανες] VC tr to
 12, 13 (p. 114) 6 θέλεις] + τελείως B(VC) 7 οἶδα] γνώσομαι VC δτι] + ἀληθῶς
 Bl ἀπέθανες] + λέγει αὐτῇ T 8 σου] om TAVC 9 θές before ἐπι P μέσον
 AVC; μὲν εἰς T 10 σκανδ.] + τοῦς P (txt W) 11 τοῦ πράγματος] PTB; τούτῳ
 πράγματι AVC 12 ἀπεκρίθη] P; ἀποκρίνεται TVCB (+ καὶ λέγει B); λέγει A
 τί σοὶ VC μέλλει (sic) PTA (txt W) 13 ὅτι Ἐξ. κ. δαιμ. ἐστὶ] τοῦτο B; om VC
 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῇ VC: + ὡς λέγεις VCB 14 τότε] + πίπτει αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς πόδας καὶ VC
 ἐκείνη] om VC: + ἔδομαί σου VCB] l^{ov} (l om εἴ τι.....ποιῶ) ποιῶ] εἰπέ A (κέλευσον
 καὶ ποιῶ B) 15 μέτρον] + ἀκμὴν TVCB: + οὐκ ἔφθασα PTVCB (ἦλθον); txt Wals
 οὐδὲ εὐχομαι ἐλθεῖν] PAlis; εὐχομαι δὲ φθάσαι TB (ἐλθεῖν); εὐχου μοι δὲ (om O) φθάσαι
 εἰς αὐτόν VC λέγει] + οὖν (om τότε) VC 16 ἴδε οὖν] om T ἀπάντων A
 εὐλαβεστέρα οὐσα πάντων P 18-1 (p. 116) ἀπαθῶς.....πρωῶ] om P (txt W)

ἀνεπαισχύντως τοῦτο ποιῶ. τότε καταλείψας αὐτὴν ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ κλάσας αὐτῆς τὸν τύφον ἀνεχώρησε.

Πολλὰ δέ ἐστι καὶ ἄλλα ἃ πεποιήκε θαυμαστὰ πράγματα τὰ συντείνοντα εἰς ἀπάθειαν. οὗτος τελευτᾷ ἑξηκοστὸν ἄγων 5 ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταφείσ.

(XXXVIII) Τὰ κατὰ Εὐάγριον τὸν αἰόδιμον διάκονον, ἄνδρα βεβιωκότα κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, οὐ δίκαιον ἠσυχάσαι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα γραφῇ παραδοῦναι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ δόξαν τῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἄξιον 10 ἡγήσάμενος ἄνωθεν ἐκτιθέναι, πῶς τε ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπόν, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐξασκήσας ἀξίως τελευτᾷ πεντήκοντα τεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἐπλήρωσεν ἔτη πολλά.

Οὗτος τῷ μὲν γένει ἦν Ποντικός πόλεως Ἰβωρῶν, υἱὸς χωρεπισκόπου ἀναγνώστης κεχειροτόνηται παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Καισαρέων. μετὰ οὖν τὸν θάνατον

6 On Evagrius and on the genuineness of this chapter see Note 70. On s,s,s,c arm see Note 71. This is one of the chapters edited by Preuschen *Pall. u. Ruf.* 105—14; 1 is printed in *Bibl. Casin. III. Florileg.* 313.

12 Sap. iv. 13. 14 On Iboras see Note 72. Soz. vi. 30 (8) Ἐγένετο δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Ἰβήρων πολίτης πρὸς τῷ καλουμένῳ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ.

P(W)TAVC[33]s

3 ἐστι] om VCB

θαυμ. ἃ πεπ. (om πράγμ.) T

θαυμ. πεπ. (om ἃ) VC

4 τὰ] PB; om TAVC

οὕτως T

τελευτᾷ] W breaks off here

ἔτος ἄγων A

5 Ῥώμῃ] PTAVC33s;

ἐρήμῳ B1 (arm and Syriac *Vita Serap.*). See Note 69.

XXXVIII (Περὶ Εὐάγριου): TVCl₂os₂ arm

6-13 τὰ κατὰ.....πολλά] for c see *Prol.* 116, and for arm Preuschen *loc. cit.*
 7 ἄνδρα.....ἀποστόλους] om l₂ 9 τῆς ἀγαθότητος] om l₂os₂ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν] T
 (om ἡμῶν] Bll₂; θεοῦ VC₂; 'God our Saviour' c 10 ἐκτιθέναι] TB†; ἐκτείναι
 VC: (B† emend grammar by writing ἐκτιθεμαι) 11 ἐαυτὸν VC 12 ἐρήμῳ]+ἐν
 τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ VC κατὰ.....πολλά] om l₂s₂ γεγραμμένον]+ὡς VC
 14 οὗτος.....χωρεπισκόπου] om l₂ τῷ μὲν γένει] TB† Soz; τὸ μὲν γένος VCB†
 ἦν before τ. μὲν γεν. VC Πόντιος VCB† Ἰβωρῶν] T ven VCB1; Ἰβήρων Δ^BSoz
 c arm; (om s₂, vac l₂) χωρεπισκόπου] VCl (filius presbyteri multarum ecclesi-
 arum curam gerentis quos periodentas uocant) s₂ (periodenta <ⲓⲟⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ>); πρεσ-
 βυτέρου TBo arm; (l₂ vac): + ἀνδρὸς εὐγενεοῦς τῶν πρώτων τῆς πόλεως VC (arm)
 15 ἀναγν.] + δὲ VC 16-1 (p. 117) τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.....Βασιλείου] om T ven
 τῆς ἐκκλησίας.....Βασιλείου] om l₂ 16 Καισαρέων]+τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀργεῖα (al.
 Ἀργυῖαν, Ἀργεῶ) B1 (circa fines montis Argelici) c ('among the Arkeans,' see *Prol.*
 118); txt VC₂arm: (Tl₂ vac) τὸν θάνατον] VC; τὴν κοίτην B

τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου προσχὼν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπιτηδειότητι ὁ σοφώ-
 τatos καὶ ἀπαθέστατος καὶ παιδεία διαλάμπων Γρηγόριος ὁ
 Ναζιανζηνὸς ἐπίσκοπος προχειρίζεται διάκονον. ἐκεῖθεν ἐν τῇ
 μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν καταλιμπάνει
 αὐτὸν τῷ μακαρίῳ Νεκταρίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ διαλεκτικώτατος 5
 ὄντα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων. ἤνθει δὲ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει
 λόγοις νεανειούμενος κατὰ πάσης αἱρέσεως. συνέβη οὖν τούτου
 σφοδρῶς παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως τιμώμενον, εἰδῶλφ περι-
 παγήναι γυναικικῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγῆσατο. ὕστερον
 ἐλευθερωθεὶς τὸ φρονοῦν, ἀντηράσθη τούτου πάλιν τὸ γύναιον 10
 ἦν δὲ τῶν μεγιστάνων. ὁ οὖν Εὐάγριος τὸν θεὸν φοβούμενος
 καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ αἰδούμενος συνειδός, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θέμενος
 τὸ μέγεθος τῆς αἰσχημοσύνης καὶ τὸ ἐπιχαιρεσικάκον τῶν
 αἱρέσεων, ηὔξατο τὸν θεὸν ἰκετεύων ὅπως παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐμποδισθῆ.
 τῆς οὖν γυναικὸς ἐπικειμένης καὶ λυττώσης θέλων ἀναχωρῆσαι 15
 οὐκ ἴσχυε, δεσμοῖς τῆς θεραπείας ταύτης κατεχόμενος. μετ' οὐ

2 See Note 73. 2—4 Soz. (8) Ἐφίλοσόφησε δὲ καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη ὑπὸ
 Γρηγορίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ναζιανζοῦ τοὺς ἱεροὺς λόγους· ἠνίκα δὲ ἐπετρόπευε τὴν
 ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησίαν, ἀρχιδιάκονον αὐτὸν εἶχεν. 6—9 (p. 119)
 (9) Ἀστέιον δὲ ὄντα τῇ ὄψει καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα φιλόκαλον (cf. inf. p. 119,
 l. 14), μαθὼν τις τῶν ἐν τέλει ζηλότυπος γνώριμον εἶναι τῇ γαμετῇ, θάνατον

TVCll₂cs₂ arm

3 Ναζιανζηνός] T ven VCll₂cs₂ arm; Νυσαεὺς or Νύσσης Βε₂ (+ ἐπίσκοπος ἀδελφὸς
 τοῦ ἐν τιμῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων Βασ. τοῦ ἐπισκόπου) (cf. Note 73) διάκονον] 'chief of
 the deacons' arm (Soz) ἐκεῖθεν] + ἐλθὼν ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος Β1: 'he went
 up with holy G. to the synod' s₂(c): (VC put stop at Κωνστ. not at διάκονον): txt Tl₂
 4 καταλ.] + δὲ VC 5 τῷ ἐπ.] om T 6 κατὰ π. τῶν αἱρ.] om s₂ arm 6, 7 ἤνθει
αἱρέσεως] om VCs₂ 6 δὲ] T; γοῦν al οὖν B πόλει] + ἐν T 7 κατὰ πάσης
 αἱρέσεως] om l₂ οὖν] δὲ VC 9, 10 ὡς.....ἀντηράσθη] The punctuation is un-
 certain: that of VC arm s₂ (but s₂ om ὕστερον) is adopted, VC however add δὲ after
 ὕστερον; Tll₂ (but l₂ om ἐλευθ. τὸ φ.) put the stop after ὕστερον; Bc place it after
 φρονοῦν 9 διηγείτο] TB† 10 τὸ φρονοῦν] VCH†; τοῦ φρονήματος T; τοῦ φόνου
 B†; (a similar use of τὸ φρονοῦν occurs in W at end of c. LVIII) τούτου after
 γίν. T 11 ἦν δὲ τῶν μεγ.] VCs₂; ἦν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῶν μεγ. B; ἦν δὲ εἰς τῶν μεγ. ὁ
 ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς T: + uiri coniux ll₂(c) 12 θέμ.] θεώμενος VC 13 ἐπιχαιρεσικάκον]
 VC; ἐπιχαιρέκακον TB 14 παρ' αὐτοῦ] TBVC (om αὐτοῦ C); om l₂s₂: + τοῦ θεοῦ VC
 ἐμποδισθῆ] VC; ἐμποδισθῆναι (om ὅπως) TB 14, 15 VClo punctuate as txt; Tl₂s₂
 after λυττώσης; also B, but passage is rewritten and enlarged; arm recasts
 15 οἶν] om TBl₂s₂ arm ἐπικειμένης] ἐπιμωυμένης VC λυττώσης] + ἦς T
 (αὐτῆς B) 16 ἴσχυσε C ταύτην (sic) T

πολὺ δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ προκοφάσης πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος
 πείρας, ἐπέστη αὐτῷ ἀγγελικὴ ὄπτασις ἐν σχήματι | στρατιωτῶν
 τοῦ ὑπάρχου, καὶ ἀρπάζει αὐτὸν καὶ ἄγει ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ
 βάλλει αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην κουστωδιάν, κλοιοῖς σιδηροῖς
 5 καὶ ἀλύσειν ἀνχένα καὶ χεῖρας καταδησάντων, τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 ἐλθόντων δῆθεν τὴν αἰτίαν οὐ λεγόντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ συνειδήσει
 ᾗδει ὅτι χάριν ταύτης ὑφίσταται ταῦτα, προσδοκήσας τὸν ἄνδρα
 αὐτῆς ἐντετυχηκένας. ἐν τῷ οὖν λίαν αὐτὸν ἀγωνιᾷν ἀλλης
 δίκης πραττομένης καὶ βασανιζομένων ἐτέρων ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι,
 10 ἔμεινε σφόδρα ἀγωνιῶν. μετασχηματίζεται δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ τὴν
 ὄπτασιαν παρασχῶν εἰς παρουσίαν γνησίου φίλου, καὶ λέγει
 αὐτῷ δεδεμένῳ μεταξὺ σειρᾶς τεσσαράκοντα καταδίκων· Τίνας
 ἔνεκεν κατέχη ἐνταῦθα, κύρι διάκουε; λέγει αὐτῷ· Κατὰ μὲν
 ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, ὑπόνοια δέ με ἔχει ὅτι ὁ δεῖνα ὁ ἀπὸ
 15 ὑπάρχων ἐνέτυχεν κατ' ἐμοῦ ἀλόγῳ ζηλοτυπία πληγείς· καὶ
 δέδοικα μήποτε χρήμασιν ὁ ἄρχων διαφθαρεῖς τιμωρία με ὑπο-
 βάλλῃ. λέγει αὐτῷ· Εἰ ἀκούεις τοῦ φίλου σου, οὐ συμφέρει
 σοι ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ διάγειν. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐάγριος· Ἐὰν
 ὁ θεὸς με ταύτης τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ ἴδῃς με ἐν
 20 Κωνσταντινουπόλει, γινώθι ὅτι εὐλόγως ὑφίσταμαι ταύτην τὴν
 τιμωρίαν. λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος· Φέρω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁμοσὸν

αὐτῷ ἐμχανάτο· εἰς ἔργον δὲ προβήσεσθαι μελλούσης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καθεύδοντι
 αὐτῷ φοβερὰν τινα καὶ σωτήριον ὄνειρατος ὄψιν ἐπιπέμπει τὸ θεῖον· ἔδοξε γὰρ
 ὡς ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι συλληφθεῖς, σιδήρῳ δεδέσθαι πόδας καὶ χεῖρας. (10) μέλ-
 λοντί τε αὐτῷ εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγεσθαι καὶ τιμωρίαν ὑπέχειν προσελθὼν τις
 ὑπέδειξε τὴν ἱερὰν τῶν εὐαγγελίων βίβλον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐξέλθοι, τῶν δεσμῶν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξαι, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο ποιήσει ὄρκον ἀπῆτει.

TVCl₂cs₂ arm

1 δὲ] γοῦν VC 2 στρατιωτῶν] VCBtlc; στρατιώτου TBtl₂s₂ 3 ἐπάρχου B† (c)
 ἄγει] + αὐτὸν VC 4 ὡς] om VCl₂ 5 δῆθεν] δῆ (sic), om τὴν αἰτίαν.....ὅτι T
 7 τῆς χάριν (om ταύτης) T 7, 8 προσδ.....ἐντετυχ.] om s₂ 7 τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς]
 T(B)ll₂c; αὐτῆς τῷ ἀνδρὶ VC 8 ἐντετυχ.] + τῷ δικαστῇ Blc 9 εἰσπραττομένης T
 ἐπὶ] + τοιοῦτῳ B(s₂) 10 ἔμεινε T 10 ὅ] om T 11 παρασχῶν] + αὐτῷ VC
 φίλου] ἀδελφοῦ T: + πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν ἤκουτος πρὸς αὐτὸν B (c 'who had come to visit
 and comfort him') 12 μεταξύ δεδ. T 12, 13 καταδίκων.....κατὰ
 μὲν] om T 12 τί οὕτως (om ἐνταῦθα) Bl 13 αὐτῷ] + ἐκεῖνος B(l₂s₂); Eusagrius l₂
 16 χρήμασιν ὁ ἄρχ.] TV; ὁ ἄρχ. χρ. CB φθαρεῖς T 16 τιμ. με ὑποβάλλῃ] TB
 (περιβ. B†) (Soz) ll₂; τιμωρήσεται με VC: + μεγίστη B (l₂s₂ mortis) 17 ἀκούεις] + μου
 Tl₂c 18 λέγει] om T 18 ὅ] om VC 19 με ταύτης τῆς συμφ. ἀπ.] TB; με ἀπ.
 τῆς συμφ. ταύτης VC 20 τὴν τιμ. ταύτην] VC 21 αὐτῷ] + πάλιν VC (l tune)
 ἐκεῖνος] + ei οὕτως ἔχει B arm 21 φέρω τὸ εὐαγγ.] om s₂

μοι ἐν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀναχωρεῖς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ φροντίζεις σου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἀπαλλάττω σε τῆς ἀνάγκης ταύτης. ἤνεγκεν οὖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὅτι Παρεκτός μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἵνα φθάσω ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον τὰ ἱμάτιά μου, οὐ μὴ παραμείνω. τοῦ ὄρκου οὖν προχωρήσαντος 5 ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκστάσεως τῆς γενομένης αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ νυκτί· καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐλογίσαστο ὅτι Εἰ καὶ ἐν ἐκστάσει γέγονεν ὁ ὄρκος ἀλλ' ὅμως ὤμοσα. βαλὼν οὖν πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλοῖον ἔρχεται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

Κακεῖ δεξιούται παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας Μελανίας τῆς Ῥωμαίας. 10 πάλιν δὲ τοῦ διαβόλου σκληρύναντος αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν καθάπερ τοῦ Φαραώ, ὡς νέφ καὶ σφριγῶντι τὴν ἡλικίαν γέγονεν ἐνδυσασμός τις καὶ ἐδιψύχησε μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκώς, κακείσε πάλιν ἐξαλλάσσων τοῖς ἱματίοις καὶ ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ἐκάρου αὐτὸν ἢ κενοδοξία. ὁ δὲ ἐμποδιστῆς τῆς πάντων ἡμῶν ἀπωλείας θεὸς 15 ἐέβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς περίστασιν πυρετοῦ, κακείθεν εἰς νόσον μακρὰν ἐξαμηνιαίῳ χρόνῳ ταριχεύσας αὐτοῦ τὸ σαρκίον, δι' οὐ ἐνεποδίζετο. τῶν ἰατρῶν δὲ ἀπορούντων καὶ τρόπον θεραπείας μὴ εὐρισκόντων, λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ μακαρία Μελανία· Οὐκ ἀρέσκει μοι, υἱέ, ἢ σὴ μακρονοσία. εἰπέ οὖν μοι τὰ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. 20 οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἀθεῖς σου ἢ νόσος αὐτῆ. τότε ὠμολόγησεν αὐτῇ

(11) ὁ δὲ τῆς βίβλου ἐφαψάμενος, ἢ μὴν ἄθε πρᾶξεν ἐπωμόαστο· διαφεθεῖς τε τῶν δεσμῶν, αὐτίκα ἐξηγέρθη· καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὄνειρῳ πεισθεῖς διέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον.

TVCll,cs_a arm

1 ἐν αὐτῷ] om T₈₀ ἀναχωρεῖ T φροντίζει T 2 ταύτης] om T 5 οὖν ὄρκ. VC προχωρήσαντος] γενομένου VC: + ἀπεχώρησεν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ εὐθέως καὶ αὐτὸς VC: + εὐθέως c arm Soz (cf. VC) 6 τῆς γεν.....νυκτί] om T_{8a} 7 ἐλογίστο] VC 8 ἅπαντα T τὰ αὐτοῦ] T (B ἄ εἶχεν) l₂(l_{8a}); om VC εἰς]+ τὸ VC 10 κακεῖ]+ δὲ V; κακεῖσαι (sic) C; om l₂₀ Μελανίας] TB†ll₂s_a (arm); Μελάνης VCβt 11 δέ] TB†; οὖν VC καθάπερ τοῦ Φ.] om l₂ 12, 13 καὶ σφριγῶντι.....ἐδιψύχησε] om l₂ (s_a paraphr.) 12 τῇ ἡλικίᾳ T γέγονεν]+ πάλιν B1 ἐνδοιαμὸς VCβ† 13 μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκώς] om l₂₀ arm (s_a) οὐδενὶ T μηδέν] om T 14 ἐκάρου αὐτὸν ἢ κεν.] VCβ†; ἐκάρουτο κενοδοξία Tl₂; καρούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς κεν. B† 15 τῆς]+ τῶν VC ἀπωλείας]+ καὶ προνοητῆς τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν VC 17 ταριχεύσας αὐτοῦ τὸ σ.] om s_a ταριχεύουσαν T δι' οὐ ἐνεποδ.] om l₂₀s_a arm 18 ἐνεποδίζετο] TB†; + εἰς ἀρετὴν B (VC: δι' οὐ ἐνεποδίζετο μὴ δυνάμενος σωφρονεῖν. τοῦ οὖν δεσπότης θεοῦ οὕτως τάχα προορίσαντος, καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν τάχα κατὰ πρόνοιαν τοῦ κρείττονος ἀπορούντων κ.τ.λ.) ἀπορούντων καὶ] om s_a 19 οὐχ VC ἀγία T Μελάνη VC 20 τὰ]+ arcana l_{8a} 21 ἀθεῖς] T; ἀθεῖα B; θεοῦ ἄνευ VC σου after νόσος VC τότε] VCll₂₀ (B οὖν); ὁ δὲ T_{8a} αὐτῇ ὠμ. VC

πολὺ δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ προκοφάσης πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος
 πείρας, ἐπέστη αὐτῷ ἀγγελικὴ ὄπτασία ἐν σχήματι | στρατιωτῶν
 τοῦ ὑπάρχου, καὶ ἀρπάζει αὐτὸν καὶ ἄγει ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ
 βάλλει αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην κουστωδιαν, κλοιοῖς σιδηροῖς
 5 καὶ ἀλύσεσιν αὐχένα καὶ χεῖρας καταδησάντων, τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 ἐλθόντων δῆθεν τὴν αἰτίαν οὐ λεγόντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ συνειδήσει
 ᾗδει ὅτι χάριν ταύτης ὑφίσταται ταῦτα, προσδοκήσας τὸν ἄνδρα
 αὐτῆς ἐντετυχηκέαι. ἐν τῷ οὖν λίαν αὐτὸν ἀγωνιᾷν ἄλλης
 δίκης πραττομένης καὶ βασανιζομένων ἐτέρων ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι,
 10 ἔμεινε σφόδρα ἀγωνιῶν. μετασχηματίζεται δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ τὴν
 ὄπτασίαν παρασχὼν εἰς παρουσίαν γνησίου φίλου, καὶ λέγει
 αὐτῷ δεδεμένῳ μεταξὺ σειρᾶς τεσσαράκοντα καταδίκων· Τίτος
 ἔνεκεν κατέχη ἐνταῦθα, κύρι διάκονε; λέγει αὐτῷ· Κατὰ μὲν
 ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, ὑπόνοια δέ με ἔχει ὅτι ὁ δεῖνα ὁ ἀπὸ
 15 ὑπάρχων ἐνέτυχε κατ' ἐμοῦ ἀλόγῳ ζηλοτυπία πληγείς· καὶ
 δέδοικα μήποτε χρήμασιν ὁ ἄρχων διαφθαρῆς τιμωρία με ὑπο-
 βάλλῃ. λέγει αὐτῷ· Εἰ ἀκούεις τοῦ φίλου σου, οὐ συμφέρει
 σοι ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ διάγειν. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐάγριος· Ἐὰν
 ὁ θεὸς με ταύτης τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ ἴδῃς με ἐν
 20 Κωνσταντινουπόλει, γινώθι ὅτι εὐλόγως ὑφίσταμαι ταύτην τὴν
 τιμωρίαν. λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος· Φέρω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁμοσὸν

αὐτῷ ἐμχανάτο· εἰς ἔργον δὲ προβήσεσθαι μελλούσης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καθεύδοντι
 αὐτῷ φοβερὰν τινα καὶ σωτήριον ὄνειρατος ὄψιν ἐπιπέμπει τὸ θεῖον· ἔδοξε γὰρ
 ὡς ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι συλληφθεῖς, σιδήρῳ δεδέσθαι πόδας καὶ χεῖρας. (10) μελ-
 λοντί τε αὐτῷ εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγεσθαι καὶ τιμωρίαν ὑπέχειν προσελθὼν τις
 ὑπέδειξε τὴν ἱερὰν τῶν εὐαγγελίων βίβλον, καὶ ὑπισχνέιτο, εἰ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐξέλθοι, τῶν δεσμῶν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξαι, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο ποιήσει ὄρκον ἀπῆται.

TVC11₂cs₂ arm

1 δὲ] γοῦν VC 2 στρατιωτῶν] VCB11c; στρατιώτου TB1₂s₂ 3 ἐπάρχου B1 (c)
 ἀγει] + αὐτὸν VC 4 ὡς] om VCl₂ 5 δῆθεν] δῆ (sic), om τὴν αἰτίαν.....στι T
 7 τῆς χάριν (om ταύτης) T 7, 8 προσδ.....ἐντετυχ.] om s₂ 7 τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς]
 T(B)11₂c; αὐτῆς τῷ ἀνδρὶ VC 8 ἐντετυχ.] + τῷ δικαστῇ B1c 9 εἰςπραττομένης T
 ἐπὶ] + τοιοῦτῳ B(s₂) 10 ἔμεινε T 10 δῶ] om T 11 παρασχὼν] + αὐτῷ VC
 φίλου] ἀδελφοῦ T: + πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν ἤκουτος πρὸς αὐτὸν B (c 'who had come to visit
 and comfort him') 12 μεταξὺ δεδ. T 12, 13 καταδίκων.....κατὰ
 μὲν] om T 12 τί οὕτως (om ἐνταῦθα) B1 13 αὐτῷ] + ἐκεῖνος B(1s₂); Eusagrius 1₂
 16 χρήμασιν ὁ ἄρχ.] TV; ὁ ἄρχ. χρ. CB 16 φθαρεῖς T 16 τιμ. με ὑποβάλλῃ] TB
 (περιβ. B1) (Soz) 11₂; τιμωρήσεται με VC: + μεγίστη B (1s₂ mortis) 17 ἀκούεις] + μου
 T1₂c 18 λέγει] om T 18 δῶ] om VC 19 με ταύτης τῆς συμφ. ἀπ.] TB; με ἀπ.
 τῆς συμφ. ταύτης VC 20 τὴν τιμ. ταύτην] VC 21 αὐτῷ] + πάλιν VC (1 tunc)
 ἐκεῖνος] + εἰ οὕτως ἔχει B arm 21 φέρω τὸ εὐαγγ.] om s₂

μοι ἐν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀναχωρεῖς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ φροντίζεις σου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἀπαλλάττω σε τῆς ἀνάγκης ταύτης. ἤνεγκεν οὖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ᾤμωσεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὅτι Παρεκτός μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἵνα φθάσω ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον τὰ ἱμάτιά μου, οὐ μὴ παραμείνω. τοῦ ὄρκου οὖν προχωρήσαντος 5 ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκστάσεως τῆς γενομένης αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ νυκτί· καὶ ἀναστάς ἐλογίσαστο ὅτι Εἰ καὶ ἐν ἐκστάσει γέγονεν ὁ ὄρκος ἀλλ' ὁμως ᾤμωσα. βαλὼν οὖν πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλοῖον ἔρχεται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

Κάκει δεξιούται παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας Μελανίας τῆς Ῥωμαίας. 10 πάλιν δὲ τοῦ διαβόλου σκληρύναντος αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν καθάπερ τοῦ Φαραώ, ὡς νέφ καὶ σφριγῶντι τὴν ἡλικίαν γέγονεν ἐνδυσασμός τις καὶ ἐδιψύχησε μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκώς, κάκεισε πάλιν ἐξαλλάσσων τοῖς ἱματίοις καὶ ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ἐκάρου αὐτὸν ἢ κενοδοξία. ὁ δὲ ἐμποδιστῆς τῆς πάντων ἡμῶν ἀπωλείας θεὸς 15 ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς περίστασιν πυρετοῦ, κάκειθεν εἰς νόσον μακρὰν ἐξαμηνιαίῳ χρόνῳ ταριχεύσας αὐτοῦ τὸ σαρκίον, δι' οὗ ἐνεποδίζετο. τῶν ἰατρῶν δὲ ἀπορούντων καὶ τρόπον θεραπείας μὴ εὐρισκόντων, λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ μακαρία Μελανία· Οὐκ ἀρέσκει μοι, υἱέ, ἢ σὴ μακρονοσία. εἶπε οὖν μοι τὰ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. 20 οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἀθείης σου ἢ νόσος αὕτη. τότε ὠμολόγησεν αὕτῃ

(11) ὁ δὲ τῆς βίβλου ἐφαψάμενος, ἢ μὴν ᾤδε πράξειν ἐπωμόσατο· διαφεθείς τε τῶν δεσμῶν, αὐτίκα ἐξηγέρθη· καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὄνειρῳ πεισθεὶς διέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον.

TVCl₂os₂ arm

1 ἐν αὐτῷ] om T₂c ἀναχωρεῖ T φροντίζει T 2 ταύτης] om T 5 οὖν ὄρκ. VC προχωρήσαντος] γενομένου VC: + ἀπεχώρησεν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ εὐθέως καὶ αὐτὸς VC: + εὐθέως c arm Soz (cf. VC) 6 τῆς γεν.....νυκτ[] om T₂a 7 ἐλογίσ[ετο] VC 8 ἅπαντα T τὰ αὐτοῦ] T (B ἄ εἶχεν) l₂(l₂a); om VC εἰς]+ τὸ VC 10 κάκει] + δέ V; κακεῖσαι (sic) C; om l₂c Μελανίας] TB†ll₂a₂ (arm); Μελάνης VCB†c 11 δέ] TB†; οὖν VC καθάπερ τοῦ Φ.] om l₂ 12, 13 καὶ σφριγῶντι.....ἐδιψύχησε] om l₂ (s₂ παραρηγ.) 12 τῇ ἡλικίᾳ T γέγονεν]+ πάλιν Bl ἐνδοιασμός VCB† 13 μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκώς] om l₂c arm (s₂) οὐδενὶ T μηδὲν] om T 14 ἐκάρου αὐτὸν ἢ κεν.] VCB†; ἐκαρούτο κενοδοξίᾳ Tl₂; καρούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς κεν. B† 15 τῆς] + τῶν VC ἀπωλείας]+ καὶ προνοητῆς τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν VC 17 ταριχεύσας αὐτοῦ τὸ σ.] om s₂ ταριχεύουσαν T δι' οὗ ἐνεποδ.] om l₂os₂ arm 18 ἐνεποδίζετο] TBl: + εἰς ἀρετὴν B (VC: δι' οὗ ἐνεποδίζετο μὴ δυνάμενος σωφρονεῖν. τοῦ οὖν δεσπότου θεοῦ οὕτως τάχα προορίσαντος, καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν τάχα κατὰ πρόνοιαν τοῦ κρείττονος ἀπορούντων κ.τ.λ.) ἀπορούντων καὶ] om s₂ 19 οὐχ VC ἄγια T Μελάνη VC 20 τὰ]+ arcana l₂a 21 ἀθείης] T; ἀθεία B; θεοῦ ἀνευ VC σου after νόσος VC τῷ] VCl₂c (B οὖν); ὁ δέ T₂a αὕτῃ ὡμ. VC

τὸ πρᾶγμα σύμπαυ. ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Δός μοι | λόγον ἐπὶ κυρίου, ὅτι ἔχη τοῦ σκοποῦ τοῦ μονήρους βίου· καὶ εἰ καὶ ἀμαρτωλὴ τυγχάνω, προσεύχομαι ἵνα δοθῇ σοι ἑκομιάτος ζωῆς.† ὁ δὲ συνέθετο. ἐντὸς οὖν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ὑγίαινε· καὶ ἀναστὰς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης μετημφιάσθη, καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἐκδημήσας εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.

Ἐν ᾧ οἰκήσας δεύτερον ἔτος τὸ τρίτον εἰσβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. ζήσας οὖν δεκατέσσαρα ἔτη ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Κελλίοις ἤσθιε μὲν λίτραν ἄρτου, ἐν τριμηναίῳ δὲ ξέστην ἐλαίου, ἀνήρ 10 ἀπὸ ἀβροτάτου καὶ τρυφηλοῦ βίου καὶ ὑγροτάτου ἡγμένους. ἐποίει δὲ εὐχὰς ἑκατόν, γράφων τοῦ ἔτους τὴν τιμὴν μόνου ὧν ἤσθιεν· εὐφῶς γὰρ ἔγραφε τὸν ὀξύρυγχον χαρακτῆρα. ἐντὸς οὖν δεκαπέντε ἐτῶν καθαρεύσας εἰς ἄκρον τὸν νοῦν κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος γνώσεως καὶ σοφίας καὶ διακρίσεως πνευμάτων.

2—8 Soz. (11) Eis noūn te labōn chr̄h̄nai metiēnai tōn askh̄tikōn biōn, ἐξεδήμησεν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον τιὰ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ θέαν τῶν ἐν Σκήτει φιλοσοφούντων, ἡσμένισε τὴν ἐνθάδε διατριβήν.

7—9 (p. 121) For the much fuller Coptic account see *Prol.* 143—45.

12 See Note 74.

TVCL₂os₂ arm

1 τὸ πρᾶγμα σύμπαυ] omnia quae in animo eius erant L₂c arm (echoes of τὰ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ σου above) σύμπαυ] om T ἡ δὲ] καὶ T 2 τοῦ σκοποῦ..... τυγχάνω] om T σκοποῦ]+σου VC (L₂ quam spropondisti) 3 προσεύχομαι]+ ὑπὲρ σοῦ VC₂; πρὸς κύριον B₁; deum lc: txt T κομιάτος ζωῆς] from B and l: καιρὸς κομιάτου (al καμάτου al μετανοίας) καὶ προθεσμία ζωῆς B; uiuendi commeatum l; uitae tempus L₂; καιρὸς T; ῥῶσις καὶ ὑγεία σώματος VC; 'release from thy affliction' s₂; 'health' c; 'time for repentance' arm ὁ δὲ] + εὐθέως VC 4 συνέθετο]+ ἡ δὲ ἀγία τοῦ θεοῦ δούλη οὐ διέλειπε προσευχομένη ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύουσα VC; εὐξαμένης δὲ αὐτῆς B ὑγίαινε VC παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης] om s₂c (arm) 6 ὄρος]+ τὸ T Αἰγύπτῳ] At this point c departs so widely from the Greek as to be almost worthless for textual purposes (cf *Prol.* 143—145) 7 εἰς ὃ T ἔτος τὸ τρίτ.] om T 9 μὲν] om T ἄρτου]+ τὴν ἡμέραν Bll₂s₂ τριμῆν] T ἐλαίου]+ nam nihil coctum sumebat in cibum nec aliquid de pomis gustabat L₂ (cf. c, at this exact point: 'Macarius replied that he should not eat vegetables or anything cooked,' *Prol.* 143) 10 ἀπὸ ἄκρου καὶ τρ. καὶ ἀγροτάτου βίου T 11 ἑκατόν]+ cotidie ll₂os₂ arm τοῦ ἔτους after ἤσθιεν VC 12 ὀξύρυγχον] B (δέξυριγχο B†); δέξυρογχο T ven; ὀξύριχο VC; (l oxyryncham cass 348, oxyrincom sess, ochirincom cass 143; L₂ librāle manu; s₂ 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩠𐩨 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩣𐩪; 'according to the likeness of oxunirika' arm; om s₂c) 13 εἰς ἄκρον] Tl(c); εἰς ἄπαν VC; om B₁s₂ τῷ rot T

συντάττει οὖν οὗτος τρία βιβλία ἱερά μοναχῶν ἀντιρρητικά οὐκ ὡς λεγόμενα, πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας ὑποτιθέμενος τέχνας. τούτῳ ὄχλησεν εἰς βάρος ὁ τῆς πορνείας δαίμων, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγείτο· καὶ διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς γυμνὸς ἔσθη ἐν τῷ φρέατι χειμῶνος ὄντος, ὡς καὶ παγῆναι αὐτοῦ τὰς σάρκας. ἄλλοτε ἔτι πάλιν ὄχλησεν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα βλασφημίας· καὶ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ὑπὸ στέγῃν οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγήσατο, ὡς καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καθάπερ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων κρότυνας ἐκβράσαι. τούτῳ τρεῖς ἐπέστησαν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δαίμονες ἐν σχήματι κληρικῶν περὶ πίστεως συζητοῦντες· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν ἰο εἰ αὐτὸν Ἀρειανόν, ὁ δὲ Εὐνομιανόν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολιναριανόν· καὶ

1, 2 τρία βιβλία.....τέχνας] 1: scripsit iste tres libros quos his uocabulis nominauit: unum ἱερα, alterum μοναχον, tertium ἀντιρρητικον (ἀντιρρητικον sess), artesque monstrauit quibus possent daemones subiugari fortiter.

1₂: de instructione sanctae monachorum conuersationis multa ex diuinis scripturis et nimis apta testimonia contra uitia et impugnationes daemonum immundorum.

c: 'he wrote three books of teaching, one about the monks of monasteries, and another about the monks who dwelt in the cells in his desert, and another about the priests of God, that they should cause them to watch in the holy place'.....(later) 'the book which he wrote concerning the contradictings of demons' (*Prol.* 144).

s₂: 'he composed three books teaching us the artifice of devils and the snares of thoughts (sl. the mind).'

arm: 'he composed three sacred books for (or of) solitaries, and against word-builders (rhetoricians?), and against the cleverness of demons' (*Prol.* 102—6).

On Evagrius' writings see Note 75.

9—1 (p. 122) For the longer form of this episode (Greek and Coptic) see *Prol.* 131—37.

TVCII₂os₂ arm

1 συντάττει οὖν] TB; συντάττων οὖν ven; καὶ συντάττει (om οὖν) VC(B^t) οὗτος] om TB^t τρία βιβλία ἱερά μοναχῶν ἀντιρρητικά] VCB (B^t ἀντιρρητικῶν and -κῶν); τρ. βιβλ. ἱερομοναχικά ἀντιρρητικά T (-χικαὶ sic) ven (ἀντιρ. sic Rosw.): for the versions see above 2 οὐκ] om T 3 καὶ] TVC1c; om B1₂s₂ 4 ἐν τῷ φρέατι] sub aere 1₂; 'in the desert' s₂ 5 ὡς] ὥστε T καὶ] om TB1₂ τὰς σ. αὐτοῦ παγ. VC 6 πάλιν] δὲ T ὄχλησεν.....καὶ] om T 7 ὡς].....διηγήσατο] om B1₂o ὡς καὶ] ὥστε T 8 ἀλόγων] T ven 1₂o arm; ἀγρίων VCB: (s₂ doubtful) 9 ἐπ'] + μὲ VC 10 περὶ] + τῆς T περὶ πίστεως] s₂ (add. 17166 f. 1) begins here; it is in places illegible συζητούτων VC 11 αὐτὸν VC

τούτων περιεγένετο τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ βραχέων λόγων. πάλιν
 μιᾷς τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς κλειδὸς ἀπολομένης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σφρα-
 γίσας τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἡλωταρίου καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ὥσας ἤνοιξεν,
 ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν Χριστόν. τοσαῦτα ἐμαστιγώθη οὗτος ὑπὸ
 5 δαιμόνων καὶ τοσαύτην ἔλαβε πείραν δαιμόνων ὧν ἀριθμὸς
 οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐνὶ δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητῶν τὰ μετὰ δεκαοκτῶ ἔτη
 συμβησόμενα αὐτῷ εἶπε, πάντα κατ' εἶδος προφητεύσας αὐτῷ.
 ἔλεγε δὲ ὅτι 'Αφ' οὐ κατέλαβον τὴν ἔρημον οὐ θριδακίου
 ἠψάμην, οὐχ ἑτέρου λαχάνου τινὸς χλωροῦ, οὐκ ὀπώρας, οὐ
 10 σταφυλῆς, οὐ κρεῶν, οὐ λουτροῦ. ἐς ὕστερον δὲ τῷ ἐξκαιδεκάτῳ
 ἔτει τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἄνευ ἐψήματος, χρεῖαν ἐχούσης αὐτοῦ
 τῆς σαρκὸς διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ στομάχου τοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν
 διὰ πυρός, ἄρτου μὲν ἤψατο οὐκέτι, λαχάνων δὲ μεταλαμβάνων
 ἢ πτισάνης ἢ ὀσπριδίων ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη, ἐν αὐτοῖς τελευτᾷ, κοινωήσας
 15 εἰς τὰ Ἐπιφάνια εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἀφηγεῖτο οὖν ἡμῖν' περὶ
 τὸν θάνατον ὅτι Τρίτον ἔτος ἔχω μὴ ὀχλούμενος ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας
 σαρκικῆς,—μετὰ τοσοῦτον βίον καὶ κόπον καὶ πόνου καὶ προσ-

15 See Appendix v ii.

TVCll₂ (4, 10—17) s_a (1—13) s_c arm

1 τῇ σοφίᾳ.....λόγων] TI (quos omnes sapienter ac breviter disserendo superavit);
 διὰ βραχέων τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος σοφίᾳ VC; διὰ βρ. τῇ πνευματικῇ σοφίᾳ B; διὰ
 βρ. πνεύματι σοφίας A^B: for the conclusion of this episode in l₂ and arm, see
Prolog. 102, 142 πάλιν] c breaks off at this point 1—4 πάλιν.....Χριστόν] om l₂
 2 μᾶ T ἀπολεσθείσης T 3 προσωπεῖον VC ἡλωταρίου (sic) VC καὶ τῇ χ.
 ὥσας] om s_c 4 Χριστόν] + 'without the key' s_c τοσαῦτα δὲ οὗτος VC
 5—10 καὶ τοσαύτην.....λουτροῦ] om l₂ 5 τοιαύτην T πείραν ἔλ. T ὧν] VCT;
 ὡς B1 6 δὲ] + πάλιν VC μαθ. αὐτοῦ T 7 πάντα..... αὐτῷ] om s_c ('by a
 prophecy that was verified in him' s_a) 8 θριδακίνης VC 9 οὐχ.....χλωροῦ] VC
 (χλωροῦ) arm (om ἑτέρου); οὐ λεπτολαχάνου χλωροῦ T; οὐ λεπτολαχάνου, οὐ χλωροῦ
 τινὸς B1; οὐ λαχ. τινὸς s_as_c ὀπ. and σταφ. interchanged l₂ arm 10 κρ. and
 λουτ. interchanged TB; s_a om both κρεῶν] + οὐ συκῶν VC; 'nor anything done
 at the fire' s_c: B adds: οὐκ ἄρτου, οὐκ οἴνου, οὐδ' ὅλων τινὸς τῶν διὰ πυρὸς διερχο-
 μένων (cf. s_c), πλὴν ῥητῶν λαχάνων ὠμῶν καὶ ἐμμέτρου ὕδατος; arm adds: 'I have not
 tasted bread or wine at all'; s_c adds: 'I have not drunk wine, but I have eaten
 bread by weight and drunk water by measure' ἐς] om T 11 αὐτοῦ ἔχ. VC
 12 τοῦ] om T μεταλαμβ.] + τὰ T 13 πυρός] all known copies of s_a break off
 here 13, 14 ἄρτου.....δύο ἔτη] TVCll₂s_c (so far as ms. is legible) arm ('bread or
 wine'); B has ἄρτου μὲν ἤψατο, οὐκέτι δὲ λαχάνων μετέλαβεν ἐψημένων, ἀλλ' ἢ
 πτισάνης ἢ ὀσπρίων ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη 13 μὲν] + οὐχ C οὐκέτι ἤψ. T 15 Θεοφάνεια T
 ἡμῶν] VCBs_a (l₂); 'to the brethren' arm; om TI: (l₂ referrebat autem nobis qui
 circa eum erant et obseruabant eum, quia ante unum diem mortis suae dixit): + ὁ
 γερναῖος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀθλητῆς B_a 16 ἐσοχλ. VC 17 interchange βίον and πόνου T

νοχὴν ἀδιάλειπτον. τούτῳ ἐμηνύθη ἢ τελευτὴ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀναγγεῖλαντι· Παῦσαι βλασφημῶν· ὁ γὰρ | ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἀθάνατός ἐστιν.

(XXXIX) Πίωρ τις Αἰγύπτιος νέος ἀποταξάμενος ἐξῆλθε τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρικοῦ, καὶ λόγον ἔδωκε τῷ θεῷ δι' ὑπερβολὴν 5 ἰήλου μηκέτι ἰδεῖν τινὰ τῶν ἰδίων. μετὰ οὖν πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἢ ἀδελφῆ τούτου γηράσασα καὶ ἀκούσασα ὅτι ζῆ, εἰς ἔκστασιν ἴλανεν ἐὰν μὴ αὐτὸν ἴδῃ. ἐλθεῖν δὲ μὴ δυναμένη ἐν τῇ πανεμήμῳ, ἰκέτευσε τὸν κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐπίσκοπον γράψαι τοῖς 10 γατράσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποστείλωσι καὶ ἴδῃ αὐτόν. ζίας οὖν αὐτῷ πολλῆς περιτεθείσης ἔδοξεν ἄλλον ἕνα παραλαβεῖν καὶ ὑπάγειν. καὶ ἐσήμανεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὅτι () ἀδελφός σου Πίωρ παρεγένετο. στὰς οὖν ἔξω καὶ τοῦ ψόφου τῆς θύρας αἰσθόμενος ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν ἢ γραῦς, καμ-

1—3 τούτῳ.....ἐστιν] cited by Socrates (iv. 23) from Evagrius' own work entitled Μοναχός: 'Ἐμηνύθη τινὶ τῶν μοναχῶν θάνατος τοῦ πατρὸς· ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὃν ἀναγγεῖλαντα· Παῦσαι, φησί, βλασφημῶν· ὁ γὰρ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἀθάνατός ἐστιν.

4 On Pior see Note 76.

4—13 (p. 124) Soz. vi. 29 (26) 'Ὁ δὲ Πίωρ ἐκ νέου φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκώς, ἠνίκα ἐὰν τοῦτο τοῦ πατρῶου οἴκου ἐξῆλθε, συνέθετο τῷ θεῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδένα τῶν ἰκίων ὄψεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἐπύθετο αὐτὸν ἢ ἀδελφῆ ζῆν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρᾶς ἀμέτρον τῆς παραλίγου μηνύσεως καταπλαγείσα ἡρεμῆν οὐκ ἠδύνατο εἰ μὴ εἰσάιτο τὸν ἀδελφόν. (27) ὀλοφυρομένην δὲ καὶ ἀντιβολούσαν ἐν γήρᾳ λήσας ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπος ἔγραψε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν ἐν ἐρήμῳ μοναχῶν ἐπέμψαι τὸν Πίωρ. ἀπιέναι δὲ προσταχθεὶς οὐκ ἔχων ἀντειπεῖν, οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἰγυπτίους μοναχοῖς, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀπειθεῖν τοῖς ἐπιτατομένοις, παραλαβὼν τινὰ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν πατρίδα· καὶ στὰς πρὸ τῆς πατρῶας οἰκίας ἐμῆνυσεν ἠηλυθέναι. (28) ἐπεὶ δὲ ψοφεῖν τὴν θύραν ἦσθετο, μύσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

TVCL₂c arm

1 τούτῳ] + τῷ ἀγίῳ B(κ_c) ἐμηνύθη T ἢ] om T 2 πατὴρ μου T ἐστιν] + ἔως ἐνταῦθα ὁ ἄκρος βλος τῆς ἐναρτέου πολιτείας τοῦ δαιδίου Εὐάγριου B

XXXIX (Περὶ Πίωρ): PTVC₁B₂

4 τις] + ὀνόματι B(κ₂) 7 ἢ δδ. τούτου] P; τ. ἢ δδ. T; ἢ τ. δδ. VC; τ. δδ. (om B 8 μὴ δυναμένη] after παν. C (in marg.) τῇ πανεμήμῳ] VCTB (TB¹ ἐρήμῳ); εἰς τὴν πανέρημον P: + ἔνθα κατῴκει VC τὸν²] om P 10 ἴνα] ὅπως VC αὐτόν²] + δ καὶ γέγονε· γραφείσης γὰρ τῆς ἱστολῆς καὶ (om οὖν) VC 11 πολλῆς] om T₂; after περιτεθ. VC περιτεθ.] νομένης T παραλαβεῖν καὶ ὑπάγειν] PC (om καὶ); παραλαβὼν ὑπάγει TVB πελθεῖν) 12 ἐν] PT; om VCB 13 παραγέγασε P στὰς οὖν ἔξω] P (Soz); ω οὖν στὰς VCT (δδ); καὶ ἔξω ἔστηκε (joined to preceding clause) B₁ 14 ὅτι] e VC συνάντησιν] + αὐτοῦ TB(1)

τλάτος· ἐν τούτῳ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐκχοῖσαντες ἄνδρες ὄγδοήκοντα
καὶ τὴν συνήθη καὶ ὑποπτον φλέβα παρελθόντες ὡς πῆχυν, οὐχ
ὑδρομεν ὕδωρ. πάνυ οὖν λυπηθέντες ἐσκεπτόμεθα ἀναχωρήσαι
τοῦ ἔργου· καὶ ἐπιστὰς ὁ Πίωρ ἐκ τῆς πανερήμου ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
ἔκτῃ τοῦ καύματος, γέρων περιβεβλημένος τὴν μηλωτήν, 5
ῥησάσατο ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγει μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμόν· Τί ἐμικροψυχή-
τατε, ὀλιγόπιστοι; ἑώρακα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν μικροψυχούντας.
καὶ κατελθὼν ἐν τῇ κλίμακι εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα τοῦ φρέατος ποιεῖ
ὑχὴν σὺν αὐτοῖς· καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ὄρυγα λέγει κατενεγκὼν
κρίτην πληγῆν· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἀγίων πατριαρχῶν, μὴ ἀχρει- 10
ώσης τὸν πόνον τῶν δούλων σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπόστειλον αὐτοῖς
τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων χρείαν. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐξεπήδησεν ὕδωρ ὡς
ἄαντισθῆναι ὄλους. πάλιν οὖν προσευξάμενος ὤχετο. ἀναγκα-
ζόντων οὖν αὐτὸν φαγεῖν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο εἰπών· Δι' ὃ ἀπεστάλην
ἡνύσθη· δι' ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἀπεστάλην. | 15

τοτε τὸ φρέαρ ὀρύσσοντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μωσέα, μήτε τῆς προσδοκωμένης φλεβὸς
ἴητε τινὸς βάθους τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναδιδόντος, μέλλειν τὸ ἔργον ἀπαγορεύειν· ἐπιστάντα
δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ μέσην ἡμέραν τὸν Πίωρ, καὶ πρότερον ἀσπασάμενον ὄνειδίσαι
ἰσοπιστίαν καὶ μικροψυχίαν· κατελθόντα δὲ εἰς τὴν τάφρον εὐξασθαι καὶ ὄρυγι
κρίτον πληξαι τὴν γῆν· παραχρῆμα δὲ ἀναβλύσαι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὴν τάφρον πλη-
ῶσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εὐξάμενος ἀπῆει, δεομένων τῶν ἀμφὶ Μωσέα γεύσασθαι παρ'
αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, φῆσας μὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπεστάλθαι, ἡνύσθαι δὲ ἐφ' ᾧ ἦλθεν.

15 ἀπεστάλην] VCB add: Ταῦτα τὰ παράδοξα [+θαύματα αἰ. πράγματα
Πίωρ B] τοῦ γενναίου στύλου τῆς ὑπομονῆς, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρετῆς
ἐντὶ τῆς [+ιδίας VC] πικρᾶς πηγῆς [+τῆς ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύοντος VC]
αἰῶνιον νᾶμα γλυκύτητος μετὰ μεγάλης πνευματικῆς χαρᾶς ἀπολαῶν διὰ παντός.
VC end here; what follows in these mss. is a B text.

PTVCl₂

2 παρελθ. φλ. T (φλέβαν) ὡσεὶ VC 3 εβραμεν T 4 καὶ P(B); om TVC
πιστὰς]+ δὲ TVC: + ἡμῖν B1 Soz (αὐτοῖς) δ]+ μακάριος B1 5 ἔκτῃ] ὄρυγ P
·ῆν] om T 6 καὶ ἀσπασάμενος VCB καὶ] om VCB εἶπεν T μετὰ τὸν
ἰσπ.] om T₂ ἀσπασμόν]+ πρὸς ἡμᾶς VCB(a₂) 7 ἀπεχθῆς VC; ἀπὸ τῆς χθῆς T
P(W)TVCl₂

W recommences here 7 μικροψυχούντας] PB; μικροψυχῆσαντας VCA^B; ὀλιγο-
μυχῆσαντας T 8 καὶ]+ τοῦτο εἰπών VCB κατῆλθε VCB ἐν] om VC διὰ
τῆς ἁλιμακος PT; txt W ποιεῖ] ποιήσας VC 9 ὄρυγα] WVCB Soz; ὄρυκτῆρα PT
καὶ κατ. τρ. πλ. εἶπεν PVCB; txt WT 10 ἀγίων] om T ἀχρειώσης]+ αὐτῶν
om τῶν δ. σοι] T₂ 11 πόνον] τόπον VC 12 τὴν after ὕδατων VC ὥστε T
[3 ὄλους] T₂ ('all of them'); τοὺς δ' ὄλους P; πάντας ἡμᾶς VCB; precantes I
ὤχετο]+ εἰς τὴν ἐρημον PT (txt W); ad propria I 13, 14 τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν παρα-
αλούντων αὐτὸν μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς εἶπε P 14 οἶν] δὲ T αὐτὸν] αὐτῶν C
φαγεῖν]+ ἐκεῖ VCB 15 ἐκεῖνο] τοῦτο TB†; ut cibum caperem I₂

(XL) Τὰ κατὰ Ἐφραὶμ τὸν διάκονον τῆς Ἐδεσηνῶν ἐκ-
 κλησίας πάντως ἀκήκοας· γέγονε γὰρ εἰς τῶν μνημονεύεσθαι
 ἀξίων παρὰ τῶν ὁσίων. οὗτος ἀξίως τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὁδὸν
 ἐξανύσας καὶ μὴ ἐκτραπείς τῆς εὐθείας κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος
 5 γνώσεως φυσικῆς, ἣν διαδέχεται θεολογία καὶ ἐσχάτη μακαριό-
 της. τὸν ἡσυχον οὖν αἰεὶ ἐξασκήσας βίον καὶ τοὺς παρατυ-
 χάνοντας οἰκοδομῶν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἱκανά, ἐς ὕστερον προῆλθε τῆς
 κέλλης ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε· λιμοῦ καταλαβόντος μεγάλου τὴν
 Ἐδεσηνῶν πόλιν κατοικτηρήσας πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγροικίαν δια-
 10 φθειρομένην προσῆλθε τοῖς ἀδροῖς ἐν ὕλῃ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς·
 Τίνος ἔνεκεν οὐκ ἐλεάτε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν διαφθειρομένην,
 ἀλλὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ὑμῶν σήπετε εἰς κατάκριμα τῶν ψυχῶν
 ὑμῶν; σκεψάμενοι οὖν λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι Οὐκ ἔχομεν τίνι
 πιστεύσομεν πρὸς τὸ διακονῆσαι τοῖς λιμώττουσι· πάντες γὰρ
 15 καπηλεύουσι τὰ πράγματα. λέγει αὐτοῖς· Τί ὑμῖν δοκῶ ἐγώ;

1 From this point to the end the order of P (with which WT and s agree when extant) differs from that of Bl, while A differs from both (see *Introd.* § 7): the order of Bl is followed, that of P being indicated in the notes.

In P XLVII and LVIII come between XXXIX and XL.

In XL P is equivalent to PW unless otherwise stated. Tullberg's mss. A and N give s (*Paradiseus* pp. 9—12): (the first dozen lines are from a *Vita*; see *Prol.* 81). On Ephraim see Note 77.

8—11 (p. 127) Soz. III. 16 (13) Λιμοῦ προκαταλαβόντος τὴν Ἐδεσηνῶν (σσ οπε ms.) πόλιν διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου προελθὼν τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν φῶφι φιλοσόφει, κατεμέμφοτο τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντας ὡς οὐ δέον ὑπερορῶντας τὸ ὁμόφυλον ἀπορία ἐπιτηδείων φθειρόμενον, τὸν δὲ οἰκίον πλοῦτον ἐπιμελῶς φυλάττοντας ἐπὶ βλάβῃ σφῶν καὶ τιμωρία τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς, ἣν τιμωτέραν παντοδαποῦ πλοῦτου καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων εἰδείκνυ· παρ' οὐδὲν δὲ ταύτην ποιουμένους

XL (Περὶ Ἐφραὶμ): P(W)TALs

1 Ἐδεσηνῶν] PB†; Ἐδαισηνῶν A; Διδεσηνῶν TB†: (σσ B†) 2 εἰς τῶν μν. ἀξίων] PAs; εἰς τὸ μν. ἀξίος TB1 3 παρὰ τῶν ὁσίων] om P (txt W) ἀξίως] om TA 5 δέχεται T και]+ ἡ W ἐσχάτον ἡ TA 6 ἡσυχον] WTb; ἡσυχίον PA αἰ] om TA 7 ὕστερον]+ δὲ A 8 καταλαβούσης μεγάλης (sic) A 9 Διδεσηνῶν TA (-σην-) B† κατοικτ. τὴν ἀνθρώπειαν διαφθ. φύσιν Ts (ⲕⲓⲱ ⲛⲁ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲁ ⲕⲟⲟⲱ ⲛⲁⲕⲁ ⲕⲁⲑⲓⲱⲛⲁⲕⲁ); txt PABl τὴν] om W 10 ἀδροῖς] WAB; πλουσίοις PT 11 ἔνεκεν] χάριν T οὐκ.....διαφθειρομένην] PABl Soz; οὐ μίμεισθε τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν Ts (ⲕⲁⲗⲁ ⲛⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁ ⲕⲁⲗⲁ ⲕⲁⲑⲓⲱⲛⲁⲕⲁ) ἐλεάτε] WA; ἐλεεῖτε PB διαφθ. φύσ. W 12 πλοῦτον] σίτον A ἡμῶν A κατάκριον A 13 ὑμῶν] PBis; ἡμῶν TA οὖν] om A αὐτῷ] om A 14 πιστεύσομεν AB λιμώττουσι]+ ἄρτου TAB

εἶχε δὲ μεγάλην ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πᾶσιν, οὐ ψευδῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς.
 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἄνθρωπόν σε οἶδαμεν θεοῦ. Οὐκοῦν ἐμοί, φησίν,
 ἐμπιστεῦσατε· ἰδοὺ δι' ὑμᾶς χειροτονῶ ἐμαυτὸν ξενοδόχον. καὶ
 λαβὼν ἀργύρια καὶ διαφράξας τοὺς ἐμβόλους καὶ στήσας
 κλίνας ὡς τριακοσίας ἐνοσοκόμει τοὺς λιμώττοντας, τοὺς μὲν 5
 | ἐκλιμπάνοντας θάπτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίδα ἔχοντας ζωῆς νοσοκομῶν,
 καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιχωριάζουσι τοῦ λιμοῦ ἔνεκεν ξενοδοχίαν
 καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν καθ' ἡμέραν παρέχων ἐκ τῶν χορηγουμένων αὐτῷ.
 πληρωθέντος οὖν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ διαδεξαμένης τῆς εὐθηνίας
 καὶ πάντων οἴκοι πορευομένων, μηκέτι ἔχων ὃ πράξει εἰσῆλθεν 10
 εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κέλλαν καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μετὰ μῆνα, τοῦ θεοῦ
 παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀφορμὴν ταύτην στεφάνου τρόπον εἰς
 τὰ ἔσχατα αὐτοῦ. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ συντάγματα ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα
 σπουδῆς ἄξια.

διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀπήλεγχεν. (14) οἱ δὲ αἰδεσθέντες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ
 λόγους, Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μέλει οὐσίας, ἔφασαν· ᾧ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτρέψομεν
 διακονεῖσθαι ἀποροῦμεν, σχεδὸν πάντων πρὸς κέρδος κεκηρῶτων καὶ καπηλείαν τὸ
 πρᾶγμα ποιουμένων. ὑπολαβὼν δέ, Οἷος ὑμῖν δοκῶ; ἤρετο· τῶν δὲ ἀξιοχρεῶν τε καὶ
 μᾶλα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοιοῦτον οἶον ἢ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα ἐκράτει
 συνομολογούντων, Οὐκοῦν ἐκοντῆς, ἔφη, δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο χειροτονήσω ἐμαυτὸν.
 (15) καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον παρ' αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς τριακοσίας κλίνας ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις
 ἐμβόλοις εἶχε. καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ λιμοῦ νοσούντων ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ ξένους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ
 σπάνιν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν ἀργῶν παραγενομένους ἐδεξιοῦτο. ἔπει δὲ ὁ λιμὸς
 ἐπαύσατο ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὸ οἶκημα ἔνθα καὶ πρὸ τούτου διέτριβε. καὶ ὀλίγων
 ἡμερῶν ἐπιβιώσας ἐτελεύτησεν.

14 In P after XL comes the Palestinian group in the following order:
 XLIV, XLIII, LIII, I, LI, XLVIII (XLV, XLIX, LII being omitted, and XLVII
 following XXXIX): after XLVIII come the first five lines of XLI, introducing
 LXIII; the remainder of XLI and XLII are omitted.

P(W)TA1a

1 δὲ] γὰρ TA; om B: + καὶ A μέγας ὑπολήψεις (sic) T οὐ ψευδῶς] om T
 ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς] om I ἀλλ' οἱ δὲ ὡς T (and om stop) 2 οἶδαμεν]+ τοῦ T
 3 ἰδοὺ]+ ἀπὸ σήμερον B1 ξενοδόχον]+ τῶν θεομένων B1 4 λαβὼν]+ παρ' αὐτῶν
 B Soz 6 ἐκλείποντας A ἐλπίδας TA 7 πᾶσι τ. ἐπιχ.] om A ἔνεκεν before
 τοῦ λ. A 8 παρέχων καθ' ἡμ. TB 10 οἰκίας A 8] ἂ P πράξει]+ πάλιν P;
 αἴθις T; confestim I: αἴθις ὑποστρέψας..... πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν B: txt As (Soz) 11 τὴν
 κέλλαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ T; τὴν κ. αὐτοῦ A ἐτελ. after μῆνα A μῆνα]+ ἡμερῶν P;
 'one' Is 12 αὐτῷ] om W 13 αὐτοῦ] om TB κατέλιπε] PA; κατέλειπε T;
 καταλείπει B καὶ] om P 14 ἀξια] s adds a few lines

(XLI) Ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστι καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνδρείων μνημονεύ-
σαι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ, αἷς καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἴσα τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν ἄθλων
ἐχαρίσατο, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προφασίζεσθαι αὐτὰς ὡς ἀσθενεστέρας
οὔσας πρὸς κατόρθωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. πολλὰς μὲν οὖν ἐώρακα,
5 καὶ πολλαῖς ἀστείαις συντετύχηκα παρθένοις τε καὶ χήραις·
[ἐν αἷς καὶ Παύλῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ Τοξοτίου, γυναικὶ
εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν πολιτείαν ἀστειοτάτῃ ἧς ἐμπόδιον γέγονεν
Ἱερώνυμος τις ἀπὸ Δαλματίας· δυναμένην γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπερ-
πτήναι πασῶν, εὐφροσύνην οὔσα, προσεπεπόδισε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
10 βασκανία ἐλκύσας αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον σκοπόν. ἧς
θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ, καὶ νῦν ἀσκεῖται, Εὐστόχιον ὀνόματι ἐν Βηθλεέμ-
ῃς ἐγὼ ἐν συντυχίᾳ οὐ γέγονα, λέγεται δὲ σφόδρα εἶναι σωφρο-
νεστάτη, συνοδίαν ἔχουσα πεντήκοντα παρθένων.

Ἐγνων δὲ καὶ Βενερίαν τὴν Βαλλοβίκου τοῦ κόμητος, καλῶς
15 διασκορπίσασαν τὸ τῆς καμήλου φορτίον, καὶ ἀπαλλαγείσαν
τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τραυμάτων· καὶ Θεοδώραν τὴν τοῦ τριβούνου,
τὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀκτημοσύνης ἐλάσασαν ὡς ἐλεημοσύνην
λαβοῦσαν οὕτω τελευτήσαι | ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ Ἡσυχᾶ
παρὰ θάλατταν. ἔγνων Ὀσίαν ὀνόματι, τὰ ὅλα καὶ σεμνοτάτην
20 γυναικα· καὶ τὴν ταύτης ἀδελφὴν Ἀδολίαν, οὐκ ἀξίως μὲν ταύτης,
ἐπαξίως δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἑαυτῆς ζήσασαν. ἔγνων ἐγὼ καὶ
Βασιανίλλαν, τὴν Κανδιδιανοῦ τοῦ στρατηλάτου, προθύμως καὶ

6—19 (p. 129) On this section see *Introd.* § 7; and on the names that occur in it see Note 78. The text of this and the other passages not found in PWT is constructed out of B by means of I, only the words attested by I being retained: the discarded words of B are given in the apparatus. In such passages the text can be no more than an approximation to the original; they are printed closer and enclosed in [].

XLI (Περὶ ΓΥΝΑΙΚῶΝ ἀΓΙΩΝ): P(W)TIs

1 ἐστὶ] ἡγησάμενη B1 2 καὶ] WT; om PB τοῖς.....ἄθλων] om T 4 τῆς] WTB; om P

B1 (see note above)

6 τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ] urbicam I 6, 7 mulierem prudentem ac spirituales I 9 πασῶν] I^{om} I^{rev}; πάντων I^{om}; πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ εἴπω πασῶν B οὔσα] + εἰς τὴν ἐνάρετον τελειαν B 11 Εὐστοχία B† 12 ἐγεγονεῖν B† σφόδρα] a pluribus I 14 ἔγνω δέ] εὐρηκῶς οὖν A^B τῆν] + relictam I Βαλλοβίκου] B†; -δικ- B†; -μικ- A^B; Vallacini I 14, 15 καλῶς.....φορτίον] om A^B 16 καὶ] + τὴν μακαρίαν B τῆν] + coniugem I 17 ἐλεημοσύνην] + ταύτην B 19 B puts the stop at τελευτήσαι: the punctuation adopted is suggested by the other sentences of this paragraph, and is perhaps supported by I Ὀσίαν] B† (I femina iustae semper ac per omnia probabilis uitae); Οδοσίαν B†: (ἔγνων ὀσίαν ὀνόματι Ταύλαν σεμν. A^{BW} B^{o-10}) καὶ] om B† 20 Ἀδολίαν] + καὶ ταύτην βεβιωκυῖαν ἐν ἀρετῇ B 21 ζήσασαν] + ζῆλον θεοῦ B 22 Βασσ. I τῆν] + relictam I Κανδιδιανοῦ B†

εὐλαβῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐξασκήσασαν, καὶ ἐχομένην εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῶν ἀγῶνων σφοδρῶς· καὶ Φωτεινὴν παρθένον σεμνοτάτην εἰς ἄκρον, θυγατέρα Θεοκτίστου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ κατὰ Λαοδί- κειαν. συνέτυχον δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σεμνοτάτῃ γυναικὶ καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσομιλοῦσῃ, τῇ διακονίᾳ Σαβιναῖᾳ, θείᾳ Ἰωάννου 5 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἰκωνσταντινουπόλεως. εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν καλὴν Ἀσέλλαν τὴν παρθένον γεγηρακυῖαν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, σφόδρα πραῦτάτην γυναικα καὶ ἀνεχομένην συνοδίας. ἐν οἷς ἐθεασάμην ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας νεοκατηχήτους· ἐθεασάμην καὶ Ἀβίταν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξίαν σὺν τῷ ταύτης ἀνδρὶ Ἀπρονιανῷ 10 καὶ τῇ τούτων θυγατρὶ Εὐνομίῃ, εὐαρεστούοντας τῷ θεῷ, ὡς ἀντικρὺς μετατεθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνάρετον καὶ ἐγκρατῆ πολιτείαν, καταξιώθentes ἐν τούτοις καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ κοιμήσεως, ἐλευ- θερωθέντες μὲν πάσης ἁμαρτίας, ἐντὸς δὲ καὶ γνώσεως γενόμενοι ἐν μνήμῃ ἀγαθῇ τὸν βίον ἑαυτῶν καταλείψαντες.] | 15

(XLII) [Ἀκήκοα περὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τινὸς ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῶν Ἑδσηνῶν, ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητικωτάτου· ὃς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν κατατήξας αὐτοῦ τὸ σαρκίον ὅστεα καὶ δέρμα περιέφερε μόνον. οὗτος εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ τέλους κατηξιώθη τιμῆς χαρίσματος ἰαμάτων.]

10 On Apronianus and Avita see Note 95.

16. 19 Soz. III. 14 (29) Κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἑδεσαν (al. -σσ-) ἐφιλοσόφει ἀκρβεστάτῃ καὶ οἷα ἀσωμάτων ἀγωγῇ καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἐπιχειρήσας, ὡς ἐκτὸς σαρκῶν ὀστέου καὶ δέρματι δουκείν συνεστάναι· καὶ Ἐφραίμ τῷ Σύρῳ συγγραφεῖ πρόφασιν γενέσθαι πραγματείας τῆς κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον ἀφηγήσεως· ἐπεψηφίζετο δὲ θεὸς αὐτὸς οἷς ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδόξαζον, δαίμονας ἀπελαύνειν καὶ παντοδαπῶν νόσων ἰάσεις αὐτῷ δωρησάμενος, οὐ φαρμάκοις τισὶν ἀλλ' εὐχῇ κατορθουμένας. (See Note 79.)

B1

3 τοῦ κατὰ Λ.] om l 4-6 συνέτυχον.....Κωνστ.] om A^B 4 σεμνοτάτῃ] + καὶ εὐλαβεστάτῃ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν B 5 Σαβιανῇ B† 6 Κωνστ.] om l 7 παρθένου] + Χριστοῦ καλῶς B 8 feminam mitem atque mansuetam l 9 νεοκατηχήτους] monachorum uitas et instituta discentes l (incorrectly, see c. LIV) 10 καὶ] + τὴν μακαρίαν B Ἀβίταν] B†l; Ἀβίτταν B† Ἀπρονιανῷ] (see 1, p. 147); Ἀπρονιανῷ B†; Προνιανῷ B†A^B; Ἀπρανῷ B†; Piniano l (Aproniano l^{ms}) 11 Εὐνομίῃ] + ἐν πᾶσιν B; adeo l 12 μετατεθῆναι] + ῥαδίως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνεμένου καὶ τρυφήλου βίου B ἐπὶ.....πολιτείας] nd caelestem uitam l 14 ἁμαρτίας] + τελείως B ἐντὸς..... γενόμενοι] ἐν καλῷ ἀγῶνι ἀγωνισάμενοι A^B 14, 15 ἐντὸς...καταλείψαντες] diuinatum autem rerum peritiam atque notitiam semper habuerunt l

XLII (Περὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ): B1

16, 17 ἀκήκοα (ἀκήκοαμεν A^{BM}) παρὰ τινος ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι ἐκείνοις γενόμενον ὄνοματι Ἰουλιανόν, ἀνδρὸς (sic) κ.τ.λ. A^B 17 Ἑδσηνῶν] Αἰδεσῶν B†; Ἑδσησῶν B†l 19 τιμῆς] + ἔνεκεν B

(XLIII) Ἐγνων τινὰ πάλιν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὀνόματι Ἀδόλιον, Ταρσέα τῷ γένει, ὃς παραγενόμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις λίαν τὴν ἄτριπτον ὠδευσεν ὁδόν, οὐχ ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐβαδίσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ξένην τινὰ ἀνατεμῶν ἑαυτῷ πολιτείαν· ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον γὰρ ἤσκησεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς δαίμονας φρίζοντας αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐστηρὸν μηδὲ τολμήσαι αὐτῷ προσεγγίσει. δι' ὑπερβολὴν γὰρ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ὑπενοήθη καὶ φάσμα εἶναι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἦσθιε διὰ πέντε, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον ὄλον καιρὸν μίαν παρὰ μίαν. τὸ δὲ μέγα αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἦν· ἀφ' ἑσπέρας 10 μέχρις ὅτε πάλιν ἡ ἀδελφότης συνήγето εἰς τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους, ἐν τῷ Ἐλαιῶνι εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀναλήψεως βουνὸν ὅθεν ἀνελήφθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐστῶς καὶ ψάλλων καὶ προσευχόμενος διετέλει· καὶ εἴτε ἔνιφεν εἴτε ἔβρεχεν εἴτε ἐπάχνιζεν, ἀσάλευτος ἔμενε. πληρώσας οὖν τὸν συνήθη καιρὸν τῷ ἐξυπνιστικῷ σφυρίφ 15 τὰς πάντων ἔκρουε κέλλας, συναγῶν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον οἶκον συμψάλλων αὐτοῖς ἐν ἡ δεῦτερον ἀντίφωνον, καὶ συνευχόμενος, οὕτως ἀπῆει πρὸς ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πολλάκις ἐκδιδυσκόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀποσφιγγόντων αὐτοῦ τὰ ἰμάτια ὡς 20 ἀπὸ πλύτρας, καὶ ἄλλα περιβαλλόντων. οὕτως οὖν πάλιν ἀναπαεῖς μέχρι τῆς ὥρας τῆς ψαλμωδίας προσεῖχεν ἕως ἑσπέρας. καὶ αὕτη τοίνυν ἡ ἀρετὴ Ἀδολίου τοῦ Ταρσεῶς τοῦ τελειωθέντος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κακεῖ κοιμηθέντος. |

1 XLIII and XLIV are inverted in P, and LIII follows XLIII, XLV being omitted. In XLIII P is equivalent to PW unless otherwise stated.

XLIII (Περὶ Ἀδολίου): P(W)TAl_s₂

1 πάλιν τινὰ AB ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις T 2 Aurelius s₂ (by confusion of π and ῥ)
τοῖς] om T 3 οὐχ] οὐδ' A ἐβάδισαν As₂ 5 αὐτοῦ τῷ] om T 7 γὰρ] δὲ A
ἐγκρ.] ἀσκήσεως A καί²] om A 8 ὄλον] om T s₂ 9 μίαν παρὰ μίαν] post
biduum l μέγα δὲ A 10 ὅτε] WTAB; ὅτου P 12 ἀνελήφθη] P B s₂;
ἀνήλθεν TAl ὁ Ἰησοῦς] WTAB†; Ἰησ. ὁ κύριος P; ὁ κύριος B† s₂; saluator l
καί²] om A 13 εἴτε ἔβρεχεν.....ἔμενε] om T 14 χρόνον A; κανὼνα B
σφαιρίφ P 17 πρὸς πρὸς (sic) TA 18 ἑαυτοῦ] WP (αὐτοῦ) l s₂; om TAB
πολλάκις] PB† s₂; om TAB† l: + εἶδον P; ἐπίσταμαι αὐτὸς B 19 αὐτοῦ] om TA
ἰμάτια] + καὶ P (txt W) 20 ἀπὸ πλ.] ἀποπλύναντες αὐτὰ A; 'because of their
wetness' s₂; + οὕτω καθήρξατο ὕδατα W; + οὕτω κατερχομένων τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξ αὐτῶν P;
+ οὕτως ἀπέσταζον B περιβαλλόντων] περιέβαλλον αὐτὸν A; + ἰμάτια P s₂ (txt W)
οὕτως οὖν πάλιν] καὶ A 21 μέχρι τῆς ὥρας] om l τῆς!] WT; τρίτης AB s₂; om P
ὥρας] + ἐγερθεὶς A τῆς ψαλμωδίας] PT; τῆ ψαλμωδίας AB(l) s₂ 22 αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ
ἀρ. P (txt W) τοῦ τελειωθέντος] W (om τοῦ) TΔ(B) l s₂; τὸν δρῶντος τελειώσαντος P
23 ἐν] + τοῖς AB

(XLIV) Τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἰννοκέντιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον τοῦ Ἐλαιῶνος παρὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἀκήκοας, οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν συζησάντων αὐτῷ τρία ἔτη ἀκούση. οὗτος ἀπλούστατος ἦν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν· γενόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπιδόξων ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς Κωνσταντίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπετάξατο 5 ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ γάμου, ἐν οἷς εἶχε καὶ υἱὸν Παῦλον ὀνόματι δομέστικον στρατευόμενον. τούτου ἀμαρτήσαντος πρὸς θυγατέρα πρεσβυτέρου ἐπαράσατο ὁ Ἰννοκέντιος τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ, παρακαλέσας τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι Κύριε δὸς αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον πνεῦμα ἵνα μηκέτι εὖρη καιρὸν τοῦ ἐξαμαρτῆσαι τὸ σαρκίον· ἄμεινον ἡγήσα- 10 μένος δαιμονίῳ αὐτὸν πυκτεῦειν ἢ ἀκολασίᾳ. ὃ δὲ καὶ γεγένηται. ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν σιδηροφορῶν καὶ παιδευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. οὗτος ὁ Ἰννοκέντιος οἶος μὲν γέγονεν ἐλεήμων λήρος ὀφθήσομαι τάληθῆ διηγούμενος, ὡς πολλάκις κλέπτειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ διδόναι τοῖς 15 δεομένοις. καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ γέγονεν ἄκακος καὶ ἀπλοῦς, καὶ χαρίσματος ἡξιώθη κατὰ δαιμόνων. ἐν οἷς ποτὲ ἠνέχθη αὐτῷ νεανίσκος ὀρώντων ἡμῶν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ληφθεὶς καὶ παρέσεως, ὡς ἐμὲ θεασάμενον ἄντικρυς θελήσαι διῶξαι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ ἀχθέντος, ἀπευδοκήσαντα τῆς θεραπείας. συνέβη 20 οὖν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ ἐλθόντα τὸν γέροντα θεύσασθαι αὐτὴν παρεστῶσαν καὶ κλαίουσαν καὶ ὄδυρομένην ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνεκδιγητῷ συμφορᾷ τοῦ υἱοῦ. δακρύσας οὖν ὁ καλόγηρος καὶ ἐπισπλαγχνισθεὶς λαβὼν τὸν νεανίσκον εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον ἑαυτοῦ ὃ ὠκοδομῆκει αὐτός, ἐν ᾧ | λείψανα κατακεῖται Ἰωάννου τοῦ 25

2 οὐδὲν] From this word to κρεαδίου (11, p. 132) there is a lacuna in W, owing to the loss of a folio. 7 See Note 80. 12 See Note 81. 25 See Note 82.

XLIV (Περὶ Ἰννοκεντίου): PTAII₂s

1 Ἰννοκ.] WHI; Ἰνοκ. PTAII₂ (throughout) 2 οὐδὲν] W breaks off 3 ἀκούση after ἡμῶν A; omi TB† 4 ἐπιδόξων T; ἐπιδόξης A 5 Κωνσταντίνου AI₂s 6 ἴσχε T 7 ἐπαράσατο T 8 τοιοῦτον] omi A 9 μηκέτι] PA(I)₂; μὴ TB₂ 10 δαιμονίῳ AB γέγονεν A 11 ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν] TAB; ὃς καὶ νῦν εἰστί P 12 ἐλεήμων] | τάχα δὲ καὶ All₂ φαίνομαι A τὰ ἄλ. P 13 γέγονεν] PAIs; γεγωνῶς TB(I)₂ 14 καὶ διὰ καὶ P(I^{ov}); ὃς A; om TB(I)₂; txt ls κατηξιώθη χαρ.] TB οἷς] | καὶ P 15 νεανίσκος] 'a girl' s 16 ἀντικρῶ T θελήσαι] omi T 17 ἀχθέντος] PAI(I)₂; παιδὸς TB; δαιμονιώματος B 18 ταύτην A; τὴν τούτου μητέρα BII 19 υἱοῦ] κῦ' (sic) T; + 'when he saw' II₂s καλόγηρος] ἅγιος P 20 σπλαγχν. AB (+ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ) 21 αὐτοῦ P 22 ᾧ P 23 κατακεῖται] + τοῦ θεοῦ B†(II. a)

βαπτιστοῦ. καὶ ἐπευξάμενος αὐτῷ μέχρις ἐνάτης ὥρας ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας, ὑγιῆ ἀπέδωκε τὸν νεανίσκον τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τὴν πάρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα ἐξέλασας· τοιαύτη δὲ ἦν ἡ πάρεσις αὐτοῦ ὡς πτύοντα τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τὸν
5 νῶτον πτύειν, οὕτως ἦν ἐκστραφεῖς.

Πρόβατον ἀπολέσασα γραῦς τις προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ κλαίουσα· καὶ ἀκολουθήσας αὐτῇ λέγει· Δεῖξόν μοι τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἀπόλεσας. ἀπάγει αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λαζάριον τόπους. στὰς οὖν προσηύξατο. οἱ δὲ κλέψαντες νεώτεροι προφθάσαντες
10 ἔσφαξαν αὐτό. ἐν τῷ οὖν προσεύξασθαι αὐτὸν μηδενὸς ὁμολογούντος, κεκρυμμένου τοῦ κρεαδίου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι, ποθὲν κόραξ ἔλθων ἐπέστη καὶ λαβὼν κόπεον πάλιν ἀπέστη. καὶ προσχὼν ὁ μακάριος εὗρε τὸ θῦμα· καὶ οὕτω προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ οἱ νεώτεροι ὡμολόγησαν οἱ σφάζαντες αὐτό, ἀπαιτηθέντες τὸ ἄξιον τίμημα. |
15 (XLV) [Περιτύχομεν ἐν Γαλατία καὶ συνεχρονίσασαμεν μακρῷ χρόνῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ Φιλορῳμῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀσκητικωτάτῳ καὶ καρτερικωτάτῳ· ὃς ὄρμητο μὲν ἐξ οἰκέτιδος μητρὸς ἐλευθέρου δὲ πατρός· τὸσαύτην δὲ εὐγένειαν εἰς τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐνεδειξάτο πολιτείαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀνικητοὺς ἐν γένει
20 αἰδεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. οὗτος ἀπετάξατο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ δυσωνύμου βασιλέως, καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας διελέχθη τούτῳ. ἦν ξυρισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ὑπὸ παιδαρίων κοσσισθῆναι· ὃς ἐγκαρτερήσας τῷ πράγματι, καὶ

8 See Note 83. 15 The chief differences between 1^{rev} and 1 are indicated as samples. On Philoromus see Note 84.

PTAlI₂(1—5)_s

1 ἀπὸ τρ. ὥρας μέχρις ἐνν. (om ὥρας) TB(II₂s); txt PA 2 τὸν νεανίσκον] αὐτὸν P1 τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ] TBII₂s; om PABII τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ] PTABII₂s; om BII₂ 3 αὐτοῦ after δαίμονα T ἐξήλασε A 5 πίπτειν (sic) A ἐκστρ. ἦν A: + ἄλλο αὐτοῦ πάλιν σημείον A: I₂ ceases here 6 γραῦς τις before πρόβατον A τις] om T(B) 7 ἐνθα] που A 8 τὸν] PT; τὸ AB 10 προσεύχασθαι TB 11 ἐγκεκρ. A κρεαδίου] κρέατος T; W recommences

P(W)TAlI₂s

11 κόραξ ποθὲν AB 12 ἐπέστη] + τῇ κλοπῇ B (I supra ipsas) καί¹.....ἀπέστη] om A ἀνέστη T προσχὼν οὖν (om καὶ) TB; δὲ A 13 μακάριος] + Ἰν. T ἴδε τὸ θαῦμα A νεανίσκος P οἱ νεώτ. after ὡμολόγ. TA 14 οἱ σφάζ. αὐτό] PA (om οἱ) s ('that they had killed it'); οἱ κλέψαντες τοῦτο B; I altered; om T καὶ ἀπρηθήσαν A(B)

XLV (Περὶ Φιλορῳμοῦ): B1

16 τῷ] + θεοφιλεστάτῳ B 17 καὶ καρτ.] om A^B 18 εὐγένειαν] + ἐνέρετον B; ἀρετῶν A^B 19 ἀνικητοὺς ἐν γένει] qui libertate generis anicii dicerentur I 20 τῆ¹] + ἰσάγγελον B τῆ²] + τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐνεργῶν B 22 τοῦτῳ] + τῷ δυσσεβεῖ ὁ γενναῖος τοῦ Χρ. ἀλλοτῆς Φ. B 23 παιδαρίων] + ἐντονώτατα B; ἐστῶτα A^B

χάριτας αὐτῷ ὡμολόγησεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγήσατο. τούτῳ ἐπέθετο ἐν προοιμίῳ ὁ τῆς πορνείας πόλεμος καὶ τῆς γαστριμαργίας· ὃς τὸ πάθος ἐξήλασεν ἐγκλεισμῷ τε καὶ σιδηροφορίᾳ, καὶ ἀποχῇ σιτίου ἄρτου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐψομένων διὰ πυρός, διακαρτερήσας ἐν τούτοις ἐπὶ δεκαοκτῶ ἔτεσιν ἦσε τὸν ἐπι- 5 νίκιον ὕμνον τῷ Χριστῷ. οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πορνείας διαφόρως πολεμηθεὶς ἐνεκαρτέρησεν ἐν ἐνὶ μοναστηρίῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη. ἀφηγείτο δὲ οὗτος ὅτι Ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ δύο ἔτη οὐδεμιᾶς ὀπώρας ἠψάμην. δειλιάς δὲ ποτε πολεμησάσης ἔπρος τὸ ταύτης περιγενέσθαι ἠμνήματι ἑαυτὸν καθείρξεν ἐπὶ 10 ἔτη ἕξ. τούτου πᾶν ἐκῆδετο ὁ μακάριος | Βασίλειος | ἐπίσκοπος ἠδόμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ αὐστηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ στυφότητι· ὃς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τοῦ καλαίου καὶ τῆς τετράδος τοῦ γράφειν οὐκ ἀνεχώρησεν, ὀγδοηκοστὸν πού ἄγων ἔτος. οὗτος ἔφησεν ὅτι Ἄφ' οὗ ἐμυσταγωγῆθην καὶ ἀνεγεννήθην μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, ἄρτον 15 ἄλλοτριον δωρεὰν οὐ βέβρωκα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόνων· ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἡμᾶς ἔπεισεν ὅτι διακόσια πεντήκοντα νομίσματα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ λελωθημένοις δέδωκεν, οὐδέποτε ἀδικήσας οὐδένα. ὃς περὶ τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ μέχρῃς αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆλθεν εὐξόμενος εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου 20 ἔφθασε δὲ καὶ μέχρῃς Ἀλεξανδρείας, εὐξόμενος εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Μάρκου. †ἦλθε† δὲ καὶ δεύτερον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμους, ἰδίως ἀπελθὼν ποσὶ καὶ ἀναλώμασιν ἑαυτῷ ἐπαρκέσας. ἔλεγεν δὲ οὗτος ὅτι (Ὁ) μέμνημαί ποτε ἀποσταῖς κατὰ νοῦν τοῦ θεοῦ μου.]

Bl

2 ἐπέ· το] + τῷ γενναίῳ B γαστρ.] + ὡς ἔλεγεν B 3 δε] + τυραννήσας B ἐξήλασεν] + καθάπερ πυρκαϊᾶν ἀμετρον ὕδατι λάβρω καταβέσας ἀκρας ἐγκρατείας δρω B (l^{xxx}) σιδ. τε κ. ἐγκλ. B 4 ἀποχῇ] + βρωμάτων καὶ B καί? + ἀπαξπαλῶς B 5 ἔτεσιν] + ὅστις ταῦτα ἠπερνήσας τὰ ἀτακτα πάθη B (l^{xxx}) 6 Χριστῷ] + Ὑψώσω σε, κύριε, ὅτι ἠπέλαβές με, καὶ οὐκ εἰσφρανας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου ἐπ' ἐμέ B (l^{xxx}) 8 δε] + nobis l καὶ διῶ] om l (lxi l^{xxx}) 9 ποτε] + με φησὶ B πολεμ.] + εἰς ἀκρον ὡς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὴν ἐκφορον γίνεσθαι B 10 πρὸς..... περιγεν.] B¹ (paraphrased); om B¹ 11 ἕξ] + καὶ ταύτης περιγένετο τὸν ἐξ ἐπαφῆς (ἀπαθείας A^B) πόλεμον πολεμησας μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ τῆν δειλίαν ταύτῃ ἐπάγοντος B (A^B in 1st pers: l may perhaps represent some germ of this rather than the previous) τούτου] + τοῦ ἀοιδίμου B 12 στυφότητι] + καὶ προσεχείρ (ἐπιμελεία A^B) τοῦ ἔργου B (l^{xxx}) 13 τοῦ καλαίου..... γράφειν] libros propria manu scribere l 14 ἔφησεν] + ὁ μακάριος B (l^{xxx}) 15 ἀνεγεν.] + ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος B 16 βέβρωκα] + παρὰ τῶος (τινι) B 20 τῶ] + ἀγιώτατον B Πέτρου] + καὶ Παύλου B (l^{xxx}) 21 δε] + pedes l 22 τοῦ] + τιμου ἀθλοῦ B: l in basilica martyris Marci ἦλθε] adiit (Hierosolymam autem secundo adiit) l; κατηξιώθην δὲ ἔφη χάριν εὐχῆς κ. δεύτ. ἐν Ἱερ. B: + εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ἁγίων τόπων B (l^{xxx}) 23 ἐπαρκέσας] + martyres sanctos honoravit l δε] + ἡμῖν B 24 οἴτος] + χάριν τοῦ ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσθαι B (l^{xxx}) μου] + ταῦτα τὰ ἀθλα τοῦ μακαρίου Φ. καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἡ ἀήτητος νίκη· καὶ αὐτῷ ἀποδέδοται τῶν μακαρίων πόνων τὸ πέρασ, ὁ ἀμαράντιος τῆς δόξης στέφανος B (l^{xxx})

(XLVI) Ἡ τρισμακαρία Μελανία Σπανή γέγονε τὸ γένος, εἶτοῦν Ῥωμαία· θυγάτηρ μὲν γέγονε Μαρκελλίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπίτων, ἀνδρὸς δέ τινος τῶν ἀπὸ ἀξιωματῶν γυνή, οὐ καλῶς οὐκ ἐπιμέμνηται. αὐτὴ χηρεύσασα εἰκοστὸν δεύτερον ἄγουσα 5 ἔτος ἔρωτος θείου κατηξιώθη, καὶ μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκνῖα, ἐκώλυτο γὰρ ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς Οὐάλεντος ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ποιήσασα ἐπίτροπον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς ὀνομασθῆναι, τὰ κινητὰ πάντα αὐτῆς λαβοῦσα καὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα εἰς πλοῖον, μετὰ φανερῶν παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν δρομαία κατέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν 10 Ἀλεξάνδρεια. κικεῖθεν διαπωλήσασα τὰς ὕλας καὶ εἰς χρυσὸν κατακερματίσασα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας, τοῖς πατράσι περιτυγχάνουσα τοῖς περὶ Παμβῶ καὶ Ἀρσίσιον καὶ Σαραπίωνα τὸν μέγαν καὶ Παφνούτιον τὸν Σκητιώτην καὶ Ἰσίδωρον τὸν ὀμολογητὴν ἐπίσκοπον Ἐρμουπόλεως καὶ Διόσκορον. καὶ ἐχρόνισε 15 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕως ἡμισυ ἔτους ἀνὰ τὴν ἔρημον κυκλεύουσα καὶ ἱστοροῦσα πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ αὐγουσταλίου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐξορίσαντος Ἰσίδωρον καὶ Πισίμιον καὶ Ἀδελφίον καὶ Παφνούτιον καὶ Παμβῶ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀμμώνιον τὸν παρώτην,

1 In P XLVI follows IX. In A it is introduced by the piece on p. 128, thus: Ἀναγκαῖον...χῆραι· ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ τρισμ. M. κ.τ.λ. P includes W when not otherwise stated. On Melania see Note 85. 16—2 (p. 135) See Note 86.

4 18 παρώτην] B goes on: καὶ ἐτέρους τινάς, [τοὺς πάντας δώδεκα ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ λοιποὺς κληρικούς τε καὶ ἀναχωρητάς,] ὡς γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀριθμῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἐξ τοῦς πάντας, καὶ δεκαδύο ἐπισκόπους κ.τ.λ. (For words in [] B^t read: καὶ ἄλλους ἔνδεκα.)

XLVI (Περὶ τῆς γραφῆς Μελασίας): P(W)TAIs

1 Μελανία] B^t ^{ΓΑΜΑ}and revs; Μελάνη PA B^t; Μελάνιον WT; Melanion I^{com} (see Note 85) Ἰσπανὴ P (txt W) γέγονε] PB^t; ἦν B^t; om TA τῷ γένει T 3 ἦτοι P (ἡτοῦν WTA) γεγονῖα P (txt W) Μαρκελλίνου] WT B^t; Μαρκελλίου PB^ts; Μαρκελλου A1 3 δέ] om A οὐ.....ἐπιμέμν.] ἦς καλῶς καὶ ἐπιμέμν. A; om s καλῶς] om TI: + τὸ ὄνομα T B1 4, 5 εἰκοστὸν (+ δέ).....κατηξιώθη (+ καὶ) after βασιλείᾳ (7) P (txt W) 4 δεύτερον] om PA; txt T B1s 5 εἰπούσα P 6 γὰρ] μὲν P (txt W) τῆς βασιλείας (om ἐν) T 8 πάντα τὰ κιν. T πάντα] om A αὐτῆς] om P (txt W) εἰσβαλ. T 9 τὴν] om T 10 κικεῖθεν] PA1; καεῖσε T; ἐκεῖ B(s) πωλ. A 11 Νητρ. P (txt W) τοῖς]+ ἁγίους AB 12 συντυγχ. P Ὀρσίσιον PA (txt W); Assisius I; Arsenius s Σαραπίωνα] T (-ονα) B^t; Σαραπίωνα PA B^t1: (see Note 68) 13 Σκητ. and ὀμολογ. tr. T 14 ἐπίσκοπον.....Διόσκ.] om T καί²] om TA ἐχρόν.] + δέ T; γὰρ A 15 ἕως] P; ὡς TAB ἡμισυ] A παρὰ A κυκλ.] + καλιστοροῦσα (stet κ. ἱστ.) T 16 ἀπυτας T 17 ἐξορίσαντος]+ τὸν T Πισίμιον A 18 τὸν παρώτην] T; τ. παρώτιον AB; τὸν παρούτην W; καὶ Παρούτην P; om Is: (cf. Soz. cited p. 38)

καὶ δώδεκα ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην
περὶ Διοκαισάρειαν· οἷς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτὴ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημά-
των ὑπηρετουμένη. κωλυομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὡς διηγούντο,
συνέντυχον γὰρ τῷ ἀγίῳ Πισιμίῳ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ καὶ Παφνουτίῳ
καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ, αὕτη παιδαρίου καρακάλλιον λαβοῦσα ἐν ταῖς 5
ἐσπέραις ἔφερεν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ ὑπατικός
τῆς Παλαιστίνης, θελήσας τὸν κόλπον πληρῶσαι προσεδόκησεν
αὐτὴν καπνίζειν· καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἔβαλεν εἰς φυλακὴν
ἀγνοῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. αὕτη δὲ δηλοῖ αὐτῷ· Ἐγὼ τοῦδε μὲν
γέγονα θυγάτηρ, τοῦδε δὲ γυνή· τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ εἰμι δούλη. 10
καὶ μὴ τῆς εὐτελείας τοῦ σχήματός· μου καταπτύσης· δύναμαι
γὰρ ἔμαυτὴν ἐὰν θέλω ὑψῶσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχεις με ἐν τούτῳ
καπίσαι οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμῶν τι λαβεῖν. ὥστε οὖν ἴνα μὴ ἀγνοήσας
ἐγκλήμασι περιπέσης ἐδήλωσά σοι· δεῖ γὰρ κατὰ τῶν ἀναισθή-
των καθίπερ ἰέρακι τῷ τύφῳ κεχρησθαι. τότε γνοὺς ὁ δικαστὴς 15
καὶ προσαπελογήσατο καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτὴν ἀκωλύτως συντυγχάνειν τοῖς ἀγίοις. |

Αὕτη μετὰ τὴν ἀνάκλησιν τούτων μοναστήριον κτίσασα ἐν
Ἱεροσολύμοις εἰκοσιεπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἐνεχρόνισεν ἐκεῖ ἔχουσα συνο-
δίαν παρθένων πενήκοντα. ἧ συνέξῃ καὶ ὁ εὐγενέστατος καὶ 20

P(W)TAIs

1 καὶ!] om WT καὶ πρεσβυτέρους] om T Παλ. περὶ Δ.] WAB; Παλ. καὶ
Δ. Pls (Caesarea); Παλαιστίνης Δ. T 2 αὕτη] αὐτὴ A; + ἡ μακαρίτις Bb
3 ὑπηρετουμένη] + αὐτοῖς A ὑπηρετῶν] PA; ὑπηρετουμένων TB 4 Πισιμίῳ A
5 καὶ Ἀμ.] om Pl (txt W) αὕτη] + ἡ ἀνδρεία B1 (benedicta) παιδαρίου] δούλου
(after καρακ.) T ven καρακάλλιον] TAB (one λ AB¹); καρακάλλω P; καρακάλλω W
λαμβάνουσα TB; + ἐνεδιδύσκετο καὶ A 6 ἐσπεραιαῖς A ἀπήγειν T; εἰσέφερεν B
7 Παλ.] + καὶ A 8 καπνίζειν] WAB (καπνίσαι) I; καταπτοῖσεν P; καταπτίξω
(nic) T; καταπονῆσαι ven ἔβαλεν αὐτὴν TB φρουρὰν T 9 ἀγνοήσας (sic) T
ἐλευθέραν A(κ): + αὐτῆς PBT (before τὴν) (txt W) αὐτῷ] + λέγουσα AB(l)
9, 10 τοῦ μὲν, τοῦ δὲ A 10 δούλη εἰμι T 11 καὶ] om T μου] om A
καταφρόνησης T 12 ἐαυτὴν W ἐὰν θέλω before ἔμαυτὴν TB ὑψῶσαι] Pls;
καὶ ὑψ. A; καὶ ὑψ. καὶ ἐδικήσας B; ἐδικ. καὶ ὑψ. T οὐ δύνῃ T 13 καπίσαι]
WAB ven (Rosw. Notatio 174); πτοῖσαι P; καταπονῆσαι T ἐμῶν] om W οὖν]
om P (txt W) ἴνα] om T 14 ἐγκλήμασι] WTAB; ἐγκλήματι P(la) κατὰ]
om A 15 ἰέρακι] + καὶ TA τῷ τύφῳ] arrogantia Is; καμφῶ (sic) P (in marg.
corr. ῥάμφῳ); καμφῶ W: W breaks off here

P'TAIs

15 χρησασθαι A δικαστῆς] + ἐλθὼν (om καὶ) A 16 αὐτῇ] om P 17 αὐτῆν]
om T 18 αὕτη] om P μετὰ] + οὖν P τούτων] + ἐνόθων ἀνδρῶν B; 'holy ones' s
19 ἐτη A ἐνεχρ.] P; ἐχρ. AB: (ἐτη συνεχρ. T) ἐκεῖ] Pl (in quo); ἐν τῇ Ἱερου-
σαλήμ T (om ἐν) A (om τῇ) B 20 παρθένων] + ὡς TAb ἐξήκοντα Δ

ὁμότροπος καὶ στιβαρώτατος Ῥουφίνος ὁ ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἐξ Ἀκυλητίας τῆς πόλεως, πρεσβυτερίου ἐς ὕστερον καταξιωθείς· οὐ γνωστικώτερος καὶ ἐπιεικέστερος ἐν ἀνδράσιν οὐχ εὐρίσκετο. δεξιούμενοι οὖν ἀμφότεροι ἐν τοῖς εἰκοσιεπτὰ ἔτεσι τοὺς παρα-
5 τυγχάνοντας ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐχῆς ἔνεκεν, ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ μονάζοντας καὶ παρθένους, οἰκείους ἀναλώμασιν ἠκοδόμησαν μὲν πάντας τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας, ἤνωσαν δὲ τὸ σχίσμα τὸ κατὰ Παυλίνον ὡς ἀνδρῶν τετρακοσίων μοναζόντων, καὶ πάντα αἰρετικὸν πνευματομάχον συμπίσαντες εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἐκ-
10 κλησίαν, τιμῶντες τοὺς κατὰ τόπον κληρικούς δώροις καὶ τροφαῖς, οὕτω διετέλεσαν μηδένα σκανδαλίσαντες. |

(XLVII) Χρόνιός τις ὀνόματι ἐκ τῆς κώμης τῆς λεγομένης Φοινίκης, ἀπομετρήσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας κώμης πλησίον οὐσῆς τῆς ἐρήμου μύρια πεντακισχίλια βήματα τῷ δεξιῷ ποδὶ ἀριθμού-
15 μενα, ἐκέισε προσευξάμενος ὄρυξε φρέαρ· καὶ εὐρὼν κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἀπέχον ὄργυιῶς ἐπτὰ ἠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκεῖ ξενίαν μικράν. καὶ ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐνεθρόνισεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ μονῇ ἠΰξατο τῷ θεῷ μὴ ἀνακάμψαι μηκέτι εἰς οἰκούμενον τόπον. παρελθόντων δὲ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν ἠξιώθη πρεσβυτερίου ἀδελφότητος περι-
20 αὐτὸν συναχθείσης ὡς ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων. αὕτη οὖν αὐτοῦ φέρεται τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἢ ἀρετῆς, ὅτι ἐξήκοντα ἔτη παρεδρεύσας τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ἱερατεύων οὐ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐξῆλθεν, οὐκ ἐκτὸς ἔργου ἰδίων χειρῶν βέβρωκεν ἄρτου.

1 See Note 87.

7 See Note 88.

12 In P XLVII follows XXXIX. Tullberg's A and N give the text of s (*Paradisis* 12—21). On monks named here see Note 89.

PTAIs

1 μονότροπος B1 (-φος B†) καὶ στιβ.] om TB† ἀπὸ] + τῆς A 2 Ἀκυλητίας (sic) T 3 -κώτατος and -κέστατος A ἠῤῥισκέ τις (γν. and ἐπ. in acc.) T 4 οὖν] om As τοῖς] om TA 5 εὐχῆς ἔνεκεν] om T 6 ἠκοδόμουν A; οἰκοδομούντες TB 7 μὲν] om TAB ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα A 10 τιμῶντες] + τε T τοὺς...κληρικούς] P1; τὸν...κλήρον TABs δώροις] + τε TB

XLVII (Περὶ Χρονίου καὶ Παφνογτίου): PTAIs

12 Κρόνιος T ὀνόματι] λεγόμενος A; + ὀρμώμενος B1 τῆς] om P 13 ἀπὸ] ἐκ P 14 πεντακόσια A βήματα before μύρια A τῷ ποδὶ τῷ δ. T 16 ἀπέχον] + εἰς βάθος AB1 οὐργ. PA ἑαυτῷ om A 18 μηκέτι] τοῦ λοιποῦ T; om A 19 δὲ] οὖν A ἐνιαυτῶν T 20 ὡσεὶ T τριακοσίων A 20, 21 αὕτη οὖν φ. ἢ ἀρ. αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀσκ. A 21 τῆς ἀσκ.] om Ts 22 οὐκ ἐκ T 23 ἔργων T 18[ων] PB; τῶν TA ἄρτου T

Τούτῳ συνῴκει Ἰακώβ τις ἐκ γειτόνων ὁ ἐπίκλην χωλός, γνωστικώτατος εἰς ἄκρον. ἀμφότεροι δὲ γνώριμοι ἦσαν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀντωνίου. μιᾶς οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν συνδραμόντος καὶ Παφνουτίου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Κεφαλᾶ, ὃς χάρισμα γνώσεως εἶχε τῶν θείων γραφῶν παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐρμηνεύων μὴ ἀναγνοῦς γραφάς, πρῶτος δὲ ἦν ὡς καλύπτεσθαι προφητικὴν ἀρετὴν· οὐ φέρεται ὅτι ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ὑφ' ἐν δύο χιτῶνας οὐκ ἔσχε. τούτοις συντυχόντες ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ μακάριοι Εὐάγγελος καὶ Ἀλβάνιος ἐζητοῦμεν μαθεῖν τὰς αἰτίας τῶν παραπιπτόντων ἢ καὶ ἐκπιπτόντων ἀδελφῶν ἢ σφαλλομένων ἐν τῷ καθήκοντι βίῳ. συνέβη γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ Χαιρήμονα τὸν ἀσκητὴν καθεζόμενον τελευτῆσαι καὶ εὑρεθῆναι αὐτὸν νεκρὸν ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ κατέχοντα τὸ ἔργον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας. συνέβη δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν ὀρύσσοντα φρέαρ καταχωσθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ φρέατος· καὶ ἄλλον ἀπὸ τῆς Σκήτews κατερχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν ἀπὸ λείψews ὕδατος· ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ κατὰ Στέφανον τὸν ἐκπεσόντα εἰς αἰσχρὰν ἀσωτίαν, καὶ Εὐκάρπιον, καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἡρώνα τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα, καὶ τὰ κατὰ Οὐάλην τὸν Παλαιστίνου, καὶ τὰ κατὰ Πτολεμαίου τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκήτει Αἰγύπτου. συνηρωτῶμεν οὖν τίς ἢ αἰτία τοῦ οὕτω ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἀπατηθῆναι τὴν φρένα

1 P includes W when not otherwise stated.

17—20 See Note 90.

P(W)TAIs

1 τούτῳ συνῴκει] om W τούτῳ] + τῷ Χρ. As: + οὖν T Ἰακώβος T ἐγγειτόνων (om ἐκ) A ὁ] ῥ P (txt W) ἐπικληθεὶς T 2 ἦσαν] before γνώρ. A; Om T 3 Ἀντ.] om T 4—6 ῥ χ. γν. ἦν τὸ πᾶσαν θείαν γραφὴν π. καὶ κ. διαθήκης ἐρμηνεύειν A 5 παλαιὰν κ. καινὴν διαθήκην (om πᾶσαν αὐτήν) T 6 καλύπτ.] + καὶ T 7 προφητικὴ ἀρετὴ P ὅτι] + ἐπι T ὑφ' ἐν] om P (txt W) 8 εἶχε A τοῖτοις] + οὖν T 8, 9 οἱ μακάριοι Εὐ. κ. Ἀλβ.] B¹¹; ὁ μακάριος Ἀλβ. P B¹; ὁ μακάριος Εὐ. A; οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοὶ T 9 μακάριοι] + διάκονοι B¹ Ἀλβάνιος] P B¹¹ (B¹ Ἀλβίνος, Ἀλβίνος, Ἀλβιανός); T A n vnc: (of. p. 81 16 and p. 101 5 app.) μαθεῖν] + παρ' αὐτῶν B¹ 10 ἢ καὶ ἐκπ.] om T A s σφαλλομένων P (txt W) 12 Χαιρήμον ἔτῳν ἀσλ. (sic) T 13 νεκρὸν] + καθεζόμενον A καθέδρᾳ] + καὶ A¹ 15 ὑπὸ οὗ φρέατος] P A; ὑπ' αὐτοῦ B; terrae molis aggre l; om T s ἄλλον] + συνέβη P A ἦς] om A 16 ἐρχόμενον T (before ἀπὸ τ. Σκ.) A B λείψews] δίψης B¹ ἐν οἷς] αὐτῶν ἠσθημεν nl. ἐμνημονεύσαμεν B; + 'were told' s 17 καλ.....ἀσωτίαν] om T 18 Εὐκάρπιον] om W ἀσωτίαν] αἰτίαν A 18 Εὐκάρπιον P A τὰ κατὰ¹] before Εὐκ. T 19 Οὐάληντα A κατὰ] + τὸν A B 20 ἠρωτῶμεν P οὖν] om T 21 ἀνθρώπους] + οἷς A ἐρημίᾳ T

(XLI) Ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστι καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνδρείων μνημονεύ-
 σαι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ, αἷς καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἴσα τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν ἄθλων
 ἐχαρίσατο, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προφασίζεσθαι αὐτὰς ὡς ἀσθενεστέρας
 οὔσας πρὸς κατόρθωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. πολλὰς μὲν οὖν ἐώρακα,
 5 καὶ πολλὰς ἀστείαις συντετύχηκα παρθένοις τε καὶ χήραις·
 [ἐν αἷς καὶ Παύλῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ Τοξοτίου, γυναικὶ
 εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν πολιτείαν ἀστειοτάτῃ] ἧς ἐμπόδιον γέγονεν
 Ἰερώνυμός τις ἀπὸ Δαλματίας· δυναμένη γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπερ-
 πτήναι πασῶν, εὐφυστάτῃ οὔσα, προσεπεπόδισε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
 10 βασκανίᾳ ἐλκύσας αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον σκοπόν. ἧς
 θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ, καὶ νῦν ἀσκέεται, Εὐστόχιον ὀνόματι ἐν Βηθλεέμ·
 ἧς ἐγὼ ἐν συντυχίᾳ οὐ γέγονα, λέγεται δὲ σφόδρα εἶναι σωφρο-
 νεστάτῃ, συνοδίαν ἔχουσα πεντήκοντα παρθένων.

Ἐγνων δὲ καὶ Βενερίαν τὴν Βαλλοβίκου τοῦ κόμητος, καλῶς
 15 διασκορπίσασαν τὸ τῆς καμήλου φορτίον, καὶ ἀπαλλαγείσαν
 τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τραυμάτων· καὶ Θεοδώραν τὴν τοῦ τριβούνου,
 τὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀκτημοσύνης ἐλάσασαν ὡς ἐλεημοσύνην
 λαβούσαν οὕτω τελευτήσαι | ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ Ἡσυχᾶ
 παρὰ θάλατταν. ἔγνων Ὀσίαν ὀνόματι, τὰ ὅλα καὶ σεμνοτάτην
 20 γυναικᾶ· καὶ τὴν ταύτης ἀδελφὴν Ἀδολίαν, οὐκ ἀξίως μὲν ταύτης,
 ἐπαξίως δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἑαυτῆς ζήσασαν. ἔγνων ἐγὼ καὶ
 Βασιανίλλαν, τὴν Κανδιδιανοῦ τοῦ στρατηλάτου, προθύμως καὶ

6—19 (p. 129) On this section see *Introd.* § 7; and on the names that occur
 in it see Note 78. The text of this and the other passages not found in PWT
 is constructed out of B by means of l, only the words attested by l being
 retained: the discarded words of B are given in the apparatus. In such
 passages the text can be no more than an approximation to the original;
 they are printed closer and enclosed in [].

XLI (Περὶ ΓΥΝΑΙΚῶΝ ἈΓΙΩΝ): P(W)Tls

1 ἐστὶ] ἡγησάμην B 2 καὶ] WT; om PB τοῖς.....ἄθλων] om T 4 τῆς]
 WTB; om P

B1 (see note above)

6 τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ] urbicam l 6, 7 mulierem prudentem ac spiritualem l 9 πασῶν]
 [om] [rev; πάντων [cas; πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ εἰπω πασῶν B οὔσα]+εἰς τὴν ἐνάρετον πολι-
 τείαν B 11 Εὐστόχια B† 12 ἐγεγόνειν B† σφόδρα] a pluribus l 14 ἔγνων
 δέ] εὐρηκῶς οὖν A^B τὴν]+relictam l Βαλλοβίκου] B†; -δικ- B†; -μικ- A^B;
 Vallacini l 14, 15 καλῶς.....φορτίον] om A^B 16 καὶ]+τὴν μακαρίαν B τὴν]
 +coniugem l 17 ἐλεημοσύνην]+ταύτην B 19 B puts the stop at τελευτήσαι:
 the punctuation adopted is suggested by the other sentences of this paragraph, and
 is perhaps supported by l Ὀσίαν] B† (l femina iustae semper ac per omnia
 probabilis uitae); Οὔσιαν B†: (ἔγνων ὀσίαν ὀνόματι Ταύλαν σεμν. A^{BST} B⁹⁻¹⁰) καὶ]
 om B† 20 Ἀδολίαν]+καὶ ταύτην βεβιωκίαν ἐν ἀρετῇ B 21 ζήσασαν]+[ἴλλω
 θεοῦ B 22 Βασσ. l τὴν]+relictam l Κανδιανοῦ B†

ταῖς δὲ ἐπιτηδειότης ἀσκήσεως. ἀλλ' ὅταν μὴ γένηται δι' αὐτὸ
 τὸ καλὸν μήτε ἢ πρᾶξις μήτε ἢ εὐφύια, μήτε οἱ τὰ προτερήματα
 κεκτημένοι οὐ τῷ δοτῆρι τῶν ἀγαθῶν θεῷ ἐπιγράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ
 τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει καὶ εὐφύια καὶ ἰκανότητι, οἱ τοιοῦτοι
 ἐγκαταλειφθέντες, ἢ εἰς αἰσχροουργίαν ἢ εἰς αἰσχροπάθειαν 5
 καὶ αἰσχύνῃ ληφθέντες, διὰ τῆς ἐπινομημένης ταπεινώσεως
 καὶ αἰσχύνῃς ἡρέμα πως τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νομιζομένῃ ἀρετῇ ἀπο-
 τρίβονται τύφον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ πεφυσιωμένος ἐπὶ εὐφύια
 λόγων ἐπαιρόμενος οὐκ ἐπιγράφει θεῷ τὴν εὐφύιαν οὐδὲ τὴν
 χορηγίαν τῆς γνώσεως, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀσκήσει ἢ φύσει, 10
 ἀφιστᾷ ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς προνοίας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· οὐ ἀποστρα-
 φέντος καταδυναστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου ὁ ἐπαιρόμενος
 ἐπὶ τῇ εὐφύια περιπίπτει τῇ ἀκολασίᾳ διὰ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας,
 ἵνα τοῦ μάρτυρος τῆς σωφροσύνης ἀφαιρεθέντος ἀναξίοπιστα
 γένηται τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν, φευγόντων τῶν εὐλαβῶν τὴν 15
 ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου στόματος διδασκαλίαν καθίπερ πηγὴν βδέλλας
 ἔχουσαν· ὡς πληροῦσθαι τὸ γεγραμμένον· Τῷ δὲ ἁμαρτωλῷ
 εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Ἴνα τί σὺ ἐκδιηγῆ τὰ δικαίωματά μοι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεις
 τὴν διαθήκην μου διὰ στόματός σου; εἰκάσι γὰρ ἀληθῶς αἱ τῶν
 ἐμπαθῶν ψυχαὶ διαφόροις πηγαῖς· οἱ μὲν γαστρίμαργοι καὶ 20
 οἰνόφιλοι πηγαῖς βορβορώδεσιν· οἱ δὲ φιλόργυροι καὶ πλεο-
 νεκταὶ πηγαῖς βατρίχους ἐχούσαις· οἱ δὲ βάσκανοι καὶ ὑπερή-

17 P. xlix. 16.

P(W)TAIs

1 ταῖς] αἱ TA δὲ before ταῖς P (txt W) ἐπιτηδειότητος (sic) T γίνεταί A
 2 μήτε²] οὐτε A τὰ]+ τοιαῦτα A τερήματα (sic) T 3 οὐ] ταῦτα (om οὐ) A(l)
 ἐπιγράφονται A: + τὴν εὐφύιαν P(8); τὴν χάριν B 5 ἐγκαταλειφθέντες]+ ἐπὶ τῆς
 προνοίας B; a deo l; ' by the providence of God' 8 5, 6 ἢ εἰς αἰσχροουργίαν.....
 ληφθέντες] om A 5 εἰς²] WT; om P B αἰσχροπάθειαν]+ περιπίπτουσι P l B
 (ἐμπ(πτ. before ἢ εἰς¹); txt WT's: A vac 6 αἰσχύνῃ P (txt W) ληφθέντες] PT
 (λημφθ.) 8; καταλειφθέντες B (begins new sentence); admoniti l αἰσχ. καὶ ταπ.
 T 7 ἐπιτρίβ. A; ἐπιγράφονται T 8 γὰρ] om A 9 λόγων] λέγων A: + καὶ PA;
 ἢ T; txt W B 10 ἀλλ' ἢ TA 11 ἀφιστᾷ]+ οὐν A ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] P AIs; om T B
 12 ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ εὐφύια] om A 13 τῇ²] om T τῇ²] om T B διὰ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας]
 om B l: + ἵνα κτηνώδης ἢ ἢ κινώδης ἀκολασία ἐξελάσῃ τὴν δαιμονιώδη φυσίωσιν, ὅπερ
 ἐστὶν ὑπερηφανία B l (ex quo inrationabilium animalium uel canum more usque ad
 diabolicam illam persuasionem quae superbia est insaniendo descendit) 14, 15 ἵνα
 τῆς ἁμαρτωλῶν σωφρ. ἀφαιρεθείσης ἀξίοπιστα λέγεται τὰ λεγ. A 15 παρ' αὐτῷ (sic)
 W 16 βδέλλαν A; (βδέλλας P, txt W) 17 πληρ.]+ ἐπ' αὐτῷ P 20 αἱ B
 μὲν]+ γὰρ A 21 οἰνόφιλοι] W A B; οἰνόφυλλες P; -φυλλοι T αἱ T B 22 αἱ T B
 καὶ ὑπερήφ.] om A

(XLIII) Ἐγνων τινα̅ πάλιν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὀνόματι Ἀδόλιον, Ταρσέα τῷ γένει, ὃς παραγεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις λίαν τὴν ἄτριπτον ὠδευσεν ὁδόν, οὐχ ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐβαδίσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ξένην τινα̅ ἀνατεμῶν ἑαυτῷ πολιτείαν· ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον 5 γὰρ ἤσκησεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς δαίμονας φρίζοντας αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐστηρὸν μηδὲ τολμῆσαι αὐτῷ προσεγγίσαι. δι' ὑπερβολὴν γὰρ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ὑπενοήθη καὶ φάσμα εἶναι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἤσθιε διὰ πέντε, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον ὄλον καιρὸν μίαν παρὰ μίαν. τὸ δὲ μέγα αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἦν· ἀφ' ἑσπέρας 10 μέχρις ὅτε πάλιν ἡ ἀδελφότης συνήγето εἰς τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους, ἐν τῷ Ἐλαιῶνι εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀναλήψεως βουνὸν ὅθεν ἀνελήφθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐστῶς καὶ ψάλλων καὶ προσευχόμενος διετέλει· καὶ εἴτε ἐνίφεν εἴτε ἔβρεχεν εἴτε ἐπάχιζεν, ἀσάλευτος ἔμενε. πληρώσας οὖν τὸν συνήθη καιρὸν τῷ ἐξυπνιστικῷ σφυρίφ 15 τὰς πάντων ἔκρουε κέλλας, συνάγων αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον οἶκον συμψάλλων αὐτοῖς ἐν ἡ δεῦτερον ἀντίφωνον, καὶ συνευχόμενος, οὕτως ἀπῆει πρὸ ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πολλάκις ἐκδιδύσκοντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀποσφιγγόντων αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱμάτια ὡς 20 ἀπὸ πλύτρας, καὶ ἄλλα περιβαλλόντων. οὕτως οὖν πάλιν ἀναπαεῖς μέχρι τῆς ὥρας τῆς ψαλμωδίας προσεῖχεν ἕως ἑσπέρας. καὶ αὕτη τοίνυν ἡ ἀρετὴ Ἀδολίου τοῦ Ταρσέως τοῦ τελειωθέντος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κα̅κεῖ κοιμηθέντος. |

1 XLIII and XLIV are inverted in P, and LIH follows XLIII, XLV being omitted. In XLIII P is equivalent to PW unless otherwise stated.

XLIII (Περὶ Ἀδολίου): P(W)TAIa₂

1 πάλιν τινα̅ AB ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις T 2 Aurelius a₂ (by confusion of η and υ) τοῖς] om T 3 οὐχ] οὐδ' A ἐβάδισαν Aa₂ 5 αὐτοῦ τὸ] om T 7 γὰρ] δὲ A ἐγκρ.] ἀσκήσεως A καί?] om A 8 ὄλον] om T a₂ 9 μίαν παρὰ μίαν] post biduum l μέγα δὲ A 10 ὅτε] WTAB; ὅτου P 12 ἀνελήφθη] PBa₂; ἀνήλθεν TAI ὁ Ἰησοῦς] WTAB†; Ἰησ. ὁ κύριος P; ὁ κύριος B†a₂; saluator l καί?] om A 13 εἴτε ἔβρεχεν.....ἔμενε] om T 14 χρόνον A; κανὼνα B σφαιρίφ P 17 πρὸ] πρὸς (sic) TA 18 ἑαυτοῦ] WP (αὐτοῦ) Ia₂; om TAB πολλάκις] PB†a₂; om TAB†l: + εἶδον P; ἐπίσταμαι αὐτὸς B 19 αὐτοῦ] om TA ἱμάτια] + καὶ P (txt W) 20 ἀπὸ πλ.] ἀποπλύναντες αὐτὰ A; 'because of their wetness' a₂: + οὕτω κατήρχοντο ὕδατα W; + οὕτω κατερχομένων τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξ αὐτῶν P; + οὕτως ἀπέσταζον B περιβαλλόντων] περιέβαλλον αὐτόν A: + ἱμάτια Pa₂ (txt W) οὕτως οὖν πάλιν] καὶ A 21 μέχρι τῆς ὥρας] om l τῆς¹] WT; τρίτης ABa₂; om P ὥρας] + ἐγερθεῖς A τῆς ψαλμωδίας] P†; τῆ ψαλμωδίᾳ AB(l)a₂ 22 αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρ. P (txt W) τοῦ τελειωθέντος] W (om τοῦ) TA(B)Ia₂; τὸν δρόμον τελείωντος P 23 ἐν]+ τοῖς AB

λόγων ἢ τοῦ βίου συντρέχη συγγένεια, ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἄνευ ἀλὸς κατὰ τὸν Ἰώβ, ὃς οὐ βρωθήσεται οὐδαμῶς, ἢ βρωθεὶς ἄξει εἰς καχεξίαν τοὺς ἐσθίουσας αὐτόν· Εἰ βρωθήσεται γάρ, φησὶν, ἄρτος ἄνευ ἀλός; καὶ εἰ ἐστὶ γεῖμα ἐν ῥήματι κενοῖς μὴ πεπληρωμένοις τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῶν ἔργων; τῶν οὖν ἐγκαταλείψεων αἱ αἰτίαι ἢ 5 μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ κεκρυμμένην ἀρετὴν, ἵνα φανερωθῇ, ὡς ἡ τοῦ Ἰώβ, τοῦ θεοῦ χρηματίζοντος αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντος· Μὴ ἀποποιοῦ μοι τὸ κρίμα, μηδὲ οἶσθ με ἄλλως σοι κεχρηματικέναι, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀναφανῆς δίκαιος· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἡς γνωστός τῷ ὄρῳ τὰ κρυπτά, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡγνούου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὑπονοούντων σε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον 10 θεραπεύειν με, ἐπήγαγον τὴν περίστασιν, ἀπεθέρισα τὸν πλοῦτον, ἵνα δείξω αὐτοῖς τὴν εὐχάριστόν σου φιλοσοφίαν· ἢ δὲ δι' ἀποτροπὴν ὑπερηφανίας, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Παύλου· ἐγκατελείφθη γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος περιστίσει καὶ κολαφισμοῖς καὶ διαφόροις θλίψεσι βαλλόμενος, καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκὶ ἄγγελος 15 σατᾶν, ἵνα με κολλαφίσῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι μήποτε μετὰ τῶν θαυμάτων καὶ ἡ ἄνεσις καὶ ἡ εὐθηνία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῷ προσγενομένη εἰς τύφον αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλη διαβολικὸν | χυνοθέντα· ἐγκατελείφθη καὶ ὁ παραλυτικὸς δι' ἁμαρτίας, ὡς λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἴδε, ἔγιγες γέγονας, μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε· ἐγκατελείφθη καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας 20 προτιμήσας λόγου ἀργύριον, διὸ καὶ ἀπήγγεζατο· ἐγκατε-

3 Job vi. 6.

7 Job xl. 3.

15 2 Cor. xii. 7.

19 Jo. v. 14.

P(W)TAIs

1 εἰγένεια AB ἄλατος T 2 τὸν] + μακάριον B_{is} οὐ] om A οὐδαμῶς] om T 3 τοὺς ἐσθ. αὐτόν] P1B (τὸν ἐσθ.); om TAn εἰ καὶ (κἂν B) βρωθῆ AB γάρ φησὶν] om A 4 ἔστι καὶ (om εἰ) A1 5 διαμαρτυρία A ἔργων] TB1_{is}; λόγων PA αὐ αἰτίαι] om TA: + διάφοροὶ εἰσιν B1 6 διακεκρυμμένη ἀρετὴ A ἢ] τῆς (sic) T Ἰώβ] + ἵνα A 7 τοῦ θεοῦ] om A αὐτῷ] om TA τὸ κρ. μου A 8 ἀλλ' + ἡ T 9 ἐμοὶ] + μὲν TB γν. εἰ A 10 ὑπονοοῦσι γάρ A σε] om TA: + ὅτι A: + ἐσθ' ὅτε TA (after πλοῦτον) τὸν] om T 11 με] + διὰ τοῦτο A ἀπεθάρρησα A 12 τὴν εὐχάριστόν σου φιλοσοφίαν] B1 (nouiuiam); τὴν εὐχάριστόν σου γνώμην P; τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σου καὶ τὴν φιλ. TA; 'your thanksgiving to me and your patience' s ἢ δέ] PTA; ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρως ἐγκαταλείφθη B1 13 τοῦ] + μακαρίου B1 Παύλου] + ἔστιν ἰδεῖν B1 (nouiuiam) γάρ] + καὶ P 14 II.] + ἐν T 15 καὶ] om A ἔγγ. σ.] om W 17 καὶ ἢ εἰθ.] om P προσγενομένη A 18 ἐμβάλλη W; ἐκβάλλη A διαβ.] + καὶ A: + ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδείας B1 ἐγκαταλελείφθη A 19 ἔλεγεν A Ἰησοῦς] WB1 (+ Χριστὸς B1); κύριος PA1B1; θεός T1; 'our Saviour' s 20 ὃ] om PA (txt W) 21 προτιμήσας] + τοῦ P(B) (txt W) λόγου] om A; 'life' s ἀργ. λόγου T(B)

βαπτιστοῦ. καὶ ἐπευξάμενος αὐτῷ μέχρις ἑννάτης ὥρας ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας, ὑγιῆ ἀπέδωκε τὸν νεανίσκον τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τὴν πάρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα ἐξελάσαστοιαύτη δὲ ἦν ἡ πάρεσις αὐτοῦ ὡς πτύοντα τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τὸν 5 ὠτόν πτύειν, οὕτως ἦν ἐκστραφεῖς.

Πρόβατον ἀπολέσασα γραῦς τις προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ κλαίουσα· καὶ ἀκολουθήσας αὐτῇ λέγει· Δεῖξόν μοι τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἀπώλεσας. ἀπάγει αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λαζάριον τόπους. στας οὖν προσῆξατο. οἱ δὲ κλέψαντες νεώτεροι προφθάσαντες 10 ἔσφαξαν αὐτό. ἐν τῷ οὖν προσεύξασθαι αὐτὸν μηδενὸς ὁμολογούντος, κεκρυμμένοι τοῦ κρεαδίου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι, ποθὲν κόραξ ἔλθων ἐπέστη καὶ λαβὼν κόπεον πάλιν ἀπέστη. καὶ προσχῶν ὁ μακάριος εὔρε τὸ θῦμα· καὶ οὕτω προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ οἱ νεώτεροι ὁμολόγησαν οἱ σφάζαντες αὐτό, ἀπαιτηθέντες τὸ ἄξιον τίμημα. |

15 (XLV) [Περιετύχομεν ἐν Γαλατία καὶ συνεχρονίσασμεν μακρῷ χρόνῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ Φιλορόμῳ ἀνδρὶ ἀσκητικωτάτῳ καὶ καρτερικωτάτῳ· ὃς ἄρμητο μὲν ἐξ οἰκέτιδος μητρὸς ἐλευθέρου δὲ πατρός· τοσαύτην δὲ εὐγένειαν εἰς τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐνεδείξατο πολιτείαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀνικητοὺς ἐν γένει 20 αἰδεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. οὗτος ἀπετάξατο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ δυσωνύμου βασιλέως, καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας διελέχθη τούτῳ. ὃν ξιρισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ὑπὸ παιδαρίων κοσσισθῆναι· ὃς ἐγκαρτερήσας τῷ πράγματι, καὶ

8 See Note 83. 15 The chief differences between 1^{rev} and 1 are indicated as samples. On Philoromus see Note 84.

PTAll₂(1—5)s

1 ἀπὸ τρ. ὥρας μέχρις ἑν. (om ὥρας) TB(11,28); txt PA 2 τὸν νεανίσκον] αὐτὸν P1 τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ] TB11,28; om PAB11 τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ] PTA.B11s; om B11,2 3 αὐτοῦ after δαίμονα T ἐξήλασε A 5 πίπτειν (sic) A ἐκστρ. ἦν A: + ἄλλο αὐτοῦ πάλιν σημείων A: 1₂ ceases here 6 γραῦς τις before πρόβατον A τις] om T(B) 7 ἔνθα] που A 8 τῶν] PT; τὸ AB 10 προσεύχασθαι TB 11 ἐγκαερ. A κρεαδίου] κρέατος T; W recommences

P(W)TA1s

11 κόραξ ποθὲν AB 12 ἐπέστη] + τῇ κλοπῇ B (1 supra ipsas) καὶ¹.....ἀπέστη] om A ἀνέστη T προσχῶν οὖν (om καὶ) TB; δὲ A 13 μακάριος] + Ἰν. T ἴδε τὸ θαῦμα A νεανίσκοι P οἱ νεώτ. after ὁμολόγ. TA 14 οἱ σφάζ. αὐτό] PA (om οἱ) s ('that they had killed it'); οἱ κλέψαντες τοῦτο B; 1 altered; om T καὶ ἀπρηθήσαν A(B)

XLV (Περὶ Φιλορώμου): B1

16 τῷ] + θεοφιλεστάτῳ B 17 καὶ καρτ.] om A^B 18 εὐγένειαν] + ἐνάρετον B; ἀρετῶν A^B 19 ἀνικητοὺς ἐν γένει] qui libertate generis anicii dicerentur 1 20 τὴν¹] + ἰσάγγελον B τῆν²] + τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐνεργῶν B 23 τούτῳ] + τῷ δυσσεβεῖ ὁ γενναῖος τοῦ Χρ. ἀθλήτης Φ. B 23 παιδαρίων] + ἐντονώματα B; ἐστῶτα A^B

καὶ συμφαλλόντων ἡμῶν σκορπίος ἐπληξεν· ὃς πατήσας αὐτὸν οὐδὲ μετέστη τῆς τοῦ σχήματος στάσεως ἀλογήσας τῆς κατὰ τὸν σκορπίον ὀδύνης. ἀδελφοῦ δέ τινος κατέχοντος μᾶς τῶν ἡμερῶν κλήματος κόμμα, λαβὼν ἐν τῷ καθῆσθαι παρὰ τὴν ὄχθαν τοῦ ὄρου ἔχωσεν ὡς φυτεύων, καίπερ ἐν οὐ καιρῷ· ὃ 5 εἰς τοσοῦτον ἠῤῥήθη καὶ γέγονεν ἄμπελος ὡς σκεπάζειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ᾧ συνετελειώθη καὶ Αἰνέσιός τις ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος, καὶ Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ ἤλασεν ἀπαθείας ταριχευθεὶς τὸ σῶμα ὡς ἥλιον διαφαίνειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀστέων. φέρεται δὲ διήγημα παρὰ τῶν σπουδαίων αὐτοῦ μαθη- 10 τῶν ὅτι ἐπὶ δύσιν οὐδέποτε ἐστράφη τῷ ἐπικεῖσθαι τὸ ὄρος εἰς ὕψος τῆ τοῦ σπηλαιίου θύρα· οὐδὲ τὸν ἥλιον μετὰ ἕκτην ὥραν ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς γενόμενον καὶ κατὰ δύσιν κλίνοντα εἶδέ ποτε, οὐδὲ τοὺς κατὰ δυσμὰς ἀνατέλλοντας ἀστέρας, ἐπὶ εἰκοσιπέντε ἔτη· | ὃς ἀφ' οὗ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον οὐ κατήλθε 15 τοῦ ὄρου μέχρις οὗ ἐτάφη.

(XLIX) [Τοῦτου τοῦ Ἐλπιδίου μαθητῆς γέγονε Σισίννιος ὀνόματι, ἐξ οἰκετικῆς μὲν ὀρμώμενος τύχης ἐλεύθερος δὲ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν, τῷ γένει Καππαδόκης· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τάδε σημαίνειν πρὸς δόξαν τοῦ ἐξευγενίζοντος ἡμᾶς Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὴν 20 ἀληθινὴν ἀπάγοντος ἡμᾶς εὐγένειαν. οὗτος χρονίσας παρὰ τῷ Ἐλπιδίῳ ἕκτον ἢ ἑβδομον ἔτος ἐς ὕστερον μνήματι ἑαυτὸν καθείρξε καὶ ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐν προσευχαῖς διετέλει, μὴ νύκτωρ μὴ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ καθίσας, μὴ ἀναπесῶν, μὴ βαδίσας ἕξω. οὗτος κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος κατὰ δαιμόνων. 25

P(W)T18

1 καὶ αὐτῶ σιμψ. T B 2 στάσεως] + τοσοῦτον B 4 λαβὼν] + τοῦτο T B (l) ἐν τῷ καθ. | om P (txt W) τὴν ὄχθ.) om T (τὸ ὄρος) 6 ἠῤῥῆσε P (txt W) σκεπάσαι T: | πᾶσαν B18 7 τοῦτω T B1 καὶ before συνετ. T 8 αὐτοῦ] + ὁμότιμος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς πολιτείας ἐξανύσας προθύμως B; quibus una uita atque eadem connummatio fuit l 8ε] WB; om P T 9 ὡς] + τὸν P T (txt WB) 10 ὀστέων] + τὸ πῆγμα P B (txt W T18) 11 ὅτι] + ἐν ὄλοις εἰκοσι πέντε ἔτεσιν B (l om in 14) 12 εἰς ὕψος] om T 13 ἴδε T B 14 ἀνατέλλοντας T 16 ἔως P (txt W)

XLIX (Περὶ Σισίννιου): B1

17 τοῦ] + ἀθανάτου (al. ἁγίου) B τοῦ Ἐλπ.] cm A^B γέγονε] om A^B 18 ὀνόματι] om A^B ὀρμ. before ἐξ οἰκ. A^B 19-21 δεῖ.....εὐγένειαν] om A^B 19 τάδε] τὰ γένη B1 20 τὴν] + μακαρίαν καὶ B 21 ἀληθινὴν] + atque caelestem l εὐγενίαν] + εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν B οὔτος] A^B1; om B (+ τοῖσιν after χρ.) τῷ] + μακαρίῳ A^B 22 Ἐλπιδίῳ] magistrum suum l: + ὁ διάκτυρος ἑραστής τῶν τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀρετῶν A^B 23 ἔτος] + καὶ ἐκμεμαθηκὼς τὰς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὸ καρπερὸν τῶν τῆς ἀσκήσεως πύων A^B 23 ἔτη] + σταθεῖς A^B B

νυνὶ δὲ ἐπανεληθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἠξιώθη πρεσβυτερίου, συναγαγὼν ἀδελφότητα ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, διὰ τῆς σεμνῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρρεν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐλάσας καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν θῆλυ τῇ ἐγκρατεία φιμώσας, ὡς πληροῦσθαι τὸ
5 γεγραμμένον· Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἔστι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ φιλόξενος καίπερ ὦν ἀκτῆμων, εἰς ἔλεγχον τῶν ἀμεταδότων πλουσίων.]

(L) Ἐργων γέροντα Παλαιστίνον τινα Γαδδανῶν ὀνόματι, ὃς τὸν ἄστεγον ἔζησε βίον εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην τόπους.
10 τούτῳ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ ζῆλον ἐπιθέμενοι ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Νεκρὰν θάλασσαν τόποις ξίφος γυμνώσαντες ἐπήλθον. καὶ συνέβη πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον· ἐν τῷ τὸ ξίφος ἐπᾶραι καὶ βουληθῆναι σπᾶσαι κατὰ τοῦ Γαδδανᾶ ἀπεξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ τὸ ξίφος γυμνώσαντος, πεσόντος τοῦ ξίφους ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ ἔχοντος.

15 (LI) Ἡλίας πάλιν μοιάζων ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἐν σπηλαίῳ κατῴκει σεμνοτάτου βίου καὶ ἐνθέσμων ὑπάρχων. οὗτος μῖα τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῷ ἐπεληλυθότων πλειόνων, ἦν γὰρ πάροδος ὁ τόπος, ελείφθη ἄρτων. καὶ ἐπληροφόρησεν ἡμᾶς ὅτιπερ Λιποθυμίας ἐν τῷ πράγματι εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ
20 κελλίῳ τρεῖς εὔρον ἄρτους νεαρούς· καὶ φαγόντων εἴκοσι ὄντων εἰς κόρον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς περιέσσευσεν, ᾧ ἐχρησάμην ἐπὶ εἰκοσιπέντε ἡμέρας. |

5 Gal. iii. 28.

Bl

2 γυναικῶν] + τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς ἀπαθείας A^BB 2-4 διὰ.....φιμώσας] l: qui adeo purus per omnia fuit, adeo sine ullo uitio mentis et corporis uixit, ut nullam generis esse distantiam inter mares et feminas comprobaret 5 θῆλυ]+ οὐκ ἐστι δούλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος A^B 6 φιλόξενος]+ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν A^BB

L (Περὶ Γαδδανᾶ): P(W)Tls

8 Παλαιστιναῖον T τινα] om P Γαδανῶν T (but δδ below); Γαδδᾶν P (txt W); Gadai s 12 πρᾶγμα] P; θαῦμα TB(l)s 13 Γαδανᾶ P (txt W) ἐξηράνθη T τοῦ τὸ ξ. γυμν.] TB (κατέχοντος) ls; αὐτοῦ P 14 ξίφος]+ παρ' αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους (om ἀπὸ τῆς δ. τοῦ ἐχ.) Ts (connects παρ' αὐτὰ with ἀπεξηρ.) ἀπὸ τῆς δεξ.] Pl (ex digitis); om W ἔχοντος] Wl; ἄρτος P: (B paraphr)

LI (Περὶ Ἡλ(α)): P(W)Tls

15 πάλιν] om s: + ἄλλος PT: + ὀνόματι Bl ἐν²] om P 17 μῆ P ἐπεληλυθόντων T 18 ὁ τόπος] Ps; om T; δι' αὐτοῦ B; illio l ἐπληροφόρησεν] P; ἐπεισεν TB 19 ὅτι λιποθύμει T; ὅτι λιποθύμησα B ἐν τῷ πράγματι] PT; ἐπὶ τῇ σπᾶναι Bs (+ τῶν τροφῶν B); om l εἰσελθὼν]+ οὖν TBs ἐν τῷ κ. after εὔρ. ἄρτ. P 20 τρεῖς εὔρον ἄρτ.] W; τρ. ἄρτ. εὔρον P; εὔρον τρ. ἄρτ. TB νεαρούς] PB; om Tls εἰς κόρον εἴκοσι ἀνδρῶν (om ἀπ' αὐτῶν) TB(s) 21 περιέσσευσεν] WT; ἐπερίσσε. PB

(LII) [Σαβᾶς τις ὀνόματι, κοσμικός, τῷ γένει Ἰεριχοῦντιος, γυναῖκα ἔχων, τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο φιλομόναχος ὡς κυκλεῖν ἀνά τὰς κέλλας καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐν ταῖς νυξί, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην μονὴν ἔξω τιθεῖν φοινίκων μόδιον ἓνα καὶ λαχάνων τὸ αὐτάρκες, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐσθίειν ἄρτον τοὺς ἄσκητὰς τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ἰορδάνην. 5 τούτῳ μιᾷς τῶν ἡμερῶν λέων ὑπήντησε, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνὸς ὡσεὶ καὶ κατέστρεψε, καὶ τὸν ὄνον λαβὼν ἀνεχώρησεν.] |

(LIII) Ἀβράμιος τις γέγονε τῷ γένει Αἰγύπτιος, τραχύ-
τατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον βίον ζήσας ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. 8ς πληγὴς τὴν 10
φρένα ὑπὸ ἀκαίρου οἰήσεως ἐλθὼν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διεμάχετο
τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις λέγων ὅτι Πρεσβύτερος ἐχειροτονήθη παρὰ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί, καὶ δέξασθέ με ἱερατεύοντα. 15
ὃν οἱ πατέρες διαχωρίσαντες τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν παχύτερον
καὶ ἀδιαφορώτερον ἀγαγόντες βίον, ἀπεθεράπευσαν τῆς ὑπερη-
φανίας, εἰς γινώσκειν αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες τῆς οἰκείας ἀσθενείας
παιχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. |

6—8 τούτῳ.....ἀνεχώρησεν] B gives the passage thus: τούτῳ τῷ δεξιῶτῃ (ul. δεξιῶ) τῶν μοναχῶν καὶ εὐτραπέζῳ τῶν ἐγκρατῶν μιᾷς τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀποκομίσαντι τοῖς ἀγίοις τὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐπιτήδεια, ζήλω τοῦ πονηροῦ τούτῳ λέων ὑπήντησε, τοῦ ἔχθρου τῶν μοναχῶν τὸν ἀνήμερον θῆρα κατὰ τοῦ διακόνου αὐτῶν ἐξεγείραντος στερεῖσαι σπουδιάζοντος κἀκείνους τῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ τούτου τῆς προθέσεως. καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ θῆρ ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνὸς τῶν μοναχῶν, τῇ ἰδίᾳ δρακί ὤσεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατέστρεψεν. ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δαυὶλ διδάξας νηστεύειν τοὺς λέοντας, καὶ τούτου τῆς τοῦ φιλεντάλου θοῆνης ἐκόλωσε σφοδρῶς πεινῶντα τὸν λέοντα. ἐξ ὧν τὸν ὄνον τοῦ γέροντος λαβὼν ἀνεχώρησεν. ὁ γὰρ τούτῳ τὴν ζωὴν χαρισάμενος, καὶ τοῦ θηρὸς τὴν πείναν παρεμυθήσατο. The words in spaced type represent l (see below) and make up the text.

17 In P at this point (*i.e.* after XLVIII) comes LXIII; then LIX, LX, XLVI, LXIX, LXX, LIV—LVII.

LII (Περὶ Σαβᾶ): B

1 Σαβᾶς] 1; Σαββᾶτιος B κοσμικός after Ἰερ. 1 2 ἔχων] + διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβου B φιλομονάζων B 3 omnium cellas | ἐρημῶν] + πᾶσαν B totis noctibus | μονὴν] + λάθρα B 6-8 τούτῳ.....ἀνεχώρησεν] l: in quem leo quadam die impetum fecit, quemque intra unum lapidem consecutus corripuit atque disiecit, et asinum tantummodo eius auertit ac rapuit. (For B see above) 7 ὄνον] + τοῦ γέροντος B; eius l: + tantummodo l

LIII (Περὶ Ἀβραμίου): P(W)TA1a

9 Abram l τῷ] + μέν A 10 ζήσας βίον P 13 Χριστοῦ] + ἐν TA ταύτῃ om A ὡς ἱερεῖα A ὄν] τούτου AB 14 οἱ] + ἄγιοι B1 χωρ. P τραχύτερον A 15 ἐθεράπ. P 17 ἐμπ. P (txt W) τοῦ δ.] δαίμονων TA

ὁμότροπος καὶ στιβαρώτατος Ῥουφίνος ὁ ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἐξ Ἀκυληίας τῆς πόλεως, πρεσβυτερίου ἐς ὕστερον καταξιωθείς· οὐ γνωστικώτερος καὶ ἐπιεικέστερος ἐν ἀνδράσιν οὐχ εὐρίσκειτο. δεξιούμενοι οὖν ἀμφότεροι ἐν τοῖς εἰκοσιεπτὰ ἔτεσι τοὺς παρα-
 5 τυγχάνοντας ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐχῆς ἔνεκεν, ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ μονάζοντας καὶ παρθένους, οἰκείους ἀναλώμασιν ᾠκοδόμησαν μὲν πάντας τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας, ἦνωσαν δὲ τὸ σχίσμα τὸ κατὰ Παυλίον ὡς ἀνδρῶν τετρακοσίων μοναζόντων, καὶ πάντα αἰρετικὸν πνευματομάχον συμπίεσαντες εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἐκ-
 10 κλησίαν, τιμώντες τοὺς κατὰ τόπον κληρικούς δούροις καὶ τροφαῖς, οὕτω διετέλεσαν μηδένα σκανδαλίσαντες. |

(XLVII) Χρόνιός τις ὀνόματι ἐκ τῆς κώμης τῆς λεγομένης Φουνίκης, ἀπομετρήσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας κώμης πλησίον οὔσης τῆς ἐρήμου μύρια πεντακισχίλια βήματα τῷ δεξιῷ ποδὶ ἀριθμού-
 15 μενα, ἐκεῖσε προσευξάμενος ᾤρυξε φρέαρ· καὶ εὐρῶν κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἀπέχον ὄργυιῖς ἑπτὰ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκεῖ ξενίαν μικράν. καὶ ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐνεθρόνισεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ μονῇ ἤψατο τῷ θεῷ μὴ ἀνακάμψαι μηκέτι εἰς οἰκούμενον τόπον. παρελθόντων δὲ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν ἠξιώθη πρεσβυτερίου ἀδελφότητος περὶ
 20 αὐτὸν συναχθείσης ὡς ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων. αὕτη οὖν αὐτοῦ φέρεται τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἢ ἀρετῆς, ὅτι ἐξήκοντα ἔτη παρεδρεύσας τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ἱερατεύων οὐ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐξήλθεν, οὐκ ἐκτὸς ἔργου ἰδίων χειρῶν βέβρωκεν ἄρτον.

1 See Note 87.

7 See Note 88.

12 In P XLVII follows xxxix. Tullberg's A and N give the text of s (*Paradisus* 12—21). On monks named here see Note 89.

PTAlS

1 μόντροπος B1 (-φος B1) καὶ στιβ.] om TB1 ἀπὸ] + τῆς A 2 Ἀκυληίας (sic) T 3 -κώτατος and -κέστατος A ἠθρικέ τις (γρ. and ἐπ. in acc.) T 4 οὖν] om As τοῖς] om TA 5 εὐχῆς ἔνεκεν] om T 6 ᾠκοδόμου A; οἰκοδομοῦντες TB 7 μὲν] om TAB ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα A 10 τιμώντες] + τε T τοὺς...κληρικούς] P1; τὸν...κλήρον TABs δούροις] + τε TB

XLVII (Περὶ Χρονίου καὶ Παφνογτίου): PTAlS

12 Κρόνιος T ὀνόματι] λεγόμενος A: + ὀρμώμενος B1 τῆς¹] om P 13 ἀπὸ] ἐκ P 14 πεντακόσια A βήματα before μύρια A τῷ ποδὶ τῷ δ. T 16 ἀπέχον] + εἰς βάθος AB1 ούργ. PA ἑαυτῷ om A 18 μηκέτι] τοῦ λοιποῦ T; om A 19 δέ] οὖν A ἐνιαυτῶν T 20 ὡσεὶ T τριακοσίων A 20, 21 αὕτη οὖν φ. ἢ ἀρ. αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀσκ. A 21 τῆς ἀσκ.] om Ts 22 οὐκ ἐκ T 23 ἔργων T ἰδίων] PB; τῶν TA ἄρτου T

ἀξιόλογον Ἀπρονιανόν, Ἑλληνα ὄντα, κατήχησε καὶ χριστιανὸν ἐποίησε, πείσασα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικός, ἀνεψιᾶς ταύτης, καλουμένης Ἀβίτας. στερεώσασα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐγγόνην Μελανίαν σὺν τῷ ταύτης ἀνδρὶ Πινιανῷ, καὶ κατηχήσασα Ἀλβιναν τὴν ἑαυτῆς νύμφην, γυναῖκα 5 δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς, καὶ παρασκευάσασα πάντας τούτους διαπωλῆσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς, τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σεμνὸν καὶ γαληνιώντα λιμένα τοῦ βίου ἤγαγε. καὶ οὕτως πρὸς πάντας ἐθηριομάχησε τοὺς συγκλητικούς καὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας κωλύοντας αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποταξίᾳ τῶν λοιπῶν οἴκων. ἡ δὲ 10 ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· Παιδιά, γέγραπται πρὸ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν ὅτι Ἑσχάτη ὥρα ἐστὶ. τί ἐμφιλοχωρεῖτε τῇ ματαιότητι τοῦ βίου, μήποτε φθίσωσιν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, καὶ μὴ ἀπολαύσητε ὑμῶν τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῶν προγονικῶν πραγμάτων. καὶ τούτους πάντας ἐλευθερώσασα ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸν μονήρη βίον. 15 καὶ τὸν Πουπλικουλά δὲ υἱὸν τὸν νεώτερον κατηχήσασα ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα διαπωλῆσασα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς λαβούσα ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα·

1 See Note 95.

5 See Note 96.

13 1 Jo. ii. 18.

16 See Note 93.

17 See Note 97.

P'TAIs

1 ἀξιολογώτατον B; + λαμπρότατον B1 (nobilem); τῶν λαμπροτάτων A Ἀπρονιανόν] T ven B; (Ἀπρονιανόν B1) η (⚡⚡⚡⚡); Ἀπριανόν PA; Pinianum I (identifying him with the husband of the younger Melania) 2 ποιήσασα ἔπεισεν (om αὐτὸν) T ἐγκρατ.] + καὶ A 3 ἀνεψιᾶς.....Ἀβ.] om I ἀνεψιᾶς] P; ἀδελφίδης B; ἀδελφῆς TAs; I vac; + δὲ TB αὐτῆς T; om A Ἀβίττας TB1 4 δὲ] om TA ἐγγόνην] T; ἐγκόνην P; ἐκγ. AB Μελανίαν] AB1s; Μελάνιον T B1 (-ίον); Μελάνην PB1; (see Note 106) 5 Πινιανῷ] B1s (⚡⚡⚡⚡); Ἀπινιανῷ P; Ἀπριανῷ A; om T; (see Note 107) 6 υἱοῦ] ἀδελφοῦ T ven 7 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῶν A; ἑαυτῶν (before ἕσ.) T; + ἐκ A 8 γαληνῶν βίον αὐτῆς. (om λιμένα) T 10 κωλύοντας] P; κωλύόντων TAB αὐτῆν] PA; αὐτῶν T; αὐτῇ B ἀποταξίᾳ] P; ἀποτάξει A; ἀποταγῇ B; τὴν ἀποταξίαν (om ἐπὶ) T οἴκων] PA; οἰκίων B; om T

P'TIs[A]

10 9 (p. 148) ἡ δὲ...ἐρίπιον] A becomes contaminated by interpolations from a B text 11 λέγει T 12 ἐμφ.] + ἐν T 13, 14 καὶ τῶν προγον. πραγμ. καὶ τοῦ πλ. ὑμῶν μὴ ἀπολαύσητε P 15, 16 ἤγαγεν.....κατηχήσασα] om A 15 βίον] + ἀλλὰ (καὶ in marg. m. 1) P 16 Πουπλικουλά] PB (Πουπλικόλα); Πουπλικου T ven; 'her non Publicus' s; Publicum laetioque filium (sic) I^{ms} (I^{ms} erasure, I^{ms} om name) δὲ] om T κατήχησε καὶ T 17 πάντα (δὲ T) τὰ ἑαυτῆς (τὰ A) ὑπόλοιπα TA 18 λαβ. before τὰς τ. T ἦλθεν] ἤγαγεν A; + πάλιν B1(s)

καὶ διανείμασα τὰς ὕλας ἐντὸς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐκοιμήθη
ἐν γήρᾳ καλῶ καὶ βαθυτάτῃ πραότητι, καταλείψασα καὶ
μοναστήριον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὰ τοῦτου ἀναλώματα.

Ὡς δὲ πάντες οὗτοι ἀπέστησαν τῆς Ῥώμης θύελλά τις
5 βαρβαρική, ἣ καὶ ἐν προφητεῖαις πάλαι κειμένη, ἐπέστη τῇ
Ῥώμῃ, καὶ οὐκ εἶασεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς,
ἀλλὰ πάντα πορθήσασα βαρβαρικῇ ἀποιοῖα παρέδωκεν ἀπωλείᾳ·
ὡς γενέσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην, τὴν ἐν χιλίοις ἔτεσι καὶ διακοσίοις
φιλοκαληθεῖσαι, ἐρίπιον. τότε οἱ κατηχηθέντες καὶ οἱ ἐναντι-
10 θέντες τῇ κατηχήσει ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν τὸν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν
πραγμάτων πείσαντα τοὺς ἀπίστους ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων πάντων
αἰχμαλωτισθέντων οὗτοι μόνοι διεσώθησαν οἱ οἴκοι, ὀλοκαυ-
τώματα γενόμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ σπουδῇ Μελανίας. |

(LV) Συνέβη ἡμα ὀδεύειν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ Αἰλίας ἐπὶ τὴν
15 Αἴγυπτον, προπέμποντας τὴν μακαρίαν Σιλβανίαν τὴν παρθένον
γυναικαδέλφην Ῥουφίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ἐν οἷς ἦν σὺν
ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰουβίνος, τὸ τηρικαῦτα μὲν διάκονος νυνὶ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος
τῆς Ἀσκάλωνος ἐκκλησίας, ἀνὴρ εὐλαβῆς καὶ φιλόλογος. σφο-
δρῶτάτου οὖν καύματος καταλαβόντος ἡμᾶς καὶ κατατησάντων
20 ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον, ἔτυχε τὸν Ἰουβίνον νιπτῆρα λαβόντα
νίφασθαι τὴς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας πυγμῇ ὕδατι ψυχροτάτῃ,

4 Sack of Rome under Alaric, A.D. 410: see Note 98.

9 ἐρίπιον] for ἐρίπιον B¹ read: κατὰ τὴν τῆς Σιβύλλης ῥῆσιν, ῥύμην (Or.
Sib. VIII. 165). 15 See Note 99. 17 See Note 100.

PTIs[A]

1 καὶ] ταῦτα (om τὰς ὕλας) T 2 γήρει TB καὶ² τὸ T 5 κειμ. πάλαι T
8 ὥστε A ἐν] PB; οἰν TA 8 ἔτεσι after διακ. TAB (om καὶ TB) 9 φιλο-
καλισθεῖσαι A

PTAls

9 τότε] A recommences οἱ² μὴ TA; txt Pl: (Bs om καὶ οἱ.....κατηχῆσει)
10 κατηχῆσει]+ταῦτων P; ταύτης A 12 ὀλοκαύτωμα AB1 13 γεν. after κ. TA
τοῦ κυρίου A σπουδῇ]+τῆς μακαρίας Als(B) Μελάνης PB¹; Μελανίου T; Μελανίης A

LV (Περὶ τῆς Σιλβανίας): PTAIs

14 Prefix Κατ' ἐκείνῃ καιρῷ AB1 (postea); text PTs: (see App. v. ii) σιωβῆ]
+δὲ T 15 προπεμπόντων P Σιλβανίαν] TA (incl. A³⁰ in text); Silvana
(~~Σιλβαν~~) s; Σιλβιαν PA³⁰ (in title); Σαλβιαν B¹; Σαλβιαν B¹; Silvia l
16 γυναικαδέλφην] PA (-φον); ἀδελφῆν TIs; γυναῖκα ἀδελφῆν B: +δὲ TB φ]+καὶ
(sic) A σὺν ἡμῶν after Ἰουβ. T 17 μὲν] om T 21 τοῦ κ. καὶ τῆς χ. PA
ὕδατος ψυχροτάτου TA

καὶ μετὰ τὸ νίψασθαι δερμοτύλῳ ἐπαναπαῆναι ῥιφέντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους. ἐπιστᾶσα ἐκείνη ὡς μήτηρ σοφὴ υἱοῦ γνησίου ἐπέσκωπτεν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀπαλότῃ λέγουσα· Πῶς θαρρεῖς ταύτην ἄνων τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐτι ζῶντος τοῦ αἵματός σου οὕτω φιλοκαλεῖν
 ἄρσει, μὴ αἰσθανόμενος τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τικτομένων βλαβερῶν; 5
 ἄρσει, θίρσει ὅτι ἐξηκοστὸν ἄγω ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἱκρῶν τῶν χειρῶν οὐ ποῦς μου ἤψατο ὕδατος οὐκ ὄψις οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν μελῶν, καίπερ διαφόροις ληφθεῖσα ἄρρωστίαις, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀναγκαζομένη οὐκ ἠνεσχόμην ἀποδοῦναι τῇ σαρκὶ τὸ ἔθος, οὐκ ἐπὶ κλίνης ἀναπαεῖσα οὐ λεκτικίῳ ὄδυσά σου. 10

Αὕτη λογιωτάτη γενομένη ἢ καὶ φιλήσασα τὸν λόγον τὰς νίκτας εἰς ἡμέρας μετέβαλε πᾶν σύγγραμμα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑπομνηματιστῶν διελθοῦσα· Ἐν οἷς Ὀριγένους μυριάδας τριακοσίας, Γρηγορίου καὶ Στεφάνου καὶ Πιερίου καὶ Βασιλείου καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν σπουδαιοτάτων μυριάδας εἰκοσιπέντε· οὐχ ἀπλῶς 15 οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχε διελθοῦσα, ἀλλὰ πεπονημένως ἕκαστον βιβλίον ἔβδομον ἢ ὄγδοον διελθοῦσα. διὸ καὶ ἡδυνηθῆ ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως ἐλευθερωθεῖσα πτερωθῆναι τῇ χάριτι τῶν λόγων ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἑαυτὴν ὄρνιν ἐργασαμένη πνευματικὴν διαπεράσασα πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν. 20

(LVI) Ταύτης κατ' ὄπιν καὶ ἴχνος ἡ σεμνοτάτη Ὀλυμ-

13 See note 101. 20 Χριστόν] PT add (cf. c. LXIV fin. p. 160): Οὐ παρέργως δὲ τεθεῖκα καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθωμεν ὅτι πολυτρόπως ἔνεστι κερδαίνειν εἰν ἐθέλωμεν (θέλωμεν T).

21 Chapters LVI and LVII are missing in T. In B chapter LVI is con-

P'TAls

1 θερμοτύλῳ A; pellitam plumam l ἀναπαῆναι P 2 ἐπιστᾶσα] + οὖν T; δι' AB 3 ἐπέσκωπτεν] P; ἐπέσκηπτεν AB; ἐπισκῆπτει T; reprehendens is ἀπλότῃ Pn τὴν ἀπαλότῃ A θαρρεῖς] + σου τῷ σώματι TB ἐκείνη A 4 ἄγων] ἔχων P ζῶντος] PAl; ζέοντος TIn φιλοκαλεῖς AB (ὡς μὴ) 5 ἐξ] ἀπ' A 6 ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ T τῆς ἡλ. ἔτος A 7 χειρῶν] + μου TA(n) tr. ποῦς and ὄψις B1 οὐδὲ] οὐχ T 8 μελῶν] + μου A ληφθ.] βληθεῖσα P ὑπὸ] παρὰ T 9 ἀνεσχ. T 10 ἔθος] χρεός A ἀναπαεῖσα] PAl (quiesci); ἀνέπεσα T8; ἐκαθεύθησα B πῶποτε T 11 ἦ] om TA καὶ] om A καταφιλ. A; ποθήσασα (after λόγον) T 12 μετέβαλλε T 13 ἐν οἷς.....τριακοσίας] PBl; om TAs 14 Πιερίου] PAB; Πέτρου T ven s; om l 15 μυρ. εἰκοσιτ.] om T 16 οὐδὲ] καὶ P διελθ.] P; ἀπελθ. A; παρελθ. TB πεπονημενῶς A 18 ἀναπτερωθῆναι T; + πρώτων PB; txt TAls 19 ὄρν. εἰντ. T διαπεράσαι T 20 Χριστόν] θεόν T (see Note above)

LVI (Περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος): Pl

21 ὄπιν καὶ] om B1

καὶ διανείμασα τὰς ὕλας ἐντὸς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐκοιμήθη
ἐν γῆρᾳ καλῷ καὶ βαθυτάτῃ πραότητι, καταλείψασα καὶ
μοναστήριον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὰ τούτου ἀναλώματα.

Ὡς δὲ πάντες οὗτοι ἀπέστησαν τῆς Ῥώμης θύελλά τις
5 βαρβαρική, ἣ καὶ ἐν προφητείαις πάλαι κειμένη, ἐπέστη τῇ
Ῥώμῃ, καὶ οὐκ εἶασεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς,
ἀλλὰ πάντα πορθήσασα βαρβαρικῇ ἀπονοίᾳ παρέδωκεν ἀπωλείᾳ·
ὡς γενέσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην, τὴν ἐν χιλίοις ἔτεσι καὶ διακοσίοις
φιλοκαληθεῖσαι, ἐρίπιον. τότε οἱ κατηχηθέντες καὶ οἱ ἐναντιω-
10 θέντες τῇ κατηχήσει ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν τὸν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν
πραγμάτων πείσαντα τοὺς ἀπίστους ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων πάντων
αἰχμαλωτισθέντων οὗτοι μόνον διεσώθησαν οἱ οἰκοὶ, ὀλοκαυ-
τώματα γενόμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ σπουδῇ Μελανίας. |

(LV) Συνέβη ἅμα ὀδεύειν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ Αἰθίας ἐπὶ τὴν
15 Αἴγυπτον, προπέμποντας τὴν μακαρίαν Σιλβανίαν τὴν παρθένον
γυναικαδέλφην Ῥουφίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ἐν οἷς ἦν σὺν
ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰουβίνος, τὸ τηλικαῦτα μὲν διύκονος νυνὶ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος
τῆς Ἀσκήλωνος ἐκκλησίας, ἀνὴρ εὐλαβῆς καὶ φιλόλογος. σφο-
δροτάτου οὖν καύματος καταλαβόντος ἡμᾶς καὶ κατανητησάντων
20 ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον, ἔτυχεν τὸν Ἰουβίνον νηπτῆρα λαβόντα
νύφασθαι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας πυγμῇ ὕδατι ψυχροτάτῳ,

4 Sack of Rome under Alaric, A.D. 410: see Note 98.

9 ἐρίπιον] for ἐρίπιον B¹ read: κατὰ τὴν τῆς Σιβύλλης ῥῆσιν, ῥύμην (Or.
Sib. VIII. 165). 15 See Note 99. 17 See Note 100.

PTIs[A]

1 καὶ] ταῦτα (om τὰς ὕλας) T 2 γῆρει TB καὶ²] τὸ T 5 κειμ. πάλαι T
8 ὥστε A ἐν] PB; om TA 8 ἔτεσι after διακ. TAB (om καὶ TB) 9 φιλο-
καλισθεῖσαν A

PTAls

9 τότε] A recommences oi²] μὴ TA; txt P1: (Bs om καὶ oi.....κατηχῆσει)
10 κατηχῆσει]+ τούτων P; ταύτης A 12 ὀλοκαύτωμα AB1 13 γεν. after κ. TA
τοῦ κυρίου A σπουδῇ]+ τῆς μακαρίας Als(B) Μελάνης PB†; Μελανίου T; Μελανίης A

LV (Περὶ τῆς Σιλβανίας): PTAls

4 Prefix Κατ' ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ AB1 (postea); text PTs: (see App. v. ii) συνέβη]
5 ἐ T 15 προπεμπόντων P Σιλβανίαν] TA (incl. A³⁸ in text); Silvana
Σιλβανία] s; Σιλβιαν PA³⁸ (in title); Σαλβιαν B†; Σαλβιαν B†; Silvia I
6 γυναῖκα ἀδελφῆ] PA (-φον); ἀδελφῆ] s; γυναῖκα ἀδελφῆ] B: + δὲ TB φ]+ καὶ
sic). 21 τοὺς π. καὶ τὰς χ. PA

καὶ μετὰ τὸ νίψασθαι δερμοτύλῳ ἐπαναπαῖναι ριφέντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους. ἐπιστάσα ἐκείνη ὡς μήτηρ σοφὴ υἱοῦ γνησίου ἐπέσκωπτεν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀπαλότῃ λέγουσα· Πῶς θαρρεῖς ταύτην ἄγων τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐτι ζῶντος τοῦ αἵματός σου οὕτω φιλοκαλεῖν ἰσχυρὸν, μὴ αἰσθανόμενος τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τικτομένων βλαβερῶν; 5 ἄρσει, θάρσει ὅτι ἐξηκοστὸν ἄγω ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἱκρων τῶν χειρῶν οὐ ποὺς μου ἤψατο ὕδατος οὐκ ὄψις οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν μελῶν, καίπερ διαφόροις ληφθεῖσα ἀρρωστίαις, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀναγκαζομένη οὐκ ἠνεσχόμην ἀποδοῦναι τῇ σαρκὶ τὸ ἔθος, οὐκ ἐπὶ κλίνης ἀναπαεῖσα οὐ λεκτικῶ ὤδενσά που. 10

Αὕτη λογιωτάτη γενομένη ἢ καὶ φιλήσασα τὸν λόγον τὰς νίκτας εἰς ἡμέρας μετέβαλε πᾶν σύγγραμμα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑπομνηματιστῶν διελθοῦσα· Ἐν οἷς Ὀριγένους μυριάδας τριακοσίας, Γρηγορίου καὶ Στεφάνου καὶ Πιερίου καὶ Βασιλείου καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν σπουδαιοτάτων μυριάδας εἰκοσιπέντε· οὐχ ἀπλῶς 15 οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχε διελθοῦσα, ἀλλὰ πεπονημένως ἕκαστον βιβλίον ἑβδομον ἢ ὄγδοον διελθοῦσα. διὸ καὶ ἠδυνήθη ψευδοῦνιμου γνώσεως ἐλευθερωθεῖσα πτερωθῆναι τῇ χάριτι τῶν λόγων ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἑαυτὴν ὄρνι ἐργασαμένη πνευματικὴν διαπεράσασα πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν. 20

(LVI) Ταύτης κατ' ὄπιν καὶ ἴχνος ἢ σεμνοτάτη Ὀλυμ-

13 See note 101. 20 Χριστόν] PT add (cf. c. LXIV fin. p. 160): Οὐ παρέργως δὲ τεθείκα καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθωμεν ὅτι πολυτρόπως ἔνεστι κερδαίνειν εἰν ἐθέλωμεν (θέλωμεν T).

21 Chapters LVI and LVII are missing in T. In B chapter LVI is con-

Γ' Tals

1 θερμοτύλλῳ A; pellitam plumam l ἀναπαῖναι P 2 ἐπιστάσα]+ οὐν T; δι' AB 3 ἐπέσκωπτεν] P; ἐπέσκηπτεν AB; ἐπισκήπτει T; reprehendens is ἀπαλότῃ Pn τὴν ἀπαλότῃ A θαρρεῖς]+ σου τῷ σώματι TB ἐκείνην A 4 ἄγων] ἔχων P ζῶντος] PAl; ζέοντος TBn φιλοκαλεῖς AB (ὡς μὴ) 5 ἐξ] ἀπ' A 6 ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ T τῆς ἡλ. ἔτος A 7 χειρῶν]+ μου TA(n) tr. ποὺς and ὄψις B1 οὐδὲ] οὐχ T 8 μελῶν]+ μου A ληφθ.] βληθεῖσα P ὑπὸ] παρὰ T 9 ἀνεσχ. T 10 ἔθος] χρέος A ἀναπαεῖσα] PAl (quiesci); ἀνέπεσα Ts; ἐκαθεύθησα B πώποτε T 11 ἦ] om TA καὶ] om A καταφιλ. A; ποθήσασα (after λόγον) T 12 μετέβαλλε T 13 ἐν οἷς.....τριακοσίας] PBl; om TAs 14 Πιερίου] PAB; Πέτρου T ven n; om l 15 μνηρ. εἰκοσιπ.] om T 16 οὐδὲ] καὶ P διελθ.] P; ἀπελθ. A; παρελθ. TB πεπονημενῶν A 18 ἀναπτερωθῆναι T; + πρώτων PB; txt TAls 19 ὄρν. ἐαυτ. T διαπεράσαι T 20 Χριστόν] θεόν T (see Note above)

LVI (Περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος): Pl

21 ὄπιν καὶ] om B1

πιάς καὶ ζηλωτικωτάτη βαίνουσα ἠκολούθησε τῇ γνώμῃ·
 θυγάτηρ μὲν γενομένη Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀπὸ κομήτων, ἐγγόνῃ δὲ
 Ἀβλαβίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, νύμφη δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
 Νεβριδίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῆς πόλεως, γυνὴ δὲ οὐδενός·
 5 λέγεται γὰρ κεκοιμηῆσθαι παρθένος, ἀλλὰ σύμβιος τοῦ | λόγου
 τῆς ἀληθείας. ἥτις πάντα διασκορπίσασα ἑαυτῆς τὰ ὑπάρ-
 χοντα διέδωκε πτωχοῖς· οὐ μικροὺς ἀγῶνας ἀγωνισαμένη ὑπὲρ
 ἀληθείας, πολλὰς τε κατηχήσασα γυναῖκας, | καὶ σεμνολογήσασα
 πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ τιμήσασα ἐπισκόπους, καὶ ὁμολογίας κατη-
 10 ξιώθη τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας· ἥς τὸν βίον ἐν ὁμολογηταῖς κρῖνουσιν
 οἱ Κωνσταντινούπολιν οἰκοῦντες, οὕτως τελευτησάσης καὶ πρὸς
 κύριον ἐκδημησάσης ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν ἀγῶσιν.

(LVII) Ἦς κατ' ὅπιν καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ ἡ μακαρία
 Κανδίδα, ἡ Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ στρατηλάτου θυγάτηρ, ἀξίως βιώσασα
 15 καὶ εἰς ἄκρον σεμνότητος ἐλάσασα, ἐκκλησίας τε καὶ ἐπισκόπους
 τιμήσασα, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα κατηχήσασα εἰς τὸν τῆς
 παρθενίας κλῆρον προέπεμψε πρὸς Χριστόν, δῶρον τῶν ἑαυτῆς
 λαγόνων, ἐς ὕστερον σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀγνεία καὶ τοῖς τῶν χρημά-
 των σκορπισμοῖς ἐπακολουθήσασα τῇ ἑαυτῆς θυγατρὶ. ταύτην
 20 ἔγνω ἔγῳ διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς κοπιῶσαν καὶ ἀλήθουσαν ταῖς
 χερσὶν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ σώματος, διηγουμένην ὅτι Τῆς
 νηστείας μὴ ἐπαρκούσης σύμμαχον δίδωμι καὶ τὴν ἐπίμοχθον
 ἀγρυπνίαν, ἵνα καταλύσω τὸ φρύαγμα τοῦ Ἡσαῦ. ἥτις ἐναίμων
 μὲν καὶ ἐμφύχων εἰς ἄκρον ἀπέσχετο, ἰχθύος δὲ καὶ λαχίνων

siderably enlarged, but it is no more than vague rhetorical panegyric, attributing to Olympias all the virtues, and enumerating her charities and austerities. The following piece alone seems worth citing: Καὶ μὴ τις νομίση με κεκοιμημένως λέγειν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀπαθεστάτης ταύτης καὶ λοιπὸν ὅλης τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος τιμίου σκεύους Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς σεμνοτάτης· ἀλλ' αὐτόπτην γεγεννημένον καὶ θεωροῦντα τὸν τῆς μακαρίας ταύτης βίον καὶ ἀγγελικὴν πολιτείαν, ὡς ἄτε πνευματικὸν γνήσιον φίλον καὶ συγγενῶν οἰκειότατον· ὡς καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ γνώμην τῶν ταύτης διανεμηθῆναι χρημάτων. This passage is referred to *Introd.* § 6. 2 See Note 102. 13 Here occurs a long lacuna in ¹⁰⁰⁰ extending to middle of c. LXV (23 p. 161).

· P1

2 ἐγγόνῃ P; ἐγγόνῃ B 4 πόλεως]+Κωνσταντινοῦ B1

LVII (Περὶ Κανδίδας καὶ Γελασίας): P1

13 ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ] P; ἰσοπρόσωπ B1 20 ταῖς]+ἰδίαν B1 21 καθαιρέσει]+τῆς

δυναστείας B1

μετ' ἐλαίου λαμβάνουσα ἐν ἑορτῇ, οὕτω διετέλεσεν ὀκυκράματι
καὶ ξηρῷ ἄρτῳ ἀρκομένη.

Ταύτης κατὰ ζῆλον ὠδευσεν εὐσεβῶς τὸν τῆς παρθενίας
ζυγὸν ἐλκύσασα ἢ σεμνοτάτῃ Γελασία, θυγάτηρ τριβούνου
γενομένη· ἣς ἀρετὴ φέρεται αὕτη, ὅτι ἥλιος οὐδέποτε ἔδυν ἐπὶ 5
λύπη αὐτῆς, οὐ κατὰ οἰκέτου, οὐ κατὰ θεραπαινίδος, οὐ κατὰ
τινος ἐτέρου. |

(LVIII) Ἐν Ἀντινόφ τῆς Θηβαίδος διατρίψας τέσσαρα
ἔτη ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ γνώσιν εἴληφα τῶν ἐκεῖ μοναστηρίων.
καθέζονται μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνδρες ὡς χίλιοι διακόσιοι, 10
ταῖς χερσὶν ἀποζῶντες, εἰς ἄκρον ἀσκούμενοι. ἐν τούτοις εἰσὶ
καὶ ἀναχωρηταὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις τῶν πετρῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐγ-
καθεύξαντες· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ Σολομών τις, ἀνὴρ πραότατος καὶ
σώφρων καὶ ὑπομονῆς ἔχων χάρισμα· ὃς ἔλεγεν ἔχειν πεντη-
κοστὸν ἔτος ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ἐπαρκέσας ἑαυτῷ ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν 15
χειρῶν καὶ ἐκμαθὼν πᾶσαν ἀγίαν γραφήν.

Δωρόθεος ἐν ἄλλῳ σπηλαίῳ οἰκῶν πρεσβύτερος, ὑπερβολῇ
ἀγαθώτατος, καὶ αὐτὸς ζήσας τὸν ἀνεπλήρητον βίον, πρεσβυ-
τερίου δὲ ἠξιωμένος καὶ λειτουργῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐν τοῖς
σπηλαίοις. τούτῳ ποτὲ Μελανία ἢ νεωτέρα, τῆς μεγάλης 20
Μελανίας ἐγγόνῃ, περὶ ἣς ἐς ὕστερον λέξω, ἀπέστειλε πεντα-
κόσια νομίσματα, παρακάλεσα αὐτὸν διακοπήσαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ
ἀδελφοῖς. ὁ δὲ τρία λαβὼν μόνα, τὰ λοιπὰ παρέπεμψε

7 In P LVIII comes between XLVII and XL, and LIX, LX between LXIII and
XLVI; so that LXI, LXII follow LVII. In LVIII, LIX, LX P includes W when not
otherwise stated.

8 See Note 103.

P1

1 οὕτω] P; τὸν δὲ ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον B1

LVIII (Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀντινόφ): P(W)TA1

8 Ἀντινόφ] P1; Ἀντινόφου AB τεσσαράκοντα A 9 ἐν] + τῷ W καὶ] WA;
om PTB εἴληφα] + πάντων B1 ἐκέισε AB 10 μὲν] om A 12 καθεύξε. T
13 ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ] om T Σολ.] + δὲ T τις] om A1: + ἀναχωρητῆς B1 14 ἔλεγεν
ἐχ.] εἶχεν A 15 τοῦ ἔργου] P1; τῶν ἔργων AB; τὸ ἔργον (sic) W; om T1
16 πᾶσαν] PAB1; om TB1: + τὴν TAB1 ἀγίαν] om T

P(W)TA1a

17 ἄλλος Δ. P; Δ. τις A1: s begins here 18 ἀγνοήτος (sic) A 19 τοῖς
σπηλαίοις ἀδελφοῖς T τοῖς?] om P (txt W) ἐν τοῖς σπ.] illio l 20 Μελανία]
B1[^{com} s; -νή B1; -νη PAB1; -νιον WT 21 Μελανίας] B1[^{com} s; -νης PTAB1;
-νιον W; + ἡ P (txt W) ἐγγόνῃ] WAB1; ἐγκόνη P; ἐγκόνη TB1 ἐς] om TB
22 ἐκεῖ] om PA (txt W) 23 ὁ] om T

Διοκλεῖ τῷ ἀναχωρητῇ, ἀνδρὶ γνωστικωτάτῳ, λέγων ὅτι Σοφώ-
τερός μου ἐστὶν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Διοκλῆς, καὶ δύναται αὐτὰ ἀβλαβῶς
διοικῆσαι, ἐπιστάμενος τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ἐπικουρηθῆναι εὐλόγως·
ἐγὼ γὰρ τούτοις ἀρκοῦμαι.

5 Οὗτος ὁ Διοκλῆς ἀπὸ γραμματικῆς μὲν ἀχθεῖς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐς
ὑστερον δὲ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος
αὐτὸν ἐλκυσάσης, εἰς εἰκοστὸν ὄγδοον ἔτος ἄγων τὴν ἡλικίαν
ἀπετάξατο μὲν τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μαθημάτων, συνετάξατο δὲ τῷ
Χριστῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων τριακοστὸν πέμπτον ἔτος ἐν τοῖς
10 σπηλαίοις. ὃς ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστάς θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἢ
κτῆνος γίνεται ἢ δαίμων· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλεγε κτηνώδη,
τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμονιώδη. ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος ὅτι Πῶς
δυνατὸν ἀδιαλείπτως εἶναι νοῦν ἀνθρώπινον μετὰ θεοῦ; ἔλεγεν
ὁ αὐτὸς ὅτι Ἐν οἴῳ δ' ἂν νοήματι ἢ πράγματι εἴη ἢ ψυχῇ
15 εὐσεβεῖ καὶ θεϊκῷ, μετὰ θεοῦ ἐστίν.

Τούτου πλησίον Καπίτων τις ἔμμενεν ἀπὸ ληστῶν· ὃς πεντή-
κοντα ἔτη πληρώσας ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἀπὸ τεσσάρων μιλίων
τῆς πόλεως Ἀντινόου οὐ κατήλθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου οὐδὲ μέχρι
τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Νείλου, λέγων μηδέπω δύνασθαι συντυγχάνειν
20 τοῖς ὄχλοις τῷ ἀκμῆν ἀντιπράττειν αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπεναντίον.

10—12 Bl represent the following Greek: "Ἐλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστάς
θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἢ δαίμων γίνεται ἢ κτῆνος. ἡμῶν δὲ φιλοπνευστούντων τὸν τρόπον
ὄν εἶπεν, ἔλεγεν οὕτως ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστάς θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιπίπτει
ἐπιθυμία ἢ θυμῷ· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλεγε κτηνώδη, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμονιώδη.

For B see *Introd.* § 8. Both Brit. Mus. mss. of s (add. 12173, 17173) omit
the first seven lines on p. 174 of Bedjan's text, which represent B.

P(W)TAIs

3 εὐλ. ἐπικ. A 5, 6 ἐς ὑστ.....ἑαυτὸν] om A 6, 7 εἰς φιλοσοφούμενα (B)
τοῦ λόγου τῆς χάριτος αὐτὸν ἐλκυσαντος A 7 εἰς] WTA; om PB εἰκοστὸν] + καὶ
TA; γὰρ P; τοῖνον B; txt W ἄγων] φθάσας (after ἡλικ.) T τὴν ἡλικίαν] WA; τῆς
ἡλικίας PTB 8 τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασι P (txt W) 9 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων] ποιήσας δὲ T
τριακοστὸν] + καὶ T(l) ἔτος] + ἄγων (om ἔχων) A τῷ σπηλαίῳ A 10 ὃς] om TIs
ἀποστάς] + ἀπὸ τοῦ A 11 ἢ κτῆνος γίνεται ἢ δαίμων] P; περιπίπτει ἐπιθυμία Ts
(A ἐννοία περιπ. ἐπιθυμίας): Bl give the two readings in full (see above) μὲν]
om W κτηνώδη] 'animal and bestial' s (om τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμ.) 12 δαιμονι
(sic) T 12, 13 ἐμοῦ.....ἀδιαλείπτως] om T 13 εἶναι after ἀνθρ. A μετὰ]
+ τοῦ T 14 ὁ] om A δ'] om P (txt W) εἴη ἢ ψ. after θεϊκῷ T; ἢ ψ. ἢ after
θεϊκῷ A 15 μετὰ] + τοῦ PTA; txt WB 18 οὐκ ἀπῆλθ. ἀπὸ A οὐδέ] om A
19 τοῦ?] om P μηδέπω] P; μὴ T; μήπου A; μήπω B 20 τῷ] WTB; τὸ PAB
ἀντιπράττει] τι πρᾶττει T τοῖς ὑπεναντίον P (txt W): s ceases here

Σὺν τούτοις ἐωράκαμεν καὶ ἕτερον ἀναχωρητὴν ὁμοίως καὶ
 αὐτὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ· ὃς οἴστρω κενοδοξίας ἐμπαιζόμενος ὑπὸ
 ἰνείρων, ἀντέπαιζε τοὺς ἀπατωμένους, ἀνέμογς ποιμαίνων. καὶ
 τὴν μὲν κατὰ σῶμα σωφροσύνην εἶχε καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ
 ἰὰ τὸν χρόνον, τάχα καὶ διὰ τὴν κενοδοξίαν· διέφθαρτο δὲ 5
 αὐτοῦ τὸ φρονοῦν τῇ ἀκολασίᾳ τῆς κενοδοξίας. |

(LIX) Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει Ἀντινόφῃ ἐστὶ μοναστήρια
 γυναικῶν δώδεκα, ἐν οἷς | καὶ συντετύχηκα Ἀματαλίδι γραῖδι
 ἡγδοήκοντα ἔτη ἐχούσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ αἱ
 γεινιωῦσαι διηγούντο. ταύτῃ συνῶκουν ἐξήκοντα νεάνιδες αἱ 10
 τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἡγάπων ὡς μηδὲ κλεῖδα ἐφeskάναι τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ
 μοναστηρίου, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τῆς
 ἡγάπης ταύτης. εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπαθείας ἤλασεν ἡ γραῦς ὡς
 ἐσελθόντι μοι καὶ καθεσθέντι ἐλθεῖν καὶ συγκαθεσθῆναί μοι, καὶ
 εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ὤμοις μου ὑπερβολῇ παρρησίας. 15

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μοναστηρίῳ παρθένος μαθήτρια ταύτης, Ταῶρ
 ἰνόματι, ἔχουσα τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, ἰμάτιον
 καινὸν ἢ μαφόριον ἢ ὑπόδημα λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν οὐδέποτε,
 λέγουσα ὅτι Οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχω, ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκασθῶ καὶ προελθεῖν.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πᾶσαι κατὰ κυριακὴν προέρχονται ἐν τῇ 20
 ἐκκλησίᾳ χάριν τῆς κοινωσίας· ἐκείνη δε μένει ῥακοδυτοῦσα ἐν
 τῇ μονῇ, ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ καθεζομένη. οὕτω δὲ εὐφυε-

3 Prov. ix. 12.

6 In P XL follows LVIII; LIX, LX come after LXIII.

16 In this paragr. and LX Tullberg's A gives s (*Paradiseus* 36—38).

P(W)TAI

3 ποιμένων PA (txt W) 4 κατὰ]+τὸ TB 5 τάχα]+δὲ TB δὲ] PA;
 γὰρ TB 6 φρονοῦν] W; φρονεῖν P; φρόνημα TA; (φρένα B) τῇ ἀκολάστῳ
 κενοδοξίᾳ A

LIX (Περὶ Ἀματαλίδος καὶ Ταῶρ): P(W)TAI

7 ταύτῃ] B; om PTA τῇ] om P Ἀντινόφῃ] P; Ἀντινόφου TAB εἰς] T
 ἢ ἀμμά τι TAλίδι T: + ἰνόματι B γραῖδι om TA 9 ἔτη] om W καὶ] 1
 om P (txt W) 10 γειτ.]+αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει A ἐβδομήκοντα P (txt W)
 α] om TA 11 τοσοῦτον]+δὲ TA αὐτῆς P (txt W) 14 εἰσελθόντος μου καὶ
 ἀθίσαντος A εἰσελθεῖν TA (+ αὐτὴν A) μοι] om P 15 ἐπιτεθῆναι A
 ὑπερβολῇ] ἀπὸ πολλῆς A

P(W)TAIs

16 ἐν τούτῳ] s commences here (see Tullberg's ms. A, p. 36) παρθένος] after
 ἦν PAs; txt WTBI Timiron s 17 ἰνόματι P (txt W) 18 οὐδέ-
 ποτε] πώποτε A 19 ἵνα μὴ] μήποτε P (txt W): + καὶ A καὶ] om PA (txt W)
 μένει] ζῆμεν A: + sola Is 22 τῷ μοναστηρίῳ P ἐπηρεαζεσμένη T

νυνὶ δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἠξιώθη πρεσβυτερίου, συναγαγὼν ἀδελφότητα ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, διὰ τῆς σεμνῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρρεν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐλάσας καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν θῆλυ τῇ ἐγκρατεία φιμώσας, ὡς πληροῦσθαι τὸ
5 γεγραμμένον· Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρρεν καὶ θήλυ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ φιλόξενος καίπερ ὧν ἀκτῆμων, εἰς ἐλεγχον τῶν ἀμεταδότων πλουσίων.]

- (L) Ἐργων γέροντα Παλαιστίνον τινα Γαδδανᾶν ὀνόματι, ὃς τὸν ἄστεγον ἔζησε βίον εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην τόπους.
10 τούτῳ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ ζῆλον ἐπιθέμενοι ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Νεκρὰν θάλασσαν τόποις ξίφος γυμνώσαντες ἐπήλθον. καὶ συνέβη πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον· ἐν τῷ τὸ ξίφος ἐπᾶραι καὶ βουληθῆναι σπᾶσαι κατὰ τοῦ Γαδδανᾶ ἀπεξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ τὸ ξίφος γυμνώσαντος, πεσόντος τοῦ ξίφους ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ ἔχοντος.
15 (LI) ἼΗλίας πάλιν μοιάζων ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἐν σπηλαίῳ κατῴκει σεμνοτάτου βίου καὶ ἐνθέσμου ὑπάρχων. οὗτος μιᾶς τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῷ ἐπεληλυθότων πλειόνων, ἦν γὰρ πάροδος ὁ τόπος, ελείφθη ἄρτων. καὶ ἐπληροφόρησεν ἡμᾶς ὅτιπερ Λιποθυμίας ἐν τῷ πράγματι εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ
20 κελλίῳ τρεῖς εὔρον ἄρτους νεαρούς· καὶ φαγόντων εἴκοσι ὀντων εἰς κόρον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς περιέσσευσεν, ᾧ ἐχρησάμην ἐπὶ εἰκοσιπέντε ἡμέρας. |

5 Gal. iii. 28.

B1

2 γυναικῶν] + τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς ἀπαθείας A^BB 2-4 διὰ.....φιμώσα:] l: qui adeo purus per omnia fuit, adeo sine ullo uitio mentis et corporis uixit, ut nullam generis esse distantiam inter mares et feminas comprobaret 5 θῆλυ]+ οὐκ ἐνὶ δοῦλοι οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος A^B 6 φιλόξενος]+ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν A^BB

L (Περὶ Γαδδανᾶ): P(W)Tls

8 Παλαιστιναίων T τινα] om P Γαδανᾶν T (but δδ below); Γαδδᾶν P (txt W); Gadai s 12 πρᾶγμα] P; θαῦμα TB(la) 13 Γαδανᾶ P (txt W) ἐξηράνθη T τοῦ τὸ ξ. γυμν.] TB (κατέχοντος) ls; αὐτοῦ P 14 ξίφους]+ παρ' αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους (om ἀπὸ τῆς δ. τοῦ ἔχ.) Ts (connects παρ' αὐτὰ with ἀπεξηρ.) ἀπὸ τῆς δεξ.] Pl (ex digitis); om W ἔχοντος] Wl; ἀρτων] P: (B paraphr)

LI (Περὶ ἸΗλ(α)): P(W)Tls

15 πάλιν] om s: + ἄλλος PT: + ὀνόματι B1 ἐν²] om P 17 μῆ P ἐπελθόντων T 18 ὁ τόπος] Ps; om T; δι' αὐτοῦ B; illic l ἐπληροφόρησεν] P; ἔπεισεν TB 19 ὅτι ἐλιποθύμει T; ὅτι ἐλιποθύμῃσα B ἐν τῷ πράγματι] PT; ἐπὶ τῇ σπᾶσει Bs (+ τῶν τροφῶν B); om l εἰσελθὼν]+ οὖν TBs ἐν τῷ κ. after εὔρ. ἄρτ. P 20 τρεῖς εὔρον ἄρτ.] W; τρ. ἄρτ. εὔρον P; εὔρον τρ. ἄρτ. TB νεαρούς] PB; om Tls εἰς κόρον εἴκοσι ἀνδρῶν (om ἀπ' αὐτῶν) TB(s) 21 περιέσσευσεν] WT; ἐπερίσσ. PB

(LXI) Ἐπειδὴ προὔπεσχόμεν ἄνωτέρω διηγήσασθαι περὶ τῆς παιδὸς Μελανίας ἀναγκαίως τὸ χρέος ἀποδίδωμι. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ὑπεριδόντας τὸ αὐτῆς νεώτερον ἐν σαρκὶ τοσαύτην ἀρετὴν | ἀστηλίτευτον καταρρίψαι, γραῖδων ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σπουδαίων κατὰ πολὺ διαφέρουσιν. ταύτην βιασάμενοι οἱ γονεῖς 5 ἤγαγον ἐπὶ γάμου ἐκ τῶν πρώτων τῆς Ῥώμης· ἥτις αἰεὶ τοῖς διηγήμασι τῆς ἑαυτῆς μάρμης νυττομένη, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκεντρώθη ὡς μὴ δυνήθηται ἐξυπηρετήσασθαι τῷ γάμῳ. γενομένων γὰρ αὐτῇ παιδίων ἀρρένων δύο, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τελευτησάντων, εἰς τοσοῦτον μίσος τοῦ γάμου ἤλασεν ὡς εἰπεῖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς 10 Πινιανῷ, τῷ υἱῷ Σευήρου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, ὅτι Εἰ μὲν αἰρῆσαι συνασκηθῆναι κάμοι κατὰ τὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης λόγον, καὶ δεσπότην σε οἶδα καὶ κύριον τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς· εἰ δὲ βαρὺ σοι τοῦτο καταφαίνεται ὡς νεωτέρῳ, πάντα μου λαβὼν τὰ πράγματα ἐλευθέρωσόν μου τὸ σῶμα, ἵνα πληρώσω μου τὴν κατὰ θεὸν 15 ἐπιθυμίαν, κληρονόμος γενομένη τῆς μάρμης τοῦ ζήλου, ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἔχω. εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλετο παιδοποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἂν μου ἐλάμβανεν ἄωρα τὰ τεχθέντα. ἐπὶ πολὺ οὖν ζυγομαχη-

LXIII and XLVI. In LXI and LXII T has been largely interpolated from a B text; in such cases the symbol (T)B is employed (see Note, p. 37).

2 See Note 106.

11 See Note 107.

LXI (Περὶ Μελανίας τῆς νέας): P¹T¹

1, 2 ἐπειδὴ.....ἀποδίδωμι] om A 1 ὑπεσχόμεν T ἰπέρ τῆς ἐγγόνης (om Mel.) T 2 Μελάνης P¹B¹ ἀναγκαῖον τὸ χρ. ἀποδοῦναι με TB: + οὖν TB¹
3 ὑπεριδεῖν TA¹: + ἡμᾶς TB 4 ἀστηλίτευτον] + τὸ γὰρ ταύτης ἐν σαρκὶ νεώτερον T (om aboue) καταρρίψαι] P; καταλεῖψαι B; om T 4, 5 γραῖδων.....διαφέρουσιν] P¹ (I^{ca} veniibus for veniibus); γρ. τάχα συνετῶν καὶ σπ. ταύτην πολὺ μᾶλλον διαφ. B; πολλῶν γρ. συν. καὶ ἡλικιωτῶν διήρεγκεν T 5 ταύτην] τὴν νέαν τοίνυν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ταύτην πρεσβύτιν δὲ τῇ εἰσεβεί γνώμῃ (T)B βιασάμενοι] βίη TB¹ γεγενηκότες T; γεννήσαντες B; γεννήτορες A¹ 6 ἐπὶ] P; εἰς T; πρὸς B γάμου] + ζεύξαντες αὐτὴν (T)B τῷ (τὰ T) πρώτῳ (om ἐκ) TB¹ 8 μὴδὲ T¹ δινηθῆναι] + αὐτὴν TA¹ γὰρ] δὲ TA¹ 9 παιδων, om ἀρρ. T δύο before παιδ. TB ἀμφοτέρων] P¹; τῶν δύο TB 10 ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὶ TB 11 Πινιανῷ] B; Ἀσπριανῷ P; Ἀσπριανῷ T (here, but in title Ἀσπριανός) ven; Πινιανῷ A¹ (see Note 107) Σεβήρου T; I^{ca} Marci ὑπάρχων T αἰρῆσαι] P¹B¹; αἰρήσαι B¹; αἰρεῖσαι TB¹ 12 συνασκηθῆναι] P¹ (monachus uis esse mecum); συνοικεῖν TB¹ (-κῆσαι and -κισθῆναι B¹) μοι TB 13 ζωῆς] + ὁμολογῶ (T)B (-γήσω); + σε B 14 ὡς νεωτ. φαίνεται TB Λάβε TB πράγματα] + μόνον (T)B 15 τὸ σ. μου ἔλευθ. TB 16 τῆς κατὰ ελεὸν ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐμῆς μάρμης (om τοῦ ζ.) (T)B 16, 17 ἦ.....ἔχω] om T 17 παιδοποιεῖν] P¹; (ἵστερ θεός) ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ διάγειν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύειν (T)B 18 τεχθέντα] + παιδία TB πολλὸν δὲ χρόνον (T)B

(LIV) Περὶ τῆς θαυμασίας καὶ ἁγίας Μελανίας ἀκροθιγῶς
 μὲν καὶ ἄνω διηγησάμην, οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τὰ λείψανα νῦν
 ἐξυφανῶ τῷ λόγῳ. αὕτη μὲν ὄσσην ὕλην ἀνήλωσεν ἐν τῷ θείῳ
 ζήλῳ καθάπερ πυρὶ φλέξασα οὐκ ἔμὸν τὸ διηγήσασθαι ἀλλὰ
 5 καὶ τῶν τὴν Περσίδα οἰκούντων. τῆς γὰρ εὐποιίας αὐτῆς οὐκ
 ἠστόχησεν οὐδεὶς, οὐκ ἀνατολῇ οὐ δύσις οὐκ ἄρκτος οὐ
 μεσημβρία. τριακοστὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔβδομον ἔτος ξενιτεύσασα
 ἰδίους ἀναλώμασιν ἐπήρκεσε καὶ ἐκκλησίαις καὶ μοναστηρίοις
 καὶ ξένοις καὶ φυλακαῖς, χορηγούντων αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν πρὸς γένος
 10 καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτρόπων τὰ χρήματα. ἦτις
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγκαρτερήσασα τῇ ξενιτείᾳ οὐδὲ σπιθαμὴν ἐκτέ-
 σατο γῆς, οὐκ ἐξελκύσθη ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐπιθυμίας, οὐκ
 ἐμέρισε αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπης ὁ τοῦ μονογενοῦς
 υἱοῦ πόθος· ἀλλὰ ταῖς προσευχαῖς αὐτῆς ὁ νεώτερος εἰς ἄκρον
 15 παιδείας καὶ τρόπων ἤλασε καὶ γάμον τὸν ἐπίδοξον, καὶ ἔντος
 τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἐγένετο· ὃς ἔσχε καὶ τέκνα δύο. |
 μετὰ πολλοὺς οὖν χρόνους ἀκούσασα περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως
 τῆς ἐγγόνης, ὅτι ἐγγίμε καὶ προαιρεῖται ἀποτάξασθαι, φοβηθεῖσα
 μήποτε περιρραγῶσι κακοδιδασκαλίᾳ ἢ αἰρέσει ἢ κακοζωίᾳ,
 20 ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν γραῦς ἐνέβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
 Καισαρέων ἀποπλεύσασα δι' εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν
 Ῥώμην. κἀκέισε συντυχούσα τὸν μὲν μακαριώτατον ἄνδρα καὶ

5 See Note 92.

12 See Note 93.

21 See Note 94.

LIV (Ἐτι περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Μελανίας): PTls

1-3 Περὶ.....λόγῳ] om s (lιν attached to κλι without division) 1 θαυμ.]
 ἀθανασίας T Μελάνης P; Μελανίου T; Μελανίης A^B (see Note 85) 2 οὐδὲν+ δὲ
 TB λείψανα] P; λείποντα T; λοιπὰ B 3 ἐξυφανῶ] P; ὑφανῶ TB†; ἐνυφανῶ B†
 ὄσσην μὲν TB ἀνήλωσεν] PA^B; ἀνάλωσεν TB†; ἠνάλωσεν B† θείῳ] Pls; οὐρανίῳ
 B; om T 4 περιφλέξασα T οὐχ ἡμῶν διήγημα T 6 οὐ δύσις] om P; οὐκ
 ἄρκτος om s: (caeli quattuor plagae l) 7 τριακοστὸν.....ξενιτεύσασα] om T
 8 καὶ!]+ ἐν P

PTAls

10 ἦτις] A begins here 11 ἐγκαρτ. before ἐπὶ τος. T; after τῇ ξενιτ. B
 13 αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Χρ. ἀγάπην P ἑαυτὴν T τὸν] om TB 14 εὐχαῖς T
 νεώτερος]+ καὶ T 15 τρόπων]+ καλῶν T(l)s ἤλασε before καὶ τρ. AB
 16 δύο τέκνα T; τέκνων δύο δικαιώματα AB† (δικαιώμα): + 'a boy and a girl' s
 18 ἐγγόνης] TΔ; ἐγκόνης P; ἐγκόνης B: (W ἐγγ. 21, p. 151) 19 περιπεσῶσι T
 γραῦς ἐξ. ἐτῶν ὄσα T 21 Καισ.] + πύλευσι Tl ἡμ. ἐκ. T παρεγένετο TB
 22 κἀκέισε] Ts; ἐκέισε οὖν P; κἀκέιθεν A; καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ Bl 23, 1 (p. 147) τὸν μακάριον
 τρ. ἄνδρα ἀξιολογώτατον P(l)

χρημάτων. ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις αὐτῆς ἦν αὐτῆ· ἦσθιε μίαν παρὰ μίαν—ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ πέντε—εἰς ἐφημερίαν ἑαυτὴν τάξασα τῶν ἑαυτῆς δουλίδων ἄς καὶ συνασκητρίας εἰργάσατο. |

Ἔχει δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀλβίαν ἀσκουμένην ὁμοίως καὶ διασκορπίζουσαν κατ' ἰδίαν πάλιν τὰ ἴδια χρήματα. 5 εἰσὶν οὖν οἰκοῦσαι ἐν ἀγροῖς, ποτὲ μὲν Σικελίας ποτὲ δὲ Καμπαρίας, μετὰ εὐνούχων δεκαπέντε καὶ παρθένων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δουλίδων. ὁμοίως καὶ Πινιανὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μετὰ μοναζόντων τριάκοντα, ἀναγινώσκων καὶ περὶ κῆπον ἀσχο- λούμενος καὶ περὶ σεμνᾶς συντυχίας. οὐ μικρῶς δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς 10 πλείονας ὄντας ἐτίμησαν ἀπελθόντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἀναπαύσαντες ἡμᾶς καὶ ξενοδοχεῖα καὶ ἐφοδίους δαψιλεστάτοις, μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς καρπούμενοι τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν τοῖς θεοδωρήτοις ἔργοις τῆς ἀρίστης πολι- 15 τείας.

(LXII) Τούτων συγγενῆς Παμμάχιος ὀνόματι ἀπὸ ἀνθυ- πάτων ὁμοίως ἀποταξίμενος ἔζησε τὸν ἀριστον βίον, πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον τὸν μὲν ζῶν διασκορπίσας, τὸν δὲ τελευτῶν πτωχοῖς καταλείψας· ὁμοίως καὶ Μακάριός τις ἀπὸ Βικαρίας, καὶ Κωνσταντίος συγκιβέδρος γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 20 ἐπάρχων, ἄνδρες ἐπίσημοι καὶ λογικώτατοι καὶ εἰς ἄκρον φιλο- θείας ἐλίψαντες· οὗς ἔτι νομίζω καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὑπάρχειν τὸν ἀριστον ἐξησκηκότας βίον. |

7 See Note 109.

11 See Note 110.

16 See Note 111.

P1

7 ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐλευθέρων] om B 8 Πινιανός] B1 (vn B1; Ὅτιν.=ὁ Π. B1); Ἀπειριανός P; Ἀφριριανός ven (T vac); Ὅπιανός A^B (ππ A^{B26}) 13-15 μετὰ..... πολιτείας] om l

LXII (Περὶ Παμμάχου): P1

16 Μάχιος (Μαλάχιος in title) T ven ὀνόματι before the name TB
18 πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ TB 19 καταλείψας]+ πρὸς κύριον ἀπεδήμησεν (T)B† Ἀγάθων
T ven τις]+ ὀνόματι TB1 βικαρίων T1; βρικίων ven 20 Κωνσταντίος] PT
(in title) A¹¹; Κωνσταντίνος T (in text) B τῆν] om TB 21 ἄνδρες]+ καὶ T
λογικώτατοι] P1; ἐλλογμώτατοι (T)B 22 καὶ]+ εὖν B ἔτι καὶ εὖν νομ. T
23 ἐξησκηκότας βίον] P (-κότες) l; τῆς πολιτείας θεσμῶν ἐξασκουστας, ἀκήρατον καὶ
μακαρίαν ζωὴν ἀναμένοντες (T)B

(LIV) Περὶ τῆς θαυμασίας καὶ ἁγίας Μελανίας ἀκροθιγῶς
 μὲν καὶ ἄνω διηγησάμην, οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τὰ λείψανα νῦν
 ἐξυφανῶ τῷ λόγῳ. αὕτη μὲν ὄσση ὕλην ἀνήλωσεν ἐν τῷ θείῳ
 ζήλῳ καθάπερ πυρὶ φλέξασα οὐκ ἔμουν τὸ διηγήσασθαι ἀλλὰ
 5 καὶ τῶν τὴν Περσίδα οἰκούντων. τῆς γὰρ εὐποιίας αὐτῆς οὐκ
 ἠστόχησεν οὐδεὶς, οὐκ ἀνατολὴ οὐ δύσις οὐκ ἄρκτος οὐ
 μεσημβρία. τριακοστὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑβδομον ἔτος ξενιτεύσασα
 ἰδίους ἀναλώμασιν ἐπήρκεσε καὶ ἐκκλησίαις καὶ μοναστηρίοις
 καὶ ξένοις καὶ φυλακαῖς, χορηγούντων αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν πρὸς γένος
 10 καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτρόπων τὰ χρήματα. ἦτις
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγκαρτερήσασα τῇ ξενιτείᾳ οὐδὲ σπιθαμὴν ἐκτῆ-
 σατο γῆς, οὐκ ἐξεικλύσθη ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐπιθυμίας, οὐκ
 ἐμέρισεν αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπης ὁ τοῦ μονογενοῦς
 υἱοῦ πόθος· ἀλλὰ ταῖς προσευχαῖς αὐτῆς ὁ νεώτερος εἰς ἄκρον
 15 παιδείας καὶ τρόπων ἤλασε καὶ γάμον τὸν ἐπίδοξον, καὶ ἔντος
 τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἐγένετο· ὃς ἔσχε καὶ τέκνα δύο.
 μετὰ πολλοὺς οὖν χρόνους ἀκούσασα περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως
 τῆς ἐγγόνης, ὅτι ἐγγημε καὶ προαιρεῖται ἀποτάξασθαι, φοβηθεῖσα
 μήποτε περιρραγῶσι κακοδιδασκαλίᾳ ἢ αἰρέσει ἢ κακοζωίᾳ,
 20 ἐξήκοντα ἑτῶν γραυῖς ἐνέβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
 Καισαρέων ἀποπλεύσασα δι' εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν
 Ῥώμην. κἀκείσε συντυχοῦσα τὸν μὲν μακαριώτατον ἄνδρα καὶ

5 See Note 92.

12 See Note 93.

21 See Note 94.

LIV ('Ἐτι περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Μελανίας): PTLs

1-3 Περὶ.....λόγῳ] om s (πὺν attached to κλινι without division) 1 θαυμ.]
 ἀθανασίας T Μελάνης P; Μελαρίου T; Μελανίης A^B (see Note 85) 2 οὐδὲν]+ δὲ
 TB λείψανα] P; λείποντα T; λοιπὰ B 3 ἐξυφανῶ] P; ὑφανῶ TB†; ἐνυφανῶ B†
 ὄσση μὲν TB ἀνήλωσεν] PA^B; ἀνάλωσεν TB†; ἠνάλωσεν B† θείῳ] Pls; οὐρανίῳ
 B; om T 4 περιφλέξασα T οὐχ ἡμῶν διήγημα T 6 οὐ δύσις] om P; οὐκ
 ἄρκτος om s: (caeli quattuor plagae l) 7 τριακοστὸν.....ξενιτεύσασα] om T
 8 καὶ]+ ἐν P

PTAls

10 ἦτις] A begins here 11 ἐγκαρτ. before ἐπὶ τος. T; after τῇ ξενιτ. B
 13 αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Χρ. ἀγάπην P ἑαυτὴν T τὸν] om TB 14 εὐχαῖς T
 νεώτερος]+ καὶ T 15 τρόπων]+ καλῶν T(l)s ἤλασε before καὶ τρ. AB
 16 δύο τέκνα T; τέκνων δύο δικαιώματα AB† (δικαίωμα): + 'a boy and a girl' s
 18 ἐγγόνης] TA; ἐγκόνης P; ἐγκόνης B: (W ἔγγ. 21, p. 151) 19 περιρραγῶσι T
 20 γραυῖς ἐξ. ἑτῶν ὄσα T 21 Καισ.] + πόλεως Tl ἡμ. εἰκ. T παρεγένετο TB
 22 κἀκείσε] T8; ἐκείσε οὖν P; κἀκείθεν A; καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ B1 23, 1 (p. 147) τὸν μακρίον
 ἄπρ. ἄνδρα ἀξιολογώτατον P(l)

χρημάτων. ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις αὐτῆς ἦν αὐτῆ· ἤσθιε μίαν παρὰ μίαν—ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ πέντε—εἰς ἡμερίαν ἑαυτὴν τάξασα τῶν ἑαυτῆς δουλίδων ἄς καὶ συνασκητρίας εἰργάσατο. |

Ἔχει δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀλβίαν ἀσκουμένην ὁμοίως καὶ διασκορπίζουσαν κατ' ἰδίαν πάλιν τὰ ἴδια χρήματα. 5 εἰσὶν οὖν οἰκοῦσαι ἐν ἀγροῖς, ποτὲ μὲν Σικελίας ποτὲ δὲ Καμπανίας, μετὰ εὐνούχων δεκαπέντε καὶ παρθένων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δουλίδων. ὁμοίως καὶ Πινιανὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μετὰ μοναζόντων τριάκοντα, ἀναγινώσκων καὶ περὶ κῆπον ἀσχολούμενος καὶ περὶ σεμνὰς συντυχίας. οὐ μικρῶς δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς 10 πλείονας ὄντας ἐτίμησαν ἀπελθόντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἀναπαύσαντες ἡμᾶς καὶ ξενοδοχεῖα καὶ ἐφοδίους δαψιλεστάτοις, μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς καρπούμενοι τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν τοῖς θεοδωρήτοις ἔργοις τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας. 15

(LXII) Τούτων συγγενῆς Παμμάχιος ὀνόματι ἀπὸ ἀνθυπῆτων ὁμοίως ἀποταξίμενος ἔζησε τὸν ἀριστον βίον, πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον τὸν μὲν ζῶν διασκορπίσας, τὸν δὲ τελευτῶν πτωχοῖς καταλείψας· ὁμοίως καὶ Μακάριός τις ἀπὸ Βικαρίας, καὶ Κωνσταντίος συγκίβεδρος γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 20 ἐπάρχων, ἄνδρες ἐπίσημοι καὶ λογικώτατοι καὶ εἰς ἄκρον φιλοθείας ἐλάσαντες· οὗς ἔτι νομίζω καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὑπάρχειν τὸν ἀριστον ἐξησκηκότας βίον. |

7 See Note 109.

11 See Note 110.

16 See Note 111.

P1

7 ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐλευθέρων] om B 8 Πινιανός] B1 (vn B1; 'Οπιν.=ὁ Π. B1); 'Απειανός P; 'Απειριανός ven (T vac); 'Οπινός A^B (ππ A^B) 13-15 μετὰ..... πολιτείας] om l

LXII (Περὶ Παμμάχιου): PT1

16 Μάχιος (Μαλάχιος in title) T ven ὀνόματι before the name TB
18 πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ TB 19 καταλείψας] + πρὸς κύριον ἀπεδήμησεν (T)B1 'Αγίων T ven τις] + ὀνόματι TB1 βικαρίων T1; βικίων ven 20 Κωνσταντίος] PT (in title) A^B; Κωνσταντίνος T (in text) B τῆς] om TB 21 ἄνδρες] + καὶ T λογικώτατοι] P1; ἐλλογμώτατοι (T)B 22 καὶ] + οὖν B ἔτι καὶ οὖν νομ. T
23 ἐξησκηκότας βίον] P (-κότες) l; τῆς πολιτείας θεσμῶν ἐξακούστας, ἀκήρατον καὶ μακαρίαν ζωὴν ἀναμένοντες (T)B

καὶ διανείμασα τὰς ὕλας ἐντὸς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐκοιμήθη
ἐν γῆρα καλῶ καὶ βαθυτάτῃ πραότητι, καταλείψασα καὶ
μοναστήριον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὰ τούτου ἀναλώματα.

Ὡς δὲ πάντες οὗτοι ἀπέστησαν τῆς Ῥώμης θύελλά τις
5 βαρβαρική, ἣ καὶ ἐν προφητείαις πάλαι κειμένη, ἐπέστη τῇ
Ῥώμῃ, καὶ οὐκ εἶασεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς,
ἀλλὰ πάντα πορθήσασα βαρβαρική ἀπονοία παρέδωκεν ἀπωλεία·
ὡς γενέσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην, τὴν ἐν χιλίοις ἔτεσι καὶ διακοσίοις
φιλοκαληθεῖσαι, ἐρίπιον. τότε οἱ κατηχηθέντες καὶ οἱ ἐναντιω-
10 θέντες τῇ κατηχήσει ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν τὸν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν
πραγμῶν πείσαντα τοὺς ἀπίστους ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων πάντων
αἰχμαλωτισθέντων οὗτοι μόνου διεσώθησαν οἱ οἰκοί, ὀλοκαυ-
τώματα γενόμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ σπουδῇ Μελαρίας. |

(LV) Συνέβη ἅμα ὀδεύειν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ Αἰλίας ἐπὶ τὴν
15 Αἴγυπτον, προπέμποντας τὴν μακαρίαν Σιλβανίαν τὴν παρθένον
γυναικαδέλφην Ῥουφίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ἐν οἷς ἦν σὺν
ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰουβίνος, τὸ τηρικαῦτα μὲν διάκονος νυνὶ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος
τῆς Ἀσκάλωνος ἐκκλησίας, ἀνὴρ εὐλαβῆς καὶ φιλόλογος. σφο-
δροτάτου οὖν καύματος καταλαβόντος ἡμᾶς καὶ κατανησάντων
20 ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον, ἔτυχε τὸν Ἰουβίνου νιπτῆρα λαβόντα
νίψασθαι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας πυγμῇ ὕδατι ψυχροτάτῳ,

4 Sack of Rome under Alaric, A.D. 410: see Note 98.

9 ἐρίπιον] for ἐρίπιον B¹ read: κατὰ τὴν τῆς Σαβύλλης ῥῆσιν, ῥύμην (Or.
Sib. VIII. 165). 15 See Note 99. 17 See Note 100.

PTIs[A]

1 καὶ] ταῦτα (om τὰς ὕλας) T 2 γῆραι TB καὶ²] τὸ T 5 κειμ. πάλαι T
8 ὥστε A ἐν] PB; om TA 8 ἔτεσι after διακ. TAB (om καὶ TB) 9 φιλο-
καλισθεῖσαν A

PTAls

9 τότε] A recommences οἱ²] μὴ TA; txt Pl: (Bs om καὶ οἱ.....κατηχήσει)
10 κατηχήσει] + τοῦτων P; ταύτης A 12 ὀλοκαύτωμα ABl 13 γεν. after κ. TA
τοῦ κυρίου A σπουδῇ] + τῆς μακαρίας Als(B) Μελαρίας PB¹; Μελαρίου T; Μελαρίας A

LV (Περὶ τῆς Σιλβανίας): P'TAls

14 Prefix Κατ' ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ ABl (postea); text PTs: (see App. v. ii) συνέβη]
+ δὲ T 15 προπεμπόντων P Σιλβανίαν] TA (incl. A²⁸ in text); Silvana
(Κωλασο) s; Σιλβίαν PA²⁸ (in title); Σαλβίαν B¹; Σαλβίαν B¹; Silvia l
16 γυναικαδέλφην] PA (-φον); ἀδελφῆν TIs; γυναικα ἀδελφῆν B: + δὲ TB ἦρ] + καὶ
(sic) A σὺν ἡμῖν after Ἰουβ. T 17 μὲν] om T 21 τοὺς π. καὶ τὰς χ. PA
ὄδατος ψυχροτάτου TA

χρημάτων. ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις αὐτῆς ἦν αὐτῆ· ἤσθιε μίαν παρὰ μίαν—ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ πέντε—εἰς ἐφημερίαν ἑαυτὴν τάξασα τῶν ἑαυτῆς δουλίδων ἅς καὶ συνασκητρίας εἰργάσατο. |

Ἔχει δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀλβίαν ἀσκουμένην ὁμοίως καὶ διασκορπίζουσαν κατ' ἰδίαν πάλιν τὰ ἴδια χρήματα. 5 εἰσὶν οὖν οἰκοῦσαι ἐν ἀγροῖς, ποτὲ μὲν Σικελίας ποτὲ δὲ Καμπαρίας, μετὰ εὐνούχων δεκαπέντε καὶ παρθένων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δουλίδων. ὁμοίως καὶ Πινιανὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μετὰ μοναζόντων τριάκοντα, ἀναγινώσκων καὶ περὶ κῆπον ἀσχο- λούμενος καὶ περὶ σεμνᾶς συντυχίας. οὐ μικρῶς δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς 10 πλείονας ὄντας ἐτίμησαν ἀπελθόντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἀναπαύσαντες ἡμᾶς καὶ ξενοδοχεῖα καὶ ἐφοδίους δαψιλεστάτοις, μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς καρπούμενοι τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν τοῖς θεοδωρήτοις ἔργοις τῆς ἀρίστης πολι- 15 τείας.

(LXII) Τούτων συγγενῆς Παμμάχιος ὀνόματι ἀπὸ ἀνθυ- πάτων ὁμοίως ἀποταξάμενος ἔζησε τὸν ἀριστον βίον, πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον τὸν μὲν ζῶν διασκορπίσας, τὸν δὲ τελευτῶν πτωχοῖς καταλείψας· ὁμοίως καὶ Μακάριός τις ἀπὸ βικαρίας, καὶ Κωνστάντιος συγκάθεδρος γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 20 ἐπάρχων, ἄνδρες ἐπίσημοι καὶ λογικώτατοι καὶ εἰς ἄκρον φιλο- θείας ἐλίψαντες· οὗς ἔτι νομίζω καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὑπάρχειν τὸν ἀριστον ἐξησκηκότας βίον. |

7 See Note 109.

11 See Note 110.

16 See Note 111.

P1

7 ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐλευθέρων] om B 8 Πινιανός] B1 (νν B1; 'Οπιν.=ὁ Π. B1); 'Απειριανός P; 'Απριριανός ven (T vac); 'Οπριανός A^B (ππ A^B) 13-15 μετὰ..... πολιτείας] om l

LXII (Περὶ Παμμάχιου): PT1

16 Μάχιος (Μαμάχιος in title) T ven ὀνόματι before the name TB
18 πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ TB 19 καταλείψας] + πρὸς κύριον ἀπεδήμησεν (T)B† 'Αγάθων
T ven τις] + ὀνόματι T/B1 βικαρίων T1; βρικίων ven 20 Κωνστάντιος] PT
(in title) A¹¹; Κωνσταντίνος T (in text) B τῆς] om TB 21 ἄνδρες] + καὶ T
λογικώτατοι] P1; ἐλλογίμωτατοι (T)B 22 καὶ] + εἰν B ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομ. T
23 ἐξησκηκότας βίον] P (-κότες) l; τῆς πολιτείας θεσμὸν ἐξασκούστας, ἀκήρατον καὶ
μακαρίαν ζωὴν ἀναμένοντες (T)B

πιὰς καὶ ζηλωτικωτάτη βαίνουσα ἠκολούθησε τῇ γνώμῃ·
 θυγάτηρ μὲν γενομένη Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀπὸ κομήτων, ἐγγόνη δὲ
 Ἀβλαβίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, νύμφη δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
 Νεβριδίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῆς πόλεως, γυνὴ δὲ οὐδενός·
 5 λέγεται γὰρ κεκοιμηθῆσαι παρθένος, ἀλλὰ σύμβιος τοῦ | λόγου
 τῆς ἀληθείας. ἦτις πάντα διασκορπίσασα ἑαυτῆς τὰ ὑπάρ-
 χοντα διέδωκε πτωχοῖς· οὐ μικροὺς ἀγῶνας ἀγωνισαμένη ὑπὲρ
 ἀληθείας, πολλὰς τε κατηχήσασα γυναῖκας, | καὶ σεμνολογήσασα
 πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ τιμήσασα ἐπισκόπους, καὶ ὁμολογίας κατη-
 10 ξιώθη τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας· ἥς τὸν βίον ἐν ὁμολογηταῖς κρίνουσιν
 οἱ Κωνσταντινούπολιν οἰκοῦντες, οὕτως τελευτησάσης καὶ πρὸς
 κύριον ἐκδημησάσης ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν ἀγῶσιν.

(LVII) Ἦς κατ' ὄπιν καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ ἡ μακαρία
 Κανδίδα, ἡ Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ στρατηλάτου θυγάτηρ, ἀξίως βιώσασα
 15 καὶ εἰς ἄκρον σεμνότητος ἐλάσασα, ἐκκλησίας τε καὶ ἐπισκόπους
 τιμήσασα, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα κατηχήσασα εἰς τὸν τῆς
 παρθενίας κλῆρον προέπεμψε πρὸς Χριστόν, δῶρον τῶν ἑαυτῆς
 λαγόνων, ἐς ὕστερον σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀγνεία καὶ τοῖς τῶν χρημά-
 των σκορπισμοῖς ἐπακολουθήσασα τῇ ἑαυτῆς θυγατρὶ. ταύτην
 20 ἔγγων ἐγὼ διὰ πίσης νυκτὸς κοπιῶσαν καὶ ἀλήθουσαν ταῖς
 χερσὶν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ σώματος, διηγουμένην ὅτι Τῆς
 νηστείας μὴ ἐπαρκούσης σύμμαχον δίδωμι καὶ τὴν ἐπίμοχθον
 ἀγρυπνίαν, ἵνα καταλύσω τὸ φρύαγμα τοῦ Ἡσαῦ. ἦτις ἐναίμων
 μὲν καὶ ἐμφύχων εἰς ἄκρον ἀπέσχετο, ἰχθύος δὲ καὶ λαχάνων

siderably enlarged, but it is no more than vague rhetorical panegyric, attributing to Olympians all the virtues, and enumerating her charities and austerities. The following piece alone seems worth citing: Καὶ μή τις νομίση με κεκοιμηθεμένης λέγειν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀπαθεστάτης ταύτης καὶ λοιπὸν ὅλης τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος τιμίου σκεύους Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς σεμνοτάτης· ἀλλ' αὐτόπτην γεγεννημένον καὶ θεωροῦντα τὸν τῆς μακαρίας ταύτης βίον καὶ ἀγγελικὴν πολιτείαν, ὡς ἄτε πνευματικὸν γνήσιον φίλον καὶ συγγενῶν οἰκειότατον· ὡς καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ γνώμην τῶν ταύτης διανεμηθῆναι χρημάτων. This passage is referred to *Introd.* § 6. 2 See Note 102. 13 Here occurs a long lacuna in *l^{ms}* extending to middle of c. LXV (23 p. 161).

· P1

2 ἐγγόνη P; ἐγγόνη B 4 πόλεως] + Κωνσταντίου B1

LVII (Γ ΚΑΝΔΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΛΑΣΙΑΣ): P1

10 P; γάμους B1 20 ταῖς] + ἰδίαν B1

21 καθαιρέσει] + τῆς

χρημάτων. ἡ δὲ ἀσκησις αὐτῆς ἦν αὐτῇ· ἤσθιε μίαν παρὰ μίαν—ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ πέντε—εἰς ἐφημερίαν ἑαυτὴν τάξασα τῶν ἑαυτῆς δουλίδων ἅς καὶ συνασκητρίας εἰργάσατο. |

Ἔχει δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀλβίαν ἀσκουμένην ὁμοίως καὶ διασκορπίζουσιν κατ' ἰδίαν πάλιν τὰ ἴδια χρήματα. 5 εἰσὶν οὖν οἰκοῦσαι ἐν ἀγροῖς, ποτὲ μὲν Σικελίας ποτὲ δὲ Καμπανίας, μετὰ εὐνούχων δεκαπέντε καὶ παρθένων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δουλίδων. ὁμοίως καὶ Πινιανὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μετὰ μοναζόντων τριάκοντα, ἀναγινώσκων καὶ περὶ κῆπον ἀσχο- λούμενος καὶ περὶ σεμνὰς συντυχίας. οὐ μικρῶς δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς 10 πλείονας ὄντας ἐτίμησαν ἀπελθόντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἀναπαύσαντες ἡμᾶς καὶ ξενοδοχεῖα καὶ ἐφοδίους δαψιλεστάτοις, μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς καρπούμενοι τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν τοῖς θεοδωρήτοις ἔργοις τῆς ἀρίστης πολι- 15 τείας.

(LXII) Τούτων συγγενῆς Παμμάχιος ὀνόματι ἀπὸ ἀνθυ- πάτων ὁμοίως ἀποταξίμενος ἔζησε τὸν ἀριστον βίον, πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον τὸν μὲν ζῶν διασκορπίσας, τὸν δὲ τελευτῶν πτωχοῖς καταλείψας· ὁμοίως καὶ Μακάριός τις ἀπὸ βικαρίας, καὶ Κωνστάντιος συγκίβεδρος γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 20 ἐπίρχων, ἄνδρες ἐπίσημοι καὶ λογικώτατοι καὶ εἰς ἄκρον φιλο- θείας ἐλάσαντες· οὗς ἔτι νομίζω καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὑπάρχειν τὸν ἀριστον ἐξησκηκότας βίον. |

7 See Note 109.

11 See Note 110.

16 See Note 111.

P1

7 ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐλευθέρων] om B 8 Πινιανός] B1 (νν B1; Ὅτιν. = ὁ Π. B1); Ἀπειριανός P; Ἀπριανός ven (T vac); Ὅτιανός A^B (ππ A^B) 13-15 μετὰ..... πολιτείας] om l

LXII (Περὶ Παμμαχίου): P1

16 Μάχιος (Μαλάχιος in title) T ven ὀνόματι before the name TB
18 πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ TB 19 καταλείψας] + πρὸς κύριον ἀπεδήμησεν (T)B1 Ἀγάθων
T ven τις] + ὀνόματι TB1 βικαρίων T1; βρικίων ven 20 Κωνστάντιος] PT
(in title) A^B; Κωνσταντίνος T (in text) B τῆς] om TB 21 ἄνδρες] + καὶ T
λογικώτατοι] P1; ἰλλογικώτατοι (T)B 22 καὶ] + οὖν B ἔτι καὶ οὖν νομ. T
23 ἐξησκηκότας βίον] P (-κότες) l; τῆς πολιτείας θεσμὸν ἐξασκοῦντας, ἀκήρατον καὶ
μακαρίαν ζωὴν ἀναμένοντες (T)B

Διοκλεῖ τῷ ἀναχωρητῇ, ἀνδρὶ γνωστικωτάτῳ, λέγων ὅτι Σοφώ-
τερός μου ἐστὶν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Διοκλῆς, καὶ δύναται αὐτὰ ἀβλαβῶς
διοικῆσαι, ἐπιστάμενος τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ἐπικουρηθῆναι εὐλόγως·
ἐγὼ γὰρ τούτοις ἀρκοῦμαι.

5 Οὗτος ὁ Διοκλῆς ἀπὸ γραμματικῆς μὲν ἀχθεῖς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐς
ὑστερον δὲ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος
αὐτὸν ἐλκυσάσης, εἰς εἰκοστὸν ὄγδοον ἔτος ἄγων τὴν ἡλικίαν
ἀπετάξατο μὲν τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μαθημάτων, συνετάξατο δὲ τῷ
Χριστῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων τριακοστὸν πέμπτον ἔτος ἐν τοῖς
10 σπηλαιοῖς. ὃς ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστάς θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἢ
κτῆνος γίνεται ἢ δαίμων· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλεγε κτηνώδη,
τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμονιώδη. ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος ὅτι Πῶς
δυνατὸν ἀδιαλείπτως εἶναι νοῦν ἀνθρώπινον μετὰ θεοῦ; ἔλεγεν
ὁ αὐτὸς ὅτι Ἐν οὐκ ἂν νοήματι ἢ πράγματι εἶη ἢ ψυχῇ
15 εὐσεβεῖ καὶ θεϊκῷ, μετὰ θεοῦ ἐστίν.

Τούτου πλησίον Καπίτων τις ἔμμενεν ἀπὸ ληστῶν· ὃς πεντή-
κοντα ἔτη πληρώσας ἐν τοῖς σπηλαιοῖς ἀπὸ τεσσάρων μιλιῶν
τῆς πόλεως Ἀντινόου οὐ κατήλθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου οὐδὲ μέχρι
τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Νείλου, λέγων μηδέπω δύνασθαι συντυγχάνειν
20 τοῖς ὄχλοις τῷ ἀκμὴν ἀντιπράττειν αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπεναντίον.

10—12 Bl represent the following Greek: "Ἐλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστάς
θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἢ δαίμων γίνεται ἢ κτῆνος. ἡμῶν δὲ φιλοπνευστούντων τὸν τρόπον
ὄν εἶπεν, ἔλεγεν οὕτως ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστάς θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιπίπτει
ἐπιθυμία ἢ θυμῷ· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλεγε κτηνώδη, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμονιώδη.

For B see *Introd.* § 8. Both Brit. Mus. mss. of s (add. 12173, 17173) omit
the first seven lines on p. 174 of Bedjan's text, which represent B.

P(W)TAlS

3 εὐλ. ἐπικ. A 5, 6 ἐς ὅστ. ἑαυτὸν] om A 6, 7 εἰς φιλοσοφούμενα (B)
τοῦ λόγου τῆς χάριτος αὐτὸν ἐλκύσαντος A 7 εἰς] WTA; om PB εἰκοστὸν] + καὶ
TA; γὰρ P; τοῖνον B; txt W ἄγων] φθάσας (after ἡλικ.) T τὴν ἡλικίαν] WA; τῆς
ἡλικίας PTA 8 τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασι P (txt W) 9 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων] ποιήσας δὲ T
τριακοστὸν] + καὶ T(l) ἔτος] + ἄγων (om ἔχων) A τῷ σπηλαίῳ A 10 ὃς] om Tls
ἀποστάς] + ἀπὸ τοῦ A 11 ἢ κτῆνος γίνεται ἢ δαίμων] P; περιπίπτει ἐπιθυμία Ts
(A ἐννοία περιπ. ἐπιθυμία): Bl give the two readings in full (see above) μὲν]
om W κτηνώδη] 'animal and bestial' s (om τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμ.) 12 δαιμονι
(sic) T 12, 13 ἐμοῦ. . . . ἀδιαλείπτως] om T 13 εἶναι after ἀνθρ. A μετὰ]
+ τοῦ T 14 ὃ] om A δ'] om P (txt W) εἶη ἢ ψ. after θεϊκῷ T; ἢ ψ. ἢ after
θεϊκῷ A 15 μετὰ] + τοῦ PTA; txt WB 16 οὐκ ἀπῆλθ. ἀπὸ A οὐδέ] om A
19 τοῦ] om P μηδέπω] P; μή T; μήπου A; μήπω B 20 τῷ] WTB†; τὸ PAB†
ἀντιπράττει] τι πράττει T τοῖς ὑπεναντίους P (txt W): s ceases here

Ἀρειανῶν καὶ ἀθέμιτα συκοφαντοῦμαι, ἵνα οὖν μὴ καγῶ ἄλογον ἀπενέγκωμαι δόξαν καὶ εἰς ἁμαρτίαν ἐμβάλω τοὺς τιμωρήσασθαί με βουλομένους, ἐνεθυμήθην φυγεῖν. ἀπεκάλυψε δέ μοι ὁ θεὸς ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ὅτι Παρ' οὐδενὶ ἔχεις σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ παρ' ἐκείνη. ἀπὸ πολλῆς οὖν χαρᾶς ἐκείνη ῥίψασα πάντα ⁵ διαλογισμὸν ὅλη γεγένηται τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ κατέκρυψε τὸν ἁγιώτατον ἐκείνον ἐπὶ ἕξ ἔτη μέχρι τῆς ζωῆς Κωνσταντίου, αὕτη καὶ περινίπτουσα τοὺς πόδας, καὶ τὰ περιπτύματα διακο-
νοῦσα, καὶ τὰς χρείας αὐτῷ πάσας οἰκονομοῦσα, καὶ βιβλία κικρωμένη καὶ παρέχουσα αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πάσης ¹⁰ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔγνω ἐν τοῖς ἕξ ἔτεσι πού διαγεί οὐ μακάριος Ἀθανάσιος. ὡς οὖν ἠγγέλθη ὁ θάνατος Κωνσταντίου καὶ ἦλθεν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοάς, καλῶς ἐνδυσάμενος πάλιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εὐρέθη ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πάντων ἐκστάντων καὶ θεασαμένων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντα. ἀπελογεῖτο οὖν τοῖς γνησίοις αὐτοῦ ¹⁵

ἡγεμονίας, παρὰ τινα παρθένον ἱερὰν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐκρύπτετο. (4) Ἀθανάσιον δὲ λίγος κατὰ θεῖαν ὄψιν ὠδὶ ὑποθεμένην αὐτῷ σωθῆσεσθαι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν παρθένον καταφυγεῖν. 5—12 (5) Δι' ἀνδρείαν δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξατο καὶ διὰ φρόνησιν ἀπέσωσεν· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πιστοτάτη φύλαξ καὶ διάκονος σπουδαία γενομένη, ὡς πόδας αὐτοῦ νίπτει καὶ τὰ περὶ τροφῆν καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, καὶ ὅσα φύσις ὑπομένειν βιάζεται ἐν ταῖς κατεπειγούσαις χρεῖαις, μόνην αὐτὴν διακο-
νεῖσθαι προσέτι δὲ καὶ βιβλίους ὧν εἰδεῖτο παρ' ἄλλων κομίζειν. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρόνῳ τοῦτων γενομένων μηδένα τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλιν μαθεῖν. 12—15 (1) Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε καὶ Ἀθανάσιος τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον λαυθάνων ὅπη διέτρεψεν ἀγγελθείσης τῆς Κωνσταντίου τελευτῆς, ἀνεφάνη νύκτωρ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο εἰκότως παράδοξον, ἐξαπίνης ὡδε παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν συμβάν. 15—3 (p. 160) (4) Ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθανασίου ἐπιτηδείους μὴ ἔχειν πράγματα εἴ τις αὐτοὺς πολυπραγμονεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ

P(W)Tl[ath]

1 καὶ ἵνα (om οὖν) ath 2 δόξαν] ψῆφον P (txt W) 3 δὲ] οὖν B ath
4 θεός] + ἐν P; txt TB ath 5 ἐκείνης T ἀπὸ] om T χαρ. οὖν W ῥίψ. ἐκείνη T
7 ἅγιον Tl 8 καὶ¹] om T περιπτύματα B ath 9 ἀπάσας αὐτῷ P βιβλίους
T: + quos ille quarebat l (cf. Soz. ὧν εἰδεῖτο) 10 καὶ¹] + εἰς ἀσκησιν P (txt W);
legendos l αὐτῷ παρεχομένη P (txt W) οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν Ἀλ. ἀνθρώπων P; txt
W ath T (ἐν πάσῃ Ἀλ.) B (βλῆς): om πάσης l 11 ἐν] WT ath; om PB πῶ] + γῆς
P; txt TB ath ἅγιος ath 12 ὡς οὖν] see § 15 of ath 13 πάλιν] B ath ls;
om P^T 14 εὐρέθη] + subito ls καὶ] om P (txt W) 15—3 (p. 160) ὡς ἐκ
νεκρ... νεωτέρων] full collations of ath 15 ἀναστάντα P(s) (txt W) οὖν] P puts
οὖν after πάντων (14) and the stop after ἐκκλησίᾳ: W has οὖν in both places and
punctuates as text.

στάτην εἶχε τὴν ὄψιν ὡς ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν πᾶνυ στερρὸν ἀπατάσθαι τῷ ταύτης κάλλει, εἰ μὴ φρουρὸν εἶχεν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὴν σωφροσύνην εἰς αἰδῶ καὶ φόβον συνωθοῦσα τῆ κοσμιότητι τὸν ἀκόλαστον ὀφθαλμὸν.

- 5 (LX) Ἄλλη τις γειννιώσά μοι, ἧς τὴν ὄψιν οὐχ ἐώρακα, προῆλθε γὰρ οὐδέποτε, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἀπετάξατο· πληρώσασα δὲ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἰδίας, ἐς ὕστερον ἔμελλε μεταβαίνειν τὸν βίον. καὶ παραστάς αὐτῇ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, Κόλλουθος ὀνόματι, λέγει αὐτῇ·
- 10 Σήμερον μέλλεις ὀδεύειν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ὄραν πατέρας τοὺς ἁγίους· ἐλθοῦσα οὖν ἀρίστησον μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ μαρτυρῶν ἀναστάσασα οὖν ὄρθρου καὶ ἐνδυσασμένη καὶ λαβοῦσα ἐν τῇ ἰδίῳ ἰδίῳ τῆ ἑαυτῆς ἄρτον καὶ ἐλαίας καὶ λεπτολάχανα, μετὰ τὸς ἑξήκοντα ἔτη ἐξελθοῦσα καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον ἠύξατο.
- 15 καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσασα τῆς πάσης ἡμέρας ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐν καθεσθεῖσα προσκαλεῖται τὸν μάρτυρα λέγουσα· Εὐλόγησέ μου τὰ βρώματα, ἅγιε Κόλλουθε, καὶ συνόδευσόν μοι τὴν προσευχαίαν σου. φαγοῦσα οὖν καὶ πάλιν προσευξαμένη ἦλθε περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ. καὶ δοῦσα τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑαυτῆς
- 20 σύγγραμμα Κλήμεντος τοῦ Στραυματέως εἰς τὸν προφήτην Ἀμῶς, εἶπε· Δὸς αὐτὸ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ ἐξωρισμένῳ, καὶ εἶπε αὐτῷ· Εὐξαί με περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὀδεύω γάρ. καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ μὴ πυρέξασα μὴ κεφαλαλήσασα, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὴν ἐνταφιάσασα. |

9 See Note 104.

20 See Note 105.

24 In P LXI, LXII immediately follow LVI, LVII; LIX, LX come between

P(W)TAIs

- 1 γενόμενον P (txt W) στερεὸν A 2 ὑπερβαλλόντως T; -λουσαν A
3 καὶ] + εἰς P (txt W) συνωθοῦσα] W; -θοῦσα P* (-θοῦσαν P^{cor}); ἀγούσα TAB
4 ὀφθαλμῶν T

LX (Περὶ παρθένου τινός καὶ Κολλογόθου τοῦ μάρτυρος): P(W)TAIs
(no division in PAI)

- 5 ἧς] εἰς T ὄψιν] + μὲν TB 6 γὰρ] γοῦν W καὶ] WTA; om PB
7 δέ] om AB ἔτη ἐξήκ. PA (txt W) τῆς ἰδίας μητρὸς TB 10 δεσπ.] + σου
BIs; + Χριστὸν P τοὺς ἁγ. πάντας TA 12 ὄρθρου A 13 τῇ ἑαυτῆς] om TA
λεπτὰ λάχ. A 14 ἐξελθοῦσα ἀπῆλθεν B1; ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα TAB; om καὶ
ἀπελθοῦσα P; txt W 14, 15 εἰς.....ἐπιτηρήσασα] om T; + διὰ (om τῆς) TAB
16 καθίσασα T 17 Κόλλ. ἅγιε A 19 τῇ μ. τῇ ἑαυτῆς] WT; τῇ ἑαυτῆς μητρὶ PAB
21 εἶπε] + αὐτῇ BIs ἐξωρ. WAB; ἐξορ. PT εἶπον A 22 περὶ] ὅπερ P (txt W)
ἐν] om A 23 κεφαλῆν ἀλγ. P

τοιούτου, ὅτι εὐγενεστάτη τις καὶ ὠραιοτάτη παρθένος ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίων πόλει ἀσκουμένη εἰς τὴν παρθενίαν. ταύτην κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ διέβαλον τῷ τότε δικάζοντι Ἑλληνι ὄντι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν διωκτῶν, ὡς βλασφημοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ δυσφημοῦσαν τὰ εἰδῶλα. 5 προσεπήνουν δὲ τὸ ταύτης κάλλος οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κάπηλοι. γυναικομανῆς οὖν ὑπάρχων ὁ δικαστῆς ἠδέως ἐδέξατο τὴν διαβολὴν τοῖς ἰππικοῖς ὠτίοις. καὶ ὡς πᾶσαν μηχανὴν κινήσας πείσαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, τότε ἀπομανεῖς πρὸς αὐτὴν τιμωρίᾳ αὐτὴν οὐ παρέδωκεν, οὐ βασάνῳ, ἀλλὰ στήσας αὐτὴν 10 εἰς πορνεῖον ἐνετείλατο τῷ νέμοντι ταύτας ὅτι Δέξαι ταύτην, ἡμερήσιόν μοι τρία νομίσματα φέρων ἐκ ταύτης. ὁ δὲ εἰσπραττόμενος τὸν χρυσὸν ἔκδοτον αὐτὴν παρέιχε τοῖς βουλομένοις. ὡς οὖν ἔγνωσαν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα γυναικοῖερακες παρήδρυσαν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ τῆς ἀπωλείας, καὶ διδόντες τὸ κέρμα ὠμίλου αὐτῇ 15 τὰ πρὸς ἀπάτην. ἡ δὲ ἐκλιπαροῦσα αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει λέγουσα ὅτι Ἐλκος ἔχω τι εἰς κεκρυμμένον τόπον ὅπερ ἐσχάτως ὄξει, καὶ δέδοικα μὴ εἰς μίσός μου ἔλθῃτε· ἔκδοτε οὖν μοι ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε καὶ δωρεάν με ἔχειν. δεήσεσιν οὖν τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευσεν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις· ὅθεν καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ 20 θεὸς αὐτῆς τὴν σωφροσύνην νεανίσκῳ τινὶ μαγιστριανῷ, καλῶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τῷ εἶδει, ἐνέθηκε ζῆλον πυριφλεγῆ θανάτου. καὶ ἀπελθὼν τῷ σχήματι τῆς ἀκολασίας εἰσέρχεται βαθεῖαν ἐσπέραν πρὸς τὸν τρέφοντα ταύτας, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ πέντε νομίσματα καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· | Συγχώρησόν μοι μείναι τὴν 25 νύκτα ταύτην μετ' αὐτῆς. εἰσελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸν ἀπόκρυφον

P¹T¹⁸

1 παρθένος] om T(s) 2 ἐν] om T 3 τότε] om ls Ἑλ. ὄντι] om P
4 ἐπὶ TB τοῦ καιροῦ B; om T τῶν]+τότε T διωγμῶν T¹⁸ καὶ τοὺς
καιροὺς καὶ] om P (cf. 19, p. 18) 5 δυσφημοῦσαν] om B1 6 δέ] +καὶ P
9 τὴν ἀνθ.] αὐτὴν T¹⁸ μανεις T κατ' αὐτῆς T 10 αὐτῆ¹ T¹⁸(B); μὲν
(om αὐτὴν) P οὐ βασάνῳ T¹ (aut morti); βασάνων (om οὐ) PA²; om s; (B altered)
11 ὅτι Δ. ταύτην] δέξασθαι αὐτὴν T; om ls 12 ἡμερήσιον.....ἐκ ταύτης] P(B); καὶ
τρία νομ. ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς φέρειν T ὁ δὲ οἷα μέλλων εἰσπράττεσθαι T
13 παρῆιχε] δέδωκε T¹⁸; ἔσθησε B 14 ταῦτα] τὰ τοιαῦτα TB 15 ἀπωλείας]
ἀνομίας T 15 20 καὶ διδόντες.....ἡμέραις] om T 20 ὁ δὲ θεὸς θεασάμενος T;
(B altered) 22 τῇ γνώμῃ T ἐντέθεικε TB¹ 23 καὶ ἀπελθὼν] ¹⁰⁰⁰ τοσοῦτον
τῷ] om T προσσχῆματι T ἐρχεται T βαθ. ἐσπ.] om T 24 ταύτας]
TB; τὰς ταύτας P* (τὰς τοιαύτας P¹⁰⁰⁰ m. 1) 25 μοι]+πρώτῳ T τὴν νύκτα
ταύτην] om T

σάντων αὐτῶν ἐς ὕστερον ὁ θεὸς κατοικτεῖρας τὸν νέον ἐνέθηκεν
καὶ τούτῳ ζῆλον ἀποταξίας, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πληροῦσθαι τὸ γεγραμ-
μένον· Τί γὰρ οἶδας, γίγναι, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις; **γυμνηθεῖσα** οὖν ἐπὶ
δεκατριῶν ἐτῶν καὶ συζήσασα τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἔτη ἑπτὰ, τῷ εἰκοστῷ
5 ἀπετάξατο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ σηρικὰ ἡμιφόρια τοῖς θυσια-
στηρίοις ἐδωρήσατο· τούτο δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀγία πεποίηκεν Ὀλυμπιάς.
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σηρικὰ συγκόψασα διάφορα ἐποίησεν ἐκκλησια-
στικά ἔπιπλα. τὸν δὲ ἄργυρον καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐμπιστεύσασα
Παύλῳ τινὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, μοναχῷ Δαλματίας, διὰ θαλάσσης
10 ἀπέστειλεν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Θηβαίδι νομίσματα
μύρια, Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι ταύτης μύρια νομίσματα,
Παλαιστίνῃ νομίσματα μύρια πεντακισχίλια, ταῖς ἐν νήσοις
ἐκκλησίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἐξορίαις νομίσματα μύρια, ταῖς κατὰ τὴν
δύσιν ἐκκλησίαις ὡσαύτως δι' ἑαυτῆς χορηγοῦσα· ταῦτα πάντα
15 καὶ τετραπλασίονα τούτων ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἐξαρπάσασα ἐκ τοῦ
στόματος λέοντος Ἀλαρίχου τῇ πίστει τῇ ἑαυτῆς. ἠλευθέρωσε
δὲ τὰ βουληθέντα ἀνδράποδα ὀκτακισχίλια, τὰ λοιπὰ γὰρ οὐκ
ἐβουλήθησαν ἀλλ' ἤρῃσαντο δουλεῦσαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῆς·
ᾧ παρεχώρησε πάντας ἀπὸ τριῶν νομισμάτων λαβεῖν. τὰ δὲ
20 κτήματα τὰ ἐν ταῖς Σπανίαις καὶ Ἀκυτανίᾳ καὶ Ταρακωνησίᾳ
καὶ Γαλλίαις διαπωλήσασα, τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ μόνᾳ καὶ Καμπανίᾳ
καὶ Ἀφρικῇ ἑαυτῇ καταλείψασα ἐπελάβετο εἰς χορηγίαν
μοναστηρίων. αὕτη αὐτῆς ἡ σοφία ἡ περὶ τοῦ φορτίου τῶν

3 1 Cor. vii. 16.

9 See Note 108.

PTI

1 κατοικτεῖρας] P; οἰκτηρήσας T; κατοικτειρήσας B 2 ἀποταξίας] θεοσεβείας
TB: + ὡστε ἀποτάξασθαι πάσῃ τῇ βλῆ τοῦ κόσμου (T)B ἐπ' αὐτοὺς] P1; om TB
πληρωθῆναι TB γεγραμμ.] + τοῦ ἀποστόλου ῥητόν B1 (om γεγραμμ. T) 3 γυμ-
μένη B; ἔγμην T ἐπὶ] om TB 4 ἐτῶν δεκατρ. T εἰκοστῷ] + ἔτει TB;
τῷ P1 5 μὲν] + πάντα αὐτῆς (T)B(1) ἡμιφόρια] + καλύμματα (T)B 6 ἐχαρίσατο T
τούτο.....'Ολ.] om A^B ἀγία] P1; εὐσεβεστάτη T ven; σεβασμωτάτη B πεποίηκεν
(ἐποίησεν T ven) before καὶ ἡ T ven B 7 συρικὰ P: + ἐνδύματα TB1 συγκό-
ψασα] om T(1) 8 ἔπιπλα] om TA^B τὸν] ὃν T δέ] + ἐμπιπλάτο T τὸν²
om T 9 πρεσβ.] + καὶ T Δαλματσίῳ TB; Δερματσίῳ ven 10 ἀνατολῇ]
+ καὶ P Αἰγ.] + τε T Θηβ.] + εἰς διάδοσιν T 11 Ἀντιοχείᾳ] lacuna in T to
end of chapter; (note at foot of page: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν ἐκπροσθεν εἰς φέλλα ἑπτὰ,
but this is not the case in this copy)

P1

11 νομίσματα] om P

B1 20 Ταρακωνησίᾳ P 21 Γαλλίαι P

p

τοιούτου, ὅτι εὐγενεστάτη τις καὶ ὠραιοτάτη παρθένος ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίων πόλει ἀσκουμένη εἰς τὴν παρθενίαν. ταύτην κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ διέβαλον τῷ τότε δικάζοντι Ἑλληνι ὄντι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν διωκτῶν, ὡς βλασφημοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ δυσφημοῦσαν τὰ εἶδωλα. 5 προσεπήνουν δὲ τὸ ταύτης κάλλος οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κάπηλοι. γυναικομανῆς οὖν ὑπάρχων ὁ δικαστὴς ἠδέως ἐδέξατο τὴν διαβολὴν τοῖς ἵππικοῖς ὠτίοις. καὶ ὡς πᾶσαν μηχανὴν κινήσας πείσαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, τότε ἀπομανεῖς πρὸς αὐτὴν τιμωρίᾳ αὐτὴν οὐ παρέδωκεν, οὐ βασάνῳ, ἀλλὰ στήσας αὐτὴν 10 εἰς πορνείον ἐνετείλατο τῷ νέμοντι ταύτας ὅτι Δέξαι ταύτην, ἡμερήσιόν μοι τρία νομίσματα φέρων ἐκ ταύτης. ὁ δὲ εἰσπραττόμενος τὸν χρυσὸν ἔκδοτον αὐτὴν παρέιχε τοῖς βουλομένοις. ὡς οὖν ἔγνωσαν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα γυναικοῖερακες παρήδρευσαν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ τῆς ἀπωλείας, καὶ διδόντες τὸ κέρμα ὠμίλου αὐτῇ 15 τὰ πρὸς ἀπάτην. ἡ δὲ ἐκλιπαροῦσα αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει λέγουσα ὅτι Ἑλκος ἔχω τι εἰς κεκρυμμένον τόπον ὅπερ ἐσχάτως ὄζει, καὶ δέδοικα μὴ εἰς μίσός μου ἔλθῃτε· ἔκδοτε οὖν μοι ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε καὶ δωρεάν με ἔχειν. δεήσεσιν οὖν τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευσεν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις· ὅθεν καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ 20 θεὸς αὐτῆς τὴν σωφροσύνην νεανίσκῳ τινὶ μαγιστριανῷ, καλῶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τῷ εἶδει, ἐνέθηκε ζῆλον πυριφλεγῆ θανάτου. καὶ ἀπελθὼν τῷ σχήματι τῆς ἀκολασίας εἰσέρχεται βαθεῖαν ἐσπέραν πρὸς τὸν τρέφοντα ταύτας, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ πέντε νομίσματα καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· | Συγχώρησόν μοι μείναι τὴν 25 νύκτα ταύτην μετ' αὐτῆς. εἰσελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸν ἀπόκρυφον

P¹T¹s

1 παρθένος] om T(s) 2 ἐν] om T 3 τότε] om ls Ἑλ. ὄντι] om P
4 ἐπὶ TB τοῦ καιροῦ B; om T τῶν]+τότε T διωγμῶν T¹s καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ] om P (cf. 19, p. 18) 5 δυσφημοῦσαν] om B¹ 6 δέ]+καὶ P
9 τὴν ἀνθ.] αὐτὴν T(ls) μανεις T κατ' αὐτῆς T 10 αὐτῆς¹] T¹s(B); μὲν (om αὐτὴν) P οὐ βασάνῳ] T¹ (aut morti); βασάνῳ (om οὐ) P A²; om s; (B altered)
11 ὅτι Δ. ταύτην] δέξασθαι αὐτὴν T; om ls 12 ἡμερήσιον.....ἐκ ταύτης] P(B); καὶ τρία νομ. ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς φέρειν T ὁ δὲ οἱ μέλλον εἰσπράττεσθαι T
13 παρείχε] δέδωκε T A²; ἔστησε B 14 ταῦτα] τὰ τοιαῦτα TB 15 ἀπωλείας] ἀνομίας T
15-20 καὶ διδόντες.....ἡμέραις] om T 20 ὁ δὲ θεὸς θεασάμενος T; (B altered) 22 τῇ γνώμῃ T ἐντέθεικε T B¹ 23 καὶ ἀπελθὼν] I¹ recommenoes τῷ] om T προσχήματι T ἐρχεται T βαθ. ἐσπ.] om T 24 ταύτας] T B; τὰς ταύτας P² (τὰς τοιαύτας P¹⁰⁰⁰ m. 1) 25 μοι]+πρώτῳ T τὴν νύκτα ταύτην] om T

(LXIII) Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἔγνω παρθένον ἦν κατέλιθα ὡς ἑτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα· προσεμαρτύρει δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ κλήρος ἵπας ὅτι νέα οὐσα ὡς ἑτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ σφόδρα ὠραιότατη φευκτὴ ἦν διὰ τὸ κάλλος, ἵνα μὴ τιμι μῶμον δῶ ἐξ ὑπονοίας. ὅτε οὖν
 5 συνέβη τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς συσκευάσασθαι τὸν μακάριον Ἀθανάσιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας δι' Εὐσεβίου τοῦ πραιποσίτου ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἀθέμιτα αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦν συκοφαντοῦντες, φεύγων τὸ παρὰ διεφθαρμένου κριτηρίου κριθῆναι οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν οὐδενί, οὐ συγγενεῖ οὐ φίλῳ οὐ κληρικῷ
 10 οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινί· ἀλλ' εἰσελθόντων τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν αἰφνίδιον εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον καὶ ζητούντων αὐτόν, λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὸ στιχάριον καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἐν μεσαιτάτῃ νυκτὶ κατέφυγε πρὸς ταύτην τὴν παρθένον. ἡ δὲ ξενισθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι διεπτοήθη. λέγει οὖν αὐτῇ· Ἐπειδὴ ζητοῦμαι παρὰ τῶν

1 In PWTs this story is joined to the Introduction on Holy Women (p. 128): Ἀναγκάσιον.....χῆραις· ἐν οἷς καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἔγνω παρθένον κ.τ.λ. Thus LXIII follows XLVIII, and LXIV follows LXII. Chapter LXIII is incorporated almost bodily in the so-called *Vita Athanasii ex Metaphrasto*, §§ 13, 15 (Opera Ath. I, ed. Ben.; Migne, P.G. xxv). The text is of the type PWT; full collations, under the sign ath, are given for the two passages indicated in the apparatus, in which the citation is verbal. Tullberg's ms. A (*Paradisius*, p. 33) gives s in this chapter. P includes W when not otherwise stated.

On the historical bearings of the story see Note 112.

3, 4 Soz. v. 6 (2) Ἦν ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ κάλλει τὰς τότε γυναῖκας ὑπερβύλλεσθαι παρελήφμεν, ὡς θαῦμα μὲν αὐτὴν εἶναι τοῖς ὀρώσιν· φευκτίαν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιείκειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐπαγγελιομένοις, ἵνα μὴ τινα ψύχον ἐξ ὑπονοίας αὐτοῖς προστρίψηται. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ὄρας, σεμνὴ τε καὶ σώφρων εἰς ἄγαν· ἡ μηδὲ τῆς φύσεως συλλαμβανούσης διακοσμῆν εἴωθε τὸ σῶμα εἰς εὐπρέπειαν κάλλους. (3) Further reflections of Sozomen's own.

10—5 (p. 159) (1) Ἦνίκα γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν Γεωργίου ἐπιτηδίων, προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, σπουδῆσας αὐτὸν συλλαβέσθαι ὁ τῶν ἐν Λιγύπτῳ ταγμάτων ἡγεμῶν ἀπέτυχεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρῶσθεν εἴρηται, διαφυγὼν μέχρι τῆς παρουσίας

LXIII (Περὶ παρθένοῦ τῆς ὑποδεξαμένης τὸν μακάριον Ἀθανάσιον):

P(W)T[s [ath, see Note above]

3 φευκτὴ ἦν] + τοῖς ἐναρέτοις B (Soz); txt PT ath ls: (1 adds: propter miraculum uultus eius, cf. Soz. θαῦμα) 4 τιμι] PTs; τινα B (Soz I) 5, 6 συσκευάσ...ἐπίσκοπον] om W 8 φεύγων] + ἐκείνος P (txt W) 9 οὐδ'] om T 11 αὐτοῦ] om P (txt W) 7²] om T 12 στιχάριον] WT; στιχάριον PB βιβλίον] P; βιβλίον WT; βιβλίον, θήριον, βιβλίον B μεσοτάτη TB† 12—13 (p. 159) ἡ δὲ ξεν...ὁ μακ. Ἀθ.] full collations of ath 14 ἐπτοήθη ath αὐτῇ] + ὁ ἐπίσκοπος B1: + ἐτι B ath ἐπιζήτ. (om ἐπειδὴ) ath

4 CD]
5 A
ε19 A

ενομένου καὶ κατὰ σπλάγγων χωροῦντος, τὰς αἰρέσεις εἰς
ορθοξίαν μετήνεγκαν, ἐν πολλοῖς χωρίοις τοὺς σιτοβολῶνας
ὑτῶν παρασχόντες εἰς διατροφήν τοῖς πένησι. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο
χῆμα σεμνότατον λίαν καὶ εὐτελὲς ἀναλαμβάνοντες ὀλιγοδάπανα
φόδρα φοροῦσιν ἱμάτια, εὐτελεστάτῃ δὲ τροφῇ διαζῶσιν, 5
ἕασκούντες τὴν εἰς θεὸν σωφροσύνην, τὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς ἀγροῖς
ῥοσομιλοῦντες καὶ φεύγοντες τὰς πόλεις, μήποτε τῷ συνασμε-
σμῷ σπείσωσί τι τῶν πολιτικῶν θορύβων ἐκπίπτοντες τῆς
ροθέσεως. |

(LXVII) Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει Ἀγκύρα πολλὰ μὲν καὶ 10
λλαι παρθένοι ὡς χιλιάδες δύο ἢ πλεῖον καὶ ἐγκρατεῦμεναι
καὶ ἐπίσημοι γυναῖκες διαπρέπουσιν. ἐν αἷς ἐπικρατεῖ κατ'
ἰλίβειαν Μάγνα σεμνοτάτῃ γυνή, ἣν οὐκ οἶδα τί ὀνομάσω,
αρθένον ἢ χήραν. βία γὰρ συναφθεῖσα παρὰ τῆς ἰδίας μητρὸς
νδρί, δελεῦσα τοῦτον καὶ ὑπερθεμένη, ὡς φασιν οἱ πολλοί, 15
εμένηκεν ἄψαυτος. οὐ μετ' ὀλίγον τελευτήσαντος ἄλην
λυτὴν ἐπέδωκε τῷ θεῷ, φροντίζουσα σεμνῶς τῶν ἰδίων οἰκῶν,
ἃσα ἰσκητικώτατον βίον καὶ σώφρονα, τοιαύτην ἔχουσα τὴν
υτυχίαν ὡς αἰδεῖσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπισκόπους ὑπερβολῇ εὐ-
αβείας. αὕτη | τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ περιττεούσας χρεῖας ξενοδο- 20
εῖους καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ διοδεύουσιν ἐπισκόποις χορηγοῦσα, οὐ
αύεται ἐργαζομένη κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς δι' ἑαυτῆς καὶ δι' οἰκετῶν
ιστοτάτων μηδὲ ὑπολιμπανομένη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῖς
ξίν. |

(LXVIII) Ὅμοίως ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει εὐρήκαμεν μονάζοντα 25
ειροτονίαν μὲν μὴ αἰρούμενον δέξασθαι πρεσβυτερίου, ἀπὸ
τρατείας δὲ ἠγμένον ὀλίγου χρόνου· ὃς εἰκοστὸν ἄγει ἔτος
τῇ ἰσκήσει ταύτην ἔχων τὴν πολιτείαν· παραμένει μὲν
ῶ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς πόλεως, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐστὶ φιλόνηθρος καὶ

P1[T]

1 γενομένου]+μεγάλου T1l (not l^{on}) χωροῦντος]+πάντων ἀνθρώπων TB(l)
9 μήποτε.....προθέσεως] om T

LXVII (Περὶ Μάγνας): P1[T]

10 Ἀγκύρα] l^B; (italine l; τῇ Καισαρεία τῆς Καππαδοκίας ven; om T in text,
it title: περὶ Μ. ἐν Καισαρεία 11 καὶ] om l 12 γυναῖκες] om l 13 Μάγνα]
tis Tl 22 κατὰ τὸ λελ.] om l

LXVIII (Περὶ τοῦ ἐλεήμονος μοναχοῦ): P1[T]

No division in P^T 26, 27 ἀπὸ...χρόνου] om T 27 ἠγμένον]+πρὸ P; txt B1
1 πόλεως]+ἀνδρὶ ἀγίῳ (T)l (-ωτάτῳ) l

ἐλεήμων ὡς καὶ τὰς νύκτας περιμέναι καὶ ἐλεεῖν τοὺς δεομένους. οὗτος οὐκ ἀμελεῖ οὐ φυλακῆς οὐ νοσοκομείου οὐ πτωχοῦ οὐ πλουσίου, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐπικουρεῖ, τοῖς μὲν λόγους εὐσπλαγγχίας διδοὺς ὡς ἀσπλάγχουις, τῶν δὲ προιστάμενος, τοὺς δὲ εἰρηνεύων,
 5 τοῖς δὲ χρείας σωματικὰς καὶ ἱμάτια παρέχων. ὁ φιλεῖ δὲ συμβαίνειν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσι ἔστι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ· ἐν γὰρ τῇ στοᾷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος νοσούντων κατακείμενον ἐραυίζεται τὴν ἐφήμερον τροφήν, τῶν μὲν ἀγάμων τῶν δὲ γεγα-
 10 μηκότων. συνέβη οὖν μιᾶς τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν μέσῃ νυκτὶ τίκτειν ἐνὸς γυναικα ἐν τῇ στοᾷ ἐν χειμῶνι. βοώσης οὖν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ ὀδύνῃ ἐπήκουσε, καὶ καταλείψας τὰς συνήθειαι αὐτοῦ προσευχὰς ἐξελθὼν ἐπέειδε, καὶ μηδένα εὐρῶν αὐτὸς ἰατρίνης ἐπέσχε τόπον, οὐ βδελυξάμενος τὸ παρακολουθοῦν μῦσος ταῖς τικτούσαις, ἀναισθησίαν ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐργασαμένης. τοῦτου
 15 τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῶν ἱματίων οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξιον ὀβολοῦ, τὸ δὲ βρῶμα ἀμφήριστον τῶν ἱματίων· πυκτίφ ἐγκύψαι οὐ καρτερεῖ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας αὐτὸν ἐλανούσης τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων. βιβλίον αὐτῷ ἕάν τις χαρίσῃται τῶν ἀδελφῶν παραχρήμα αὐτὸ πιπρά-
 20 σκει, τοῦτο ἐπιλέγων τοῖς ἐπισκώπτουσι ὅτι Πόθεν ἔχω πείσαι τὸν διδάσκαλόν μου ὅτι τὴν τέχνην αὐτοῦ μεμάθηκα, ἐὰν μὴ ἐκείνον αὐτὸν πωλήσω εἰς τὸ τῆς τέχνης κατόρθωμα ; |

(LXIX) Ἀσκήτριά τις παρθένος μένουσα σὺν ἄλλαις δύο ἡσκήθη ἐπὶ ἔτη ἐννέα ἢ δέκα. αὕτη δελεασθεῖσα παρὰ ψάλτου
 25 ἄκρον ἔξέπεσε, καὶ κατὰ γαστρὸς λαβοῦσα ἐγέννησεν. εἰς ἄκρον εἰς μῖσος ἐλάσασα τοῦ ταύτην δελεάσαντος κατενύγη τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς βάθος, καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλασε μετανοίας ὡς ἀντικρυς ἀπο-
 καρτερήσαι καὶ λιμῷ ἑαυτὴν ἀποκτεῖναι. προσευχομένη δὲ

21 In A after LXVIII comes one of the two pieces found in that redaction of the *Hist. Laus.* but nowhere else: Βίος τοῦ ἁββᾶ Βησαρίωνος (A CXVI): it is one of the forms of the "Story of the Little Gospel" (see *Prolog.* 99), and was evidently suggested by the close of LXVIII.

In P LXIX, LXX come between XLVI and LIV.

P|[T]

1 νύκτας] λευφῆρους T; πόλεις B† 5, 6 δ.....αὐτῇ] om T 7 ἐκκλησίας] α
 lacuna occurs here in the three copies of l, extending to πρεσβυτέρων (11, p. 165)
 14 ἀναισθησίαν.....ἐργασ.] om T; txt P(B) 16 πυκτίφ P 16, 17 πυκτίφ.....
 ἀναγν.] om T; txt PB 19-21 τοῦτο.....κατόρ | ; P B

LXIX (Περὶ παρ
 24 τῶν] TB (2²⁰⁰); 2

ἴετο τοῦ θεοῦ λέγουσα ὅτι Ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας, ὁ βαστάζων τὰ ἀκὰ πάσης κτίσεως καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν πώλειαν τῶν πταιόντων· εἰ θέλεις με σωθῆναι, ἐν τούτῳ μοι εἶξον τὰ θαυμάσιά σου καὶ συνάγαγε τὸν καρπὸν τῆς ἐμῆς μαρτίας ὄνπερ γεγέννηκα, ἵνα μὴ ἡ σχοινίῳ χρήσωμαι, ἢ 5
μαυτὴν δισκεύσω. ἐν τούτοις δεομένη εἰσηκούσθη· τὸ γὰρ εχθὲν οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀπὸ οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας κείνης τῷ μὲν ταύτην αἰχμαλωτεύσαντι οὐκέτι συνέτυχεν, εδοτο δὲ ἑαυτὴν εἰς ἀκροτάτην νηστείαν δοῦσα, νοσοῦσαις καὶ ελωβημέναις ἐξυπηρετήσατο ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη, οὕτως τὸν θεὸν 10
υσωπήσασα ὡς ἀποκαλυφθῆναί τινα τῶν ἀγίων πρεσβυτέρων τι Ἡ δεινὰ μοι εὐηρέστησε μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀρθείᾳ. ταῦτα δὲ γράφω ἵνα μὴ καταφρονῶμεν τῶν γνησίων ετανοούντων.

(LXX) Πρεσβυτέρου Ἰτινὸς ἑταύτην ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς 15
λαλαιστίνης ἐκτεσουσα παρθένοσ παρὰ τοῦ ταύτην φθειραντος διδάχθη ἀναγνωσθῆναι τινὰ τῆς πόλεως συκοφαντήσαι. καὶ ἐνουνίας ἤδη ἐγγύου, ἐξεταζομένη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κατεῖπε οὐ ἀναγνωστού. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος θαρσῶν ἀνήνεγκε τῷ πισκόπῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος συνεκρότησε τὸ ἱερατεῖον καὶ 20
ποίησε κληθῆναι τὸν ἀναγνωσθῆναι. ἐβασανίζετο ἡ ὑπόθεσις· ρωτώμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὁ ἀναγνωστήσ οὐχ ὠμολόγει· ὁ γὰρ μὴ γενομένου πῶσ καὶ ἐνήν ῥηθῆναι; ἀγανακτῶν ὁ πίσκοπος ἐμβριθῶσ ἔλεγε αὐτῷ· Οὐχ ὀμολογεῖσ ἀθλιε καὶ ἀλαίπωρε καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας μεστή; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἀναγνωστήσ· 25
ἰγῶ τὸ ὄν εἶπον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω πρᾶγμα· ἀναίτιος γάρ εἰμι καὶ ἦσ ἐνουνίας τῆσ πρὸσ ἐκείνην. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀκοῦσαι, ἐπραχα. τοῦτο αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος καθεῖλε τὸν ἀναγνωσθῆναι.

15 Tullber 's ms. A gives s of this chapter (*Paradiseus* 38).

P¹T⁸

1 ὁ μέγας] om s 2 πάσης] + τῆσ T 3 σωθ. με θέλ. T μοι] om T
γεγέννηκα T σχοινίῳ T 6 ἑαυτὴν TB¹ ἠκούσθη T 7 τεχθῆν] + βρέφος
B¹ οὐ μετ' οὐ] P; μετ' οὐ T; οὐ μετὰ B 8 αἰχμαλωτῖσαντι TB 9 αὐτὴν T
! ἡ δεινὰ] | recommencos here 13 μεταν. γνησίως TB (om γν. B¹)

LXX (Περὶ ἀναγνωστόγ συκοφαντηθέντος): P¹T¹¹s

15 τινὸς] B¹¹s; om P¹T 18 ἐγγύου (sic) P; γενομένη ἐγκυος καὶ T ἐταξ. TB
δὲ] om T πρεσβ.] + pater eius L¹s ἀνήγγειλε T 20 δὲ] om T
: ὁ ἀναγν.] om P 23 ἐνήν] ἦν TB¹; ἐνι B¹ 24 μετὰ ἐμβριθείας T 26 τὸ ὄν] Γ (τὸ μὲν ὄν); τὸ ἀληθὲς P₂; quod erat in conscientia mea I; om s γάρ] om T

τότε προσελθὼν παρακαλεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ
 Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ ἔπταισα | κέλευσόν μοι αὐτὴν εἰς γυναῖκα δοθῆναι·
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ κληρικὸς λοιπὸν οὔτε ἐκείνη παρθένος. ἔκδοτον
 οὖν αὐτὴν δέδωκε τῷ ἀναγνώστῃ, προσδοκήσας διακεῖσθαι τὸν
 5 νεώτερον περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλως μὴ δύνασθαι ἀποκοπῆναι τὴν
 πρὸς αὐτὴν συνήθειαν. λαβὼν οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ νεώτερος καὶ παρὰ
 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, παρατίθεται μοναστηρίῳ
 γυναικῶν καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὴν αὐτόθι διάκονον τῆς ἀδελφότητος
 μέχρι τοῦ τοκετοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνέχεσθαι. ἐντὸς οὖν ὀλίγου χρόνου
 10 ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν· παρέστη ἡ κρισίμη ὥρα,
 στεναγμοί, ὠδῖνες, πόνοι, καταχθονίων ὀράσεις· καὶ τὸ βρέφος
 οὐκ ἐξήρχετο. παρήλθεν ἡ πρώτη ἡμέρα, ἡ δευτέρα, ἡ τρίτη, ἡ
 ἐβδόμη· ἡ γυνὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀδύνης τῷ ἄδῃ προσομιλοῦσα οὐκ
 ἔφαγεν, οὐκ ἔπιεν, οὐκ ἐκαθεύδησεν, ἀλλ' ἐβόα λέγουσα· Οἶμοι τῇ
 15 ἀθλίᾳ, κινδυνεύω συκοφαντήσασα τόνδε τὸν ἀναγνώστην. ἀπελ-
 θούσαι λέγουσι τῷ πατρὶ. ὁ πατὴρ φοβούμενος τὸ καταγνω-
 σθῆναι ὡς συκοφαντήσας, ἡσυχάζει ἄλλας δύο ἡμέρας. ἡ κόρη
 οὔτε ἐτελεύτα οὔτε ἐγέννα. | ὡς οὖν τὰς βοὰς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔφερον
 αἱ ἀσκήτριαι δραμοῦσαι ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὅτι Ἐξομολο-
 20 γεῖται βοῶσα ἡ δεῖνα ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν ὅτι ἐσυκοφάντησε τὸν
 ἀναγνώστην. τότε πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν διακόνους καὶ δηλοῖ
 αὐτῷ· Εὐξαί ἵνα γεννήσῃ ἡ συκοφαντήσασά σε. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ
 ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀπόκρισιν οὔτε ἤνοιξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θύραν ἀφ'
 ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθε δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀπέρχεται πάλιν ὁ
 25 πατὴρ πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον· γίνεται εὐχὴ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ
 οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐγέννησε. τότε ἀναστὰς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀπήλθε πρὸς
 τὸν ἀναγνώστην, καὶ πλήξας τὴν θύραν εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Εὐστάθιε ἀνάστα, λύσον ὃ ἔδησας. παρα-
 χρῆμα δὲ τοῦ ἀναγνώστου κλίναντος γόνυ σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ
 30 ἐγέννησεν ἡ γυνή.

PTII₂₈

3 λοιπὸν κληρ. T 4 δέδ. αὐτὴν T 5 ταύτην T 5, 6 τῆς συνθείας (om
 π. αὐτὴν) TB: (ὑπονοήσας interlined m. 2 P) 7 παρέθετο TB 9 τοῦ] om T
 οὖν] om TB 10 τεκεῖν] P; τοκετοῦ TB: + καὶ TB παρέστη..... ὥρα] om I₈
 11 ὠδῖνες] TBP*, ὀδύνας P^{cor} καὶ] om T 12 ἡ] (quater) om T 13 τῆς] + ἀκρας T
 14 T tr ἐφ. and ἐπ. 15 ἀπελθόντες T: + αἱ γυναῖκες P 17 συκοφαντήσασας (sic)
 P (+ πατὴρ inserted m. 2) ἡσύχασεν TB 20 ἐσυκοφάντησε] PII₂₈; ἐσυκο-
 φάντησα T(B) 23 οὐκ ἔδωκεν after ἀπόκρ. T οὐδὲ T αὐτοῦ τὴν θ. T
 26 ἔτεκεν T ἐπίσκοπος] + σὺν τῷ κλήρῳ T 27 τὸν ἀναγν.] αὐτὸν T πρὸς αὐτὸν]
 om TI 28 καὶ] om T

Ἰσχυσε δὲ ἡ τούτου δέησις καὶ ἡ παραμονὴ τῆς προσευχῆς ναδεῖξαι καὶ τὴν συκοφαντίαν καὶ παιδεῦσαι καὶ τὴν συκοαντήσασαν· ἵνα μάθωμεν προσκαρτερεῖν ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ δέξαι αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν. |

(LXXI) Ὀλίγα τοίνυν περὶ τοῦ συνόντος μοι ἀπὸ νεότητος 5 δελφοῦ ἕως τῆς σήμερον εἰρηκῶς καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον. οὗτον ἔγνω ἐγὼ ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ μὴ πάθει φαγόντα, μὴ πάθει ἠστεύσαντα· νικήσαντα ὡς νομίζω πάθος χρημάτων, τὸ πλείστον ενοδοξίας· ἀρκούμενον τοῖς παρούσι, μὴ καλλωπιζόμενον ἰμα- 10 ίοις, καταφρονούμενον εὐχαριστεῖν, ὑπερκινδυνεύοντα γνησίῳ ἰλων, πείραν λαβόντα δαιμόνων χιλιάκισ καὶ ἐπάνω· ὡς καὶ ἰᾶς τῶν ἡμερῶν δαίμονα αὐτῷ συνθέσθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· Σύνθου οἱ ἁμαρτήσαι κἂν ἴπαξ, καὶ ἦν ἂν εἰπῆς μοι ἐν τῷ βίῳ ταύτην οἱ ἄγω. καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε πυκτεύσας αὐτῷ ἐπὶ δεκατέσσαρας 15 ὑκτας, καθὼς μοι διηγείτο, καὶ σύρας ἐκ ποδὸς ἐν νυκτὶ φωνῆ ῥοσωμίλει λέγων· Μὴ προσκύνει τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ οὐ μὴ σου γγίσω· τὸν δὲ ἀποκριθέντα εἰπεῖν· Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν προσκυνῶ αἰ ἀπειροπλασίονα δοξάσω καὶ προσκυνήσω, ἐπειδὴ ὅλως ηδίδιξεν ἐν τούτῳ. ἑκατὸν ἕξ πόλεις πατήσας, ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις ἐ καὶ χρονίσας, γυναικὸς ἐλέει θεοῦ πείραν οὐκ ἔσχευ, οὐδὲ 20 ατ' ὄναρ, πλὴν τοῦ πολέμου. τρίτον αὐτὸν ἔγνω χρειάν ἰρώματος παρ' ἀγγέλου λαβόντα. μιᾶς τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν ἀκρο-

4 In P LIV follows LXX, and LXXI follows LXVIII.

6 See Note 115.

20 See Note 116.

P^{711,8}

2 παιδεῦσαι] + δι' (om καὶ²) T

LXXI (Περὶ τοῦ σὺνόντος ἀγῶ δελφοῦ): PTAIs

No title P 5 περὶ] om TΔB¹ ἀπὸ νεότη.] after ἀδελφοῦ TAB 6 τῆς ἡμερον] γῆρους T: + ἡμέρας A εἰρηκῶς] + ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν AB 7 ἐν] + τῷ A ρόνῳ] + παθῶν κατακρατοῦντα B1 (nullo desiderio mentis aut corporis uictum) πλεονεξίας A ἀρκούμενος and καλλωπιζόμενος P 10 εὐχαριστοῦντα T 1 λαμβάνοντα A καὶ¹] om TΔ καὶ²] om A 12 συνθ. καὶ] om T 13 μοι] m T 14 ἀγάγω T 14, 15 πυκτεύσας.....ποδὸς] om T 15 ὡς A ἐκ ποδὸς] m A φωνῆ] PBI; om TAs: + ἐπάνω B1 16 προσωμίλει] om Ts λέγων] ἔγειν αὐτὸν T Χριστὸν] κύριον T σοι P 17 τὸν] τῷ T ἀποκρινόμενον 'B; -όμενον A τοῦτο] + πλείον TI 18 ἀπειροπλασίονος A; πολυπλασίως TB αἰ προσκυνήσω] om T 19-21 ἑκατον.....πολέμου] om T 19 ἐπάτησε A v²] om A 20 ἔγχε. A γυν.] + ἐν A 21 πολλαίς τρίτον (αἰο) T τρίτων] οὗτον A χρειᾶς βρωτᾶς TΔ 22-7 (p. 168) μιᾶς.....ξέστας ἐλαίου] om T

τάτη ἐρήμῳ καὶ μηδὲ ψίχα ἔχων, τρεῖς εὔρεν ἄρτους ἐν τῇ
 μηλωτῇ θερμούς· ἄλλοτε πάλιν οἶνον καὶ ἄρτους. ἄλλοτε
 πάλιν λέγοντος ἔγνω ὅτι Λεῖπη· ἀπελθὼν οὖν λάβε παρ
 τοῦδε σίτου καὶ ἔλαιον. ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνος πρὸς ὃν αὐτὸ
 5 ἐπεπόμφει λέγει αὐτῷ· Σὺ εἶ ὁ δεῖνα ; καὶ εἶπε· Ναί. Ἐκέ
 λευσέ σοί τις λαβεῖν τριάκοντα μοδίους σίτου καὶ δώδεκα ξέστα
 ἐλαίου. ἕπερ τοῦ τοιοῦτοῦ καγχῆσομαι οἷος ἦν οὗτος· ὃν ἔγνω
 δακρύσαντα πολλάκις ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἀπορουμένῳ
 10 ἔγνω δὲ αὐτὸν κλαύσαντα καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκπεσόντος ἐν ἀμαρτίᾳ· ὃ
 τοῖς δακρύσειν εἰς μετάνοιαν ἤγαγε τὸν ἐκπεσόντα. οὗτός μο
 ποτε διωμόσατο ὅτι· Τοῦ θεοῦ ἐδειήθην μηδένα νύξαι, μάλιστα
 τῶν πλουσίων καὶ φαύλων, ἐπὶ τῷ δούναί μοι τι ἐν ταῖς
 χρεαίαις.

15 Ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἀρκεῖ καταξιοθῆναι μνημονεύειν τούτων·
 ἰπάντων ὧν γραφῇ παραδέδωκα. οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἀθεεῖ τὸ κινήθηνα
 σου τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸ ἐπιτάξαι τὴν συγγραφὴν τοῦ βιβλίου
 τούτου καὶ γραφῇ παραδοῦναι τοὺς βίους τῶν ἁγίων τούτων

7 2 Cor. xii. 5.

PT(7-18)Als

1 καὶ] om A ψύχαν (sic) A ἐν] om A 2 θερμούς]+παξαμάτας I
 2, 3 ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἤλθεν αὐτῷ φωνὴ λέγουσα· Ἐγνω ὅτι Λεῖπη βρωμάτων ἀπελθὼν
 κ.τ.λ. A ; quodam die cum alicui dixisset reminiscor : Didici, inquit, quod alimentis
 uitae necessaria non haberes : uade &c. I ; 'another time he was in want, and an
 angel was revealed to him in a vision and said to him : Go &c.' s ; ἔγνω πάλιν τοῦ
 τον λιπόμενον ἀναλωμάτων ἀκούσαι παρ' ἀγγέλου ὅτι Ἀπελθὼν κ.τ.λ. B ; txt P (T vac,
 4 παρ' ὃν A 5 ἐπεπέμφθη A Σὺ.....Ναί] om A 6 σοί] om A ἐλ. ξέστ.
 δῶδ. A 7 ὅποιος T οὗτος] om T ὃν]+ἐγὼ TB 8 ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν] om TA
 9 πενίας] P ; ἐν πενίᾳ T ; ἐν πενίαις AB καὶ.....τούτοις] Pl ; καὶ παρέσχε (παρέσχει
 οὖν A ; παρεσχηκότα B) εἶ τι εἶχε T AB πλὴν] παρεκτός A σαρκός]+καὶ πάλιν
 (om δὲ) P 10 δακρύσαντα A καὶ] om P ἐκπεσόντος T ἀμαρτίας ΔI
 10, 11 δε.....ἐκπεσόντα] om T 11 δακρύσειν A 12 διηγήσατο TA : + ποτε TA
 μηδένα νύξαι] μηδὲν ἀνοῖξαι A ; μηδαμῶς ἀνοῖξαι (om μάλιστα) P 13 φαύλων]+ταῖς
 καρδίας P ἐπὶ τῷ A 14 χρεαίαις] s ends

PTAI

15 ἀρκεῖτο TA 16 παρέδωκα A ἔστι TA ἀθεεῖ A ; θεεῖ T τοῦ κιν. A
 18 τούτου]+ ὥστε T καὶ γραφῇ] om A ἁγίων] ἀνδρῶν A τούτων] A ceases
 and becomes A² to end

σὺ δέ γε, πιστότατε δούλε Χριστοῦ, ἠδέως αὐτοῖς ἐντυγχάνων
 ἱκανὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς
 πόρους καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ὑπομονὴν λαβὼν, ἔπου προθύμως,
 χρηστῇ τρεφόμενος ἐλπίδι, βραχυτέρας τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τῶν
 ὀπίσω ὁρῶν ἡμέρας. ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ | προσεύχου, σεαυτὸν διατηρῶν 5
 οἷόν σε οἶδα ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας Τατιανοῦ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον,
 καὶ οἷόν σε πάλιν εὔρον χειροτονηθέντα πραιπόσιτον τοῦ εὐσε-
 βεστάτου κοιῶνος. ὃν γὰρ ἀξία τοιαύτη μετὰ χρημάτων καὶ
 ἐξουσία τοσαύτη τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐποίησε χειρόν, οὗτος
 ἀνάκειται τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ ἀκούσαντι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου· Ταῦτά 10
 σοι πάντα δώσω ἐὰν πεσῶν πρυσκνησῆς μοι.

ΤΕΛΟΣ.

6 See Note 117.

10 Mt. iv. 9.

PΤΙ

1 γε] om T αὐτῇ T 5 διατηρῶν] TB; om P* (+ διατηρήσας in marg. m. 2,
 after σήμερον) 6 οἶδα] om T Τατιανοῦ P 7 τοῦ] om T 8 μετὰ] καὶ T
 καὶ] om T 9 τοιαύτη T οὗτος] + δλος B¹ 11 μοι] PA^B B¹⁻⁶ end here (P
 adds a doxology of the ordinary type): the other B groups, when complete, go on:
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον κατήσχυεν ὁ κύριος εἰπών· Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου κ.τ.λ. (for another dozen
 lines): T adds: καὶ ἐπιτιμήσασθε λέγων· Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

τότε προσελθὼν παρακαλεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ·
 Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ ἔπταισα | κέλευσόν μοι αὐτὴν εἰς γυναῖκα δοθῆναι·
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ κληρικός λοιπὸν οὔτε ἐκείνη παρθένος. ἔκδοτον
 οὖν αὐτὴν δέδωκε τῷ ἀναγνώστῃ, προσδοκῆσας διακεῖσθαι τὸν
 5 νεώτερον περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλως μὴ δύνασθαι ἀποκοπῆναι τὴν
 πρὸς αὐτὴν συνήθειαν. λαβὼν οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ νεώτερος καὶ παρὰ
 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, παρατίθεται μοναστηρίῳ
 γυναικῶν καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὴν αὐτόθι διάκονον τῆς ἀδελφότητος
 μέχρι τοῦ τοκετοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνέχεσθαι. ἐντὸς οὖν ὀλίγου χρόνου
 10 ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν· παρέστη ἡ κρισίμη ὥρα,
 στεναγμοί, ὠδίνες, πόνοι, καταχθονίων ὀράσεις· καὶ τὸ βρέφος
 οὐκ ἐξήρχετο. παρήλθεν ἡ πρώτη ἡμέρα, ἡ δευτέρα, ἡ τρίτη, ἡ
 ἑβδόμη· ἡ γυνὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀδύνης τῷ ἄδῃ προσομιλοῦσα οὐκ
 ἔφαγεν, οὐκ ἔπιεν, οὐκ ἑκαθεύδησεν, ἀλλ' ἐβόα λέγουσα· Οἶμοι τῆ
 15 ἀθλία, κινδυνεύω συκοφαντήσασα τόνδε τὸν ἀναγνώστην. ἀπελ-
 θούσαι λέγουσι τῷ πατρί. ὁ πατὴρ φοβούμενος τὸ καταγνω-
 σθῆναι ὡς συκοφαντήσας, ἡσυχάζει ἄλλας δύο ἡμέρας. ἡ κόρη
 οὔτε ἐτελεύτα οὔτε ἐγέννα. | ὡς οὖν τὰς βοὰς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔφερον
 αἱ ἀσκήτριάι δραμοῦσαι ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὅτι Ἐξομολο-
 20 γεῖται βοῶσα ἡ δεῖνα ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν ὅτι ἐσυκοφάντησε τὸν
 ἀναγνώστην. τότε πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν διακόνους καὶ δηλοῖ
 αὐτῷ· Εὐξαι ἵνα γεννήσῃ ἡ συκοφαντήσασά σε. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ
 ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀπόκρισιν οὔτε ἤνοιξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θύραν ἀφ'
 ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθε δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀπέρχεται πάλιν ὁ
 25 πατὴρ πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον· γίνεται εὐχὴ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ
 οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐγέννησε. τότε ἀναστὰς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀπῆλθε πρὸς
 τὸν ἀναγνώστην, καὶ πλήξας τὴν θύραν εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Εὐστάθιε ἀνάστα, λύσον ὃ ἔδησας. παρα-
 χρήμα δὲ τοῦ ἀναγνώστου κλίμαντος γόνυ σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ
 30 ἐγέννησεν ἡ γυνή.

PTII,8

3 λοιπὸν κληρ. T 4 δέδ. αὐτὴν T 5 ταύτην T 5, 6 τῆς συνθείας (om
 π. αὐτὴν) TB: (ὑπονήσας interlined m. 2 P) 7 παρέθετο TB 9 τοῦ om T
 οὖν om TB 10 τεκεῖν P; τοκετοῦ TB: + καὶ TB παρέστη..... ὥρα] om Is
 11 ὠδίνες] TBP*, ὀδύνας P^{cor} καὶ] om T 12 ἡ] (quater) om T 13 τῆς] + ἄκρας T
 P 14 T tr ἐφ. and ἐπ. 15 ἀπελθόντες T: + αἱ γυναῖκες P 17 συκοφαντήσας (sic)
 φάντησ + πατὴρ inserted m. 2) ἡσύχασεν TB 20 ἐσυκοφάντησε] PII,8; ἐσυκο-
 26 ἔτεκεν T(B) 23 οὐκ ἔδωκεν after ἀπόκρ. T οὐδὲ T αὐτοῦ τὴν θ. T
 om TI 25 ἐπίσκοπος] + σὺν τῷ κλήρῳ T 27 τὸν ἀναγρ.] αὐτὸν T πρὸς αὐτὸν]
 καὶ] om T

σὺ δέ γε, πιστότατε δούλε Χριστοῦ, ἠδέως αὐτοῖς ἐντυγχάνων
 ἱκανὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς
 πόνους καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ὑπομονὴν λαβῶν, ἔπου προθύμως,
 χρηστῇ τρεφόμενος ἐλπίδι, βραχυτέρας τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τῶν
 ὀπίσω ὁρῶν ἡμέρας. ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ | προσεύχου, σεαυτὸν διατηρῶν 5
 οἶόν σε οἶδα ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας Τατιανοῦ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον,
 καὶ οἶόν σε πάλιν εὔρον χειροτονηθέντα πραιπόσιτον τοῦ εὐσε-
 βεστάτου κοιτῶνος. ὃν γὰρ ἀξία τοιαύτη μετὰ χρημάτων καὶ
 ἐξουσία τοσαύτη τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐποίησε χειρὸν, οὗτος
 ἀνάκειται τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ ἀκούσαντι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου· Ταῦτά 10
 σοι πάντα δώσω ἐὰν πεσῶν πρὸς κνήκης μοι.

ΤΕΛΟΣ.

6 See Note 117.

10 Mt. iv. 9.

P^{TI}

1 γε] om T αὐτῇ T 5 διατηρῶν] TB; om P* (+ διατηρήσας in marg. m. 2,
 after σήμερον) 6 οἶδα] om T Τατιανοῦ P 7 τοῦ] om T 8 μετὰ] καὶ T
 καὶ] om T 9 τοιαύτη T οὗτος] + δλος B¹ 11 μοι] PA^B B¹⁻⁶ end here (P
 adds a doxology of the ordinary type): the other B groups, when complete, go on:
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον κατήσχυεν ὁ κύριος εἰπών· Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου κ.τ.λ. (for another dozen
 lines): T adds: καὶ ἐπιτιμήσασθε λέγων· Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

τάτη ἐρήμφ καὶ μηδὲ ψίχα ἔχων, τρεῖς εὔρεν ἄρτους ἐν τῇ
 μηλωτῇ θερμούς· ἄλλοτε πάλιν οἶνον καὶ ἄρτους. ἄλλοτε
 πάλιν λέγοντος ἔγνω ὅτι Λείπη· ἀπελθὼν οὖν λάβε παρὰ
 τοῦδε σίτον καὶ ἔλαιον. ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνος πρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς
 5 ἐπεπόμφει λέγει αὐτῷ· Σὺ εἶ ὁ δεῖνα; καὶ εἶπε· Ναί. Ἐκέ-
 λευσέ σοί τις λαβεῖν τριάκοντα μοδίους σίτου καὶ δώδεκα ξέστας
 ἐλαίου. ἵπὲρ τοῦ τοιοῦτοῦ καγχῆσομαι οἶος ἦν οὗτος· ὃν ἔγνω
 δακρύσαντα πολλάκις ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἀπορουμένων
 πενίας, καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἶχε παρέσχε τούτοις πλὴν τῆς σαρκός.
 10 ἔγνω δὲ αὐτὸν κλαύσαντα καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκπεσόντος ἐν ἁμαρτία· ὃς
 τοῖς δάκρυσιν εἰς μετάνοιαν ἤγαγε τὸν ἐκπεσόντα. οὗτός μοι
 ποτε διωμόσατο ὅτι· Τοῦ θεοῦ ἔδεήθην μηδένα νύξαι, μάλιστα
 τῶν πλουσίων καὶ φαύλων, ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦναί μοι τι ἐν ταῖς
 χρεῖαις.

15 Ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἀρκεῖ καταξιοθῆναι μνημονεύειν τούτων
 ἀπάντων ὧν γραφῇ παραδέδωκα. οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἀθεεὶ τὸ κινήθῆναι
 σου τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸ ἐπιτάξαι τὴν συγγραφὴν τοῦ βιβλίου
 τούτου καὶ γραφῇ παραδοῦναι τοὺς βίους τῶν ἁγίων τούτων.

7 2 Cor. xii. 5.

PT(7-18)A1s

1 καὶ] om A ψύχαν (sic) A ἐν] om A 2 θερμούς]+παζαμάτας A
 2, 3 ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἤλθεν αὐτῷ φωνὴ λέγουσα· Ἐγνω ὅτι λείπη βρωμάτων ἀπελθὼν
 κ.τ.λ. A; quodam die eum alicui dixisse reminiscor: Didici, inquit, quod alimenta
 uitae necessaria non haberes: uade &c. 1; 'another time he was in want, and an
 angel was revealed to him in a vision and said to him: Go &c.' s; ἔγνω πάλιν τοῦ-
 τον λιπόμενον ἀναλωμάτων ἀκούσαι παρ' ἀγγέλου ὅτι Ἀπελθὼν κ.τ.λ. B; txi P (T vas)
 4 παρ' ὃν A 5 ἐπεπέμφθη A Σὺ.....Ναί] om A 6 σοί] om A ἐλ. ξέστ.
 δώδ. A 7 ὅποιος T οὗτος] om T ὃν]+ἐγὼ TB 8 ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν] om TA
 9 πενίας] P; ἐν πενίᾳ T; ἐν πενίαις AB καὶ.....τούτοις] P1; καὶ παρέσχεν (παρέσχεν
 οὖν A; παρεσχηκότα B) εἶ τι εἶχεν TAB πλὴν] παρεκτός A σαρκός]+καὶ πάλιν
 (om δέ) P 10 δακρύσαντα A καὶ] om P ἐκπεσόντας T ἁμαρτίας AB
 10, 11 δς.....ἐκπεσόντα] om T 11 δακρύοις A 12 διηγήσατο TA: + ποτε TA
 μηδένα νύξαι] μηδὲν ἀνοῖξαι A; μηδαμῶς ἀνοῖξαι (om μάλιστα) P 13 φαύλων]+τὰς
 καρδίας P ἐπὶ τὸ A 14 χρεῖαις] s ends

PTAI

15 ἀρκεῖτο TA 16 παρέδωκα A ἔστι TA ἀθεὶ A; θεὶ T τοῦ κιν. A
 18 τούτου]+ὥστε T καὶ γραφῇ] om A ἁγίων] ἀνδρῶν A τούτων] A ceases
 and becomes A² to end

ρ. 12. 3 ἀδιακρίτως (T) 4 τινός (T) 5 πολυπρ.] + μεθ' ἄς ἀλλο-
 τρισπραγμοσύναι (ἢ κακοπρ.) (B†) 12 φιλοδοξίαν δουλεύσαντες
 18 γάρ] γούν om ἢ 21 om τὴν ὕλην 21, 22 om ἀλλὰ μακάρισον ἢ
 ταλάμισον 23 om καὶ (TB) 26 om οἱ (TB)

ρ. 13. 2 om τοῦ (TB†) 7 ἦλθεν] + ὁ (B†) 11 ἀμαρτωλῶν φίλος
 13 λόγων 15 χρῆ[οι (TB†) 22 om καὶ (T) 29 κρέας (in marg. m. 1)

ρ. 14. 3 ἦ] καὶ 6 καὶ ἀκηδ. καὶ καταλαλ. 13 γάρ] γούν
 19 om γάρ 24 ἀναγγέλλει: + τὰ (TB)

ρ. 15. I. Isidore.

8 ἐκείσε] ἐν τῇ πόλει (TB) 9 om τῶ (TB) 12 ὄρει] + τῶ (T)
 *Νιτριῶς (so always) 14 αὐτῆς] + τῆς (B) 20 om ἦν 24 ἐξίστασθαι]
 + καὶ *ἐνεάζειν παρακαλούμενον (but ἔλεγεν)

ρ. 16. 5 παρὰ] + τοῦ (T) 7 ταῖς τε (TB†) 13 ὕμῶν (TB)

II. Dorotheus.

19 om καὶ (T) 20 σπηλαίφ] + καὶ (TB) 21 με (TB) 25 παρ' (T)
 26 ἡ διαίτα αὐτοῦ

ρ. 17. 2 om αἰὶ 3 δυναμ.] + ἑαυτοῖς οἰκοδομήσαι (TB) 4 τε-
 λισκῶν (TB) 5 γήρει B† (ἀποκτένων (sic) as P) 6 ἀποκτέννει
 7 ἀποκτένω οὐγκίας (TB) 8 ἐπὶ θεοῦ μάρτυρος (TB) 11 θαλλῶν]
 + τῶν 12 ἐμοῦ] + μόνου (Bll₂) ποιεῖ (T) ἐφιλοπ.] ἐπιθύμην ἀσφαλῶς
 13 τῶν τούτου] αὐτοῦ (TB) 14 om λέγοντες (T) 15 ἐν τῶ ἐργάζεσθαι
 αὐτῶν ἢ ἐσθίειν (B) 16 om ὕπνω (B) ὡς 17 om ἐκ (B)

ρ. 18. 3 *κᾶδον μεταληψ.] + τῆς ὥρας τῆς ἐναντίας (T) 5 αὐτῶ]
 + ὅτι (TB)

III. Potamiaena.

22 ἐπιμένη B† *om τῶν νόμων παρακάλεσε (TB†)

ρ. 19. 1 αὐτοῦ (T) 4 βρασσοῦσης (sic) 7 καταγρησθῆναι (B†)
 9 ἀπομανεῖς (TB) 11 *στοῦ σου 14 *χαλωμένη

IV. Didymus.

21 τελευτῆ (T)

ρ. 20. 3 καὶ ὄχυρῶς (T) *ἐκθήμενος 11 ὡς ... (TB†) 14 μῆς
 om ἦμην: + καὶ (T) 15 ἄρτον (T) 16 om ταύτης (T) κατενεχθ. με
 17 ὕπνω (om εἰς) (TB) 18 καὶ κηρύττοντας (TB) 20 ἀπόσταλον (TB)

ρ. 21. 1 *στοῦ και² 2 εὐρέθη

V. Alexandria.

8 συντυχοῦσαν 10 ταύτης (B†) 11 Μελάμιον (T) ἦς] + εἰς (TB†)
 15 ἠέρησάμην (sic) 17 ποιηθείσαν (TB)

ρ. 22. 1 φαγ.] + μου (TB₁ M₂)

VI. The Miserly Virgin.

4 ἔπαινον] + μὲν 5 ἐν] + τῇ 6 σοβαρῇ (B†) 7 om εἰς
 ῥενί ποτε μεταδιδοῦσα (an omond. ?) 7, 8 μὴ ξ. μὴ π. (T) 9 οὐ
 κατεσκ. 14 *μέλει 17 ἐστιθέναι 21 συγγενεῦσιν

ρ. 23. 1 ὄρος] + τοῦ (TB) 6 (τὸ δὲ λεγ. after θελήσας, so I probably ;
 om s) 10 δράμα (TB) *ὄν 13 τιμῆς 16 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
 17 ἀδελφιδούς 19 om ἐφάπτομαι (T)

READINGS OF W.

(CHRIST CHURCH OXFORD, WAKE MS. GR. 67, SAEC. X.)

(See *Introd.* §§ 9, 10.)

The following schedule records the differences of W from P.

Readings which would have been adopted in the text had W been available in time, are printed in Clarendon type.

Cases in which the support of W causes the adoption of a P reading previously rejected, are printed in Clarendon type between brackets.

An asterisk is prefixed to readings already adopted in the text against the authority of P.

In other cases the authorities that agree with W are indicated.

[N.B. It is necessary to remember that W is here collated not with the text, but with P.]

p. 3. The Prooemium: 'Εν ταύτῃ τῇ βιβλῷ is omitted and there is no general Title to the book.

p. 6. At foot of f. 150^r: Λαύσφ προποσίτφ ἐπιστολῇ γραφεῖσα παρὰ Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου Ἐληνοπόλεως. On f. 150^v follows: Μακαρίζω κ.τ.λ.

3 ἐχάρησαν (TB+1₂) *οικοδομῆς

p. 7. 1 om καί² 4 (om δὲ, with PT) κατὰ]+τὴν 6 *ἐλαττου-
μένους *stet ἐν γνώσει 7 *ἡ 10 om αἰ² 11 κατορθώματα]

f. 150^v ends here: the text continues on f. 193^r. *Evidently f. 150 got detached and was bound up in a wrong place.

15 πρᾶτς 16 λυπεῖν 18 σα-
φῶς] πιστῶς 19 *stet εἰ δύναται 20 *om καὶ (aftor δν)

p. 9. Prologue. No title of any kind. 1 συγγράματα] πράγματα

3 ἄνω 6 *κισσώντων 12 φιλομαθ.] φιλαληθέστατε+τῶν ἀνδρῶν

πρῶτον πάντων τὰ κατ' ἐμαντὸν διηγήσασθαι, τὰ τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ

προκοπῇ τῆς διανοίας τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀρετῆς ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας ἀρξάμενος. τριακοστὸν

μὲν κ.τ.λ. (On this insertion from B see Note 4.)

p. 10. 2 ἐν τῇ πάσης ζωῆς (sic) 7 Ῥωμανίαν (sic) 10 om τε

(TB) ἀλήθης (sic) 15 *προκόπτους

p. 11. 4 om τοῦ (TB) 8 ἀπασαν 10 om ἐμοῦ

ρ. 12. 3 ἀδιακρίτως (T) 4 τινός (T) 5 πολυπρ.] + μεθ' ἄς ἄλλο-
 τριοπραγμοσύναι (ἢ κακοπρ.) (B†) 12 φιλοδοξίαν δουλεύσατες
 18 γάρ] γούν om ἢ 21 om τὴν ὕλην 21, 22 om ἀλλὰ μακάρισον ἢ
 ταλάνησον 23 om καὶ (TB) 26 om οἱ (TB)

ρ. 13. 2 om τοῦ (TB†) 7 ἦλθεν] + ὁ (B†) 11 ἀμαρτωλῶν φίλος
 13 λόγων 15 χρ[ῖ]σται (TB†) 22 om καὶ (T) 29 κρέας (in marg. m. 1)

ρ. 14. 3 ἦ] καὶ 6 καὶ ἀκηδ. καὶ καταλαλ. 13 γάρ] γούν
 19 om γάρ 24 ἀναγγέλλει: + τὰ (TB)

ρ. 15. I. Isidore.

8 ἐκείσε] ἐν τῇ πόλει (TB) 9 om τῷ (TB) 12 ὄρει] + τῷ (T)
 *Νιτριῶς (so always) 14 αὐτῆς] + τῆς (B) 20 om ἦν 24 ἐξίστασθαι]
 + καὶ *ἐνεάζειν παρακαλούμενον (but ἔλεγεν)

ρ. 16. 5 παρὰ] + τοῦ (T) 7 ταῖς τε (TB†) 13 ὕμῶν (TB)

II. Dorotheus.

19 om καὶ (T) 20 σπηλαίφ] + καὶ (TB) 21 με (TB) 25 παρ' (T)
 26 ἡ δίαίτα αὐτοῦ

ρ. 17. 2 om αἰεὶ 3 δυναμ.] + ἑαυτοῖς οἰκοδομήσαι (TB) 4 τε-
 λισκῶν (TB) 5 γήρει B† (ἀποκτένων (sic) as P) 6 ἀποκτένει
 7 ἀποκτένω οὐγκίας (TB) 8 ἐπὶ θεοῦ μάρτυρος (TB) 11 θαλλῶν]
 + τῶν 12 ἐμοῦ] + μόνου (Bll₂) ποιεῖ (T) ἐφιλοπ.] ἐπιθύμην ἀσφαλῶς
 13 τῶν τούτου] αὐτοῦ (TB) 14 om λέγοντες (T) 15 ἐν τῷ ἐργάζεσθαι
 αὐτὸν ἢ ἐσθίειν (B) 16 om ὑπνω (B) ὡς 17 om ἐκ (B)

ρ. 18. 3 *κᾶδον μεταληψ.] + τῆς ἄρας τῆς ἐνάτης (T) 5 αὐτῷ]
 + ὅτι (TB)

III. Potamiaena.

22 ἐπιμένη B† *om τῶν νόμων παρακάλεσε (TB†)

ρ. 19. 1 αὐτοῦ (T) 4 βρασσοῦσης (sic) 7 καταγρησθῆναι (B†)
 9 ἀπομανεῖς (TB) 11 *στατ σου 14 *χαλωμένη

IV. Didymus.

21 τελευτῆ (T)

ρ. 20. 3 καὶ ὄχυρῶς (T) *ἐκθέμενος 5 ὡς ἄτε (TB†) 14 μᾶς
 om ἦμην: + καὶ (T) 15 ἄρτον (T) 16 om ταύτης (T) κατενεχθ. με
 17 ὑπνω (om εἰς) (TB) 18 καὶ κηρύττοντας (TB) 20 ἀπόσταλον (TB)

ρ. 21. 1 *στατ και² 2 εὐρέθη

V. Alexandra.

8 συντηχοῦσαν 10 ταύτης (B†) 11 Μελένιον (T) ἦς] + εἰς (TB†)
 15 ἠέρησάμην (sic) 17 ποιηθείσαν (TB)

ρ. 22. 1 φαγ.] + μου (TB₁ B₂)

VI. The Miserly Virgin.

4 ἔπαινον] + μὲν 5 ἐν] + τῇ 6 σοβαρῆ (B†) 7 om εἰς
 μηδενὶ ποτε μεταδιδοῦσα (an omend. ?) 7, 8 μὴ ξ. μὴ π. (T) 9 οὐ
 κατεσκ. 14 *μέλει 17 ἐστιθέναι 21 συγγενεῖσιν

ρ. 23. 1 ὄρος] + τοῦ (TB) 6 (τὸ δὲ) λεγ. after θελήσας, so I probably ;
 om 8) 10 δράμα (TB) *δὲν 13 τιμῆς 16 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
 17 ἀδελφιδούς 19 om ἐφάπτομαι (T)

p. 24. 1 om ἐτών 2 *αὐτόν 4 ὑπὲρ ὧν 8 λαμβάνεις
11 αὐτῆ] + ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι 16 ἀρέσκουσιν (T) 17 om σου

VII. Nitria.

21 οὖν] δὲ περι] + τὴν (B) 23 εἰς] ἐπὶ (B) 24 *Νιτριᾶς
21—24 are attached to VI, and the rest of VII (μεταξὺ 24, p. 24, το διηγῆσομαι
19, p. 26) is omitted.

VIII. Amoun the Nitriot.

p. 26. 20 Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ ἦν τις γέρον ὀνόματι Ἀμοῦν, περὶ οὗ λέγουσι
τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ βεβιωκέναι, ὅτι κ.τ.λ. (21) *Ἀμοῦν (one μ throughout)

p. 27. 4 (κομῆσαντες P*TA^BB†) 6 σύμβιον] γνησίαν σύζυγον (Bl)
10 Χριστῷ (Bl₂) ἀθικτον] + αὐτῷ 14, 15 εἰσηγήτο αὐτῆ καὶ ἀγνείας
λόγον, ὡς ἐκείνην χάριτι Χριστοῦ πεισθείσαν εἰπεῖν 16 λοιπὸν] + Τοῦτο (Bl)
17 μέλη (TB†) 18 αὐτῷ τῷ μέλωνμεν (TB) om δὲ 20 τῆ]
τῷ (P*)

p. 28. 3 ποιήσας (T) 8 *οὐ not inserted ἐστὶ πρῶγμα (B)
10 σου 11 συνοικούντα (TB) 14 *Νιτριᾶς 17 ἑαυτοῦ 18 om
ὁ ἐπίσκοπος 19 ὅτιπερ (TB†)

p. 29. 1 om τῆ (TB) 6, 7 om τοῦτον...Νεῖλου

IX. Or.

8 *Νιτριᾶς 9 προεμαρτύρει 10 Μελάνιον (A^{B37})

X. Pambo.

17 om τῶν ἀδελφιδούς

p. 30. 4 Μελάνιον (TB† -ίων) 5 εἰς] + τὴν (B†) 7 ἔρημον] + ὅτι (TB†)
8 ἀργύρου (B†) 11 δώσει (B†) 17 ὑπ'] παρ' (B) 18 οἶδας (TB)

p. 31. 1 om δὲ (TB) 6 ἐμῶν χειρῶν (TB†) 8 τὴν σπ. ἔχουσα
12 Ἀμμῶνι (Tc) 14 *stet τῆς ἐρήμου 15 ἄτρον ἔφαγον 17 om
τοῦ (T apophth.) 18 δέ] + αὐτῷ (TB) om τοῦτο (TB)

p. 32. 1 Ἀμμῶν (Tc) 7 *stet καὶ 13 om αὐτοῦ (T) 14 om οὕτως
XI. Ammonius.

p. 33. 1 προσῆλθαν 4 ἀπῆλθαν 13 om δὲ 15 διόμνυται
18 Ἀμμῶνος (T)

p. 34. 1 τῷ σαρκίῳ (T) 5 om δὲ (T) 7 διελθὼν (T) 9 εἰ
καὶ τις (TB)

p. 35. XII. Benjamin.

1 *Νιτριᾶς 2 ἔτη ὄγδ. (TB) 3 παντὶ (TB†) 5 καταξιωθεῖς
(TB†) 13 ἄλλους δακτύλους (T) 14 ἐνατενίζειν (B†)

p. 36. 6 τὰς χρεῖας τὰς λοιπὰς (om τοῦ σωμα.) (T)

As in P, XVI (Nathanael) comes between XII and XIII.

XIII. Apollonius.

14 τῷ ἠκμακέναι (om διὰ)

p. 37. 1 ἰδίων (TA^B) 5 om καὶ ὁρώντα (T) μή τις (TB) 7 εὐ-
ρων πολιτεῖαν εἰς τὸ γῆρας (no stop after ἀσθ. 6) (TB) 10 om ταύτης διὰ
τὸ] τὸ (T τῷ B†)

P. XIV. Pappus and Isaias.

(TB) 19 μετῆλθεν (TB) 22 om τὰ

p. 11.

p. 38. 1 οὐν] δὲ (T) 3 ἐνθλαγγμένη δὲ πολιτεία (TB) 5 πορίσθαι (TB) και]+τῆ (TB) 12 ἐγένοντο (TB†) 17 om τὰ (T)
 18 *stet τῶν ποδῶν σου (remove ' γ) εἶναι ἀπόδος (TB) 19 ἴσους]
 +καί (T) 20, 21 καὶ καθ' ὄραν καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ κατὰ νύκτα 25 ἀνέ-
 παυεν (B†)

p. 39. 2 om ὅτι (TB) 3 om ὅτι (B) 4 ἐγένετο 5 *om εἰ
 (after ξένους) 10 om ἐσῶτας

XV. Macarius the Younger.

11 om ὡς 16 αὐτὸν]+καὶ μείναι (T) 21 ἡρώτων]+αὐτὸν

p. 40. 4 Μωϋσῆς (TB) 8 *λέγω

XVI. Nathanael (comes between XII and XIII, as in P).

15 συγχρονίσασαι (TB) 16 μὲν οὐκέτι (TB) 17 *om μὲν om
 ἐκεῖ (and ἐκείνος) *stet τότε γὰρ after τότε 18 *ὅτε 21 καί]
 +πάντων

p. 41. 1 *stet τρεῖς ἡ 3 ψόφους (TB) 6 om τῆς 8 κέλλαν]
 σκέπην (B†) 9 τὸν οὐδὸν (B) 14 μετὰ τὸ εὐξασθαι (I₂ss₂) 15 λέγουσιν]
 +οὐν

p. 42. 1 δι' ὃν 5 ἐσπέραν βαθεῖαν (om ἐν) (TB†) τούτου κέλλης
 (TB) 10 μελλάκιον (TB) 11 *ἀδελφοῦ 13 *ὑανῶν (B and
 versions) 14 ἐνός (TB†) 22 ἄλλος τις (TII₂)

p. 43. 1 om τὴν θύραν 2 om εἰς² 3 ἀπολούοντας (TB)

XVII. Macarius of Egypt.

10 εἰς]+ἦν (T)

p. 44. 5 Σκῆπην 6 om διὰ...θεραπ. 14 om ἐν (B†) 17 ἐτη
 before ἡ (TB) 20 αὐτῆ]+τοῖνον (TB) 22 ἀδηφάγαν (TB) 24 καί]
 +διδ (TB)

p. 45. 1 ἔλον (35 TB) 5 φορές (35 33 TB) 12 φορβεύσας (35)
 13 *τῷ 16 φορῶσα (35 TB) 17 om αὐτῆς 20 ἀπεκάλυψε γὰρ
 αὐτῷ ὁ θεός (35 B† and versions) 21 ἀπεκρίνατο (TB)

p. 46. 10 ἐπενύησε 11 ἀπετελ. εἰς τὸ ἄκρον
 17—19 omission and insertion, as in P (see Note 28)

p. 47. 2 om σὺν (T) 5 ἀνέλυε (TB†) 6 *stet γὰρ:+καὶ (TB)
 9 αἰκίαν] ἰδὲαν (TB) 14 *θεκάλιτρον 15 *ἄρτου *πολύ 18 ὁ
 θεός πεπ. 19 om τοῦ θαυμασίου (T)

XVIII. Macarius of Alexandria.

24 ἐννεαετίαν 25 ἑαυτοῦ

p. 48. 1 om καὶ 3 *Ταβενν. 6 παρερῆθη (T) om ἄλλου
 9 *καταγγίσις 12 ὅλα 12, 13 ὅπως ὡς τελώνης γὰρ μοι οὐ συνεχώρει
 (T ὁ τελ. γὰρ, φησί, οὐ συνεχώρει; I ut aliquis publicanus non sinebat me
 tantum tollere quantum quiuissem tenere; s 'and it did not allow me to take
 out (my hand) when full'; om I₂: the clause τὸ γὰρ παντελῶς μὴ ἐσθίειν is
 only in P and B) 15 οὐγκίσις (TB) 16 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ 19 *ὑπνον
 τῆ δὲ νυκτεμνή στυφ. ψυχρ. (B) 21 ἐχρησ.]+τῷ (T)

From πρωὶ (25) to ῥομφαίσις (l. 2 of interp. at 5, p. 50) is missing through
 the loss of a folio.

p. 50. 5 (The interpolation occurs: text recommences at *εἰσελθών*)
 6 *εὔρεν φρέαρ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κάδον χρυσοῦν* 7 *χρίων*] + *καὶ* 9 **οἰμ*
 interp. after *ἡλίου* 11 *ἐγένετο*] *γεγένηται* 13 *βαυκάλιον* (not so in 15)
 14 **stet* *καὶ*

p. 51. 1 (The interp. after *γάλακτος* occurs) 2 *οἰμ τῇ βουβαλάφ* (*Bll₂s*)
 4 *μοσχάριν* 5 *πλησίον ὕλας τῶν φρυγαναίων* 7 *αὐτῆν*] *τὴν ἀσπίδα*
 8 *πῶς ἐτόλμησας ἔλθειν* (*TB*) 9 *οἰμ μοι* (*l₂s*: *T* *ἐπ' ἐμέ*; *B* *πρὸς ἐμέ*; 1 huc)
 11 *τῇ πανερέμφω* (*οἰμ ἐνδ.*) 12 **Νιγρίας* 19 (*οἰμ ἀπὸ* *PT*)

p. 52. 6 *φ]* οὐ 7 *οἰμ τὸν* 10 *οἰμ οἱ* (*Bt*) 13 *οἰμ ὡς...νῆστις*
 15 *με ἐκρῆφῆναι* (*TB*) 17 *οἰμ εἰσηλθεν οὖν* (*T*; but in *PBll₂s*) 19 *ἀσκούντα*
 26 *ἐσθίαν* (*TB*) 28 *μη]* *μηδὲ*

p. 53. 3 *ἴνα οἶδας* 4 *οἰμ σου* (*Ts*; *ll₂* altered) 5 *οἰμ τὰ* 9 *οἰμ*
σεαυτὸν (*TBl₂s*) 11 *σοῦ εἰς τὸν τοπ.* 25 *ἐν]* *ἐφ'* (*B*) 26 *ἐπιμ-*
πραμαι (*TB*)

p. 54. 5 *οὐ ἢ κεφ.] + αὐτοῦ* *βίβρωτο* (so *P*) *καλουμένου* (*T*)
 7 *ἐν συντυχίᾳ* (*B*; *T* vac) 8 *κατοικτεῖρον* (*Bt*; *T* vac)

From *καὶ λέγει* (9) to *Χριστὸν* (23, p. 67) is missing, through loss of several folios¹.

p. 68. (XXI Eulogius) 15 *οἰμ λελωθημένου* (though *stet* *Εὐλογίου*)
 17 *ἀφηγησάμενος* (*TW^oB*; this one instance makes it probable that, as a rule, the *TW^oB* readings should have been adopted)

p. 69. 3 *οἰμ δὲ*

The last paragraph of XXI and all XXII (4, p. 69 to 20, p. 74) are omitted in *W*.

XXIII. Pachon.

p. 75. 1 *συνέβη με οὖν ὀχληθίεντα* 2 *γυναικικῆ* (*VCA^B*) **stet* *πρὸς*²
 6 **πανέρημον* 7 **οἰμ ἀγίοις* 8 **stet* *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* **οἰμ τῷδε*
Πάχων (*Bt*) 10 *οὕτως* (*Tls*) 12 *καὶ διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν χραῶν καὶ διὰ*
τὸ μὴ εἶναι κ.τ.λ. (36 *ss₂*; txt *PTVCBll₂*) 15 **ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθ.* 16 **οἰμ χρώμενος*

p. 76. 4 *οἰμ αἰσχροῦς* (*T* 36 *l₂s₂(s)*; *stet* *PVCBI*) 6 **ἐξελθόν*] *τα*
 7 **οὖν ἐγέν.* 8 *διελεύσεται* (*VC*) 10 **προσεδύκων* 11 **οἰμ ὑπ'*
αὐτῶν 14 **μοι* 18 *ἀπὸ μανίας* (36) 19 **stet* *οὖν* (*T* 36)
 20 *ἡδυνάμην* (*TVC* 36 *Bt*) 22 **προσφέρω*

p. 77. 1 *οἰμ μου* (*T*) 3 *μοι]* *μου* (*B*) οὐκ (*οἰμ οὕτως*) (*TVC* 36 *ss₂*)

¹ It is likely that some of the unrecorded *T* readings (see note on p. 48) in the remaining portion of XVIII may be the true ones: such as seem to have some claim to be genuine are here recorded:

p. 54. 12 *λειτουργεῖ* 14 *ἱερατεῦσαι· καὶ* 17 *διόρθωσαι* 19 *τοὶ*
μηκέτι 23 *πν. πον.* 24 *τὴν κεφ. τὴν καρδ.*

p. 55. 5 *οὖν αὐτὸν* 6 *παραγγείλας* 12 *σφοδρότερος* *πεσῶν]* + *οὐ*
 13 *καὶ λέγει]* *λέγων* 16 *διομύμενος* *δτι]* + *οὕτως*

p. 56. 9 *ἀπεστῆθισε* *πρῶτος*

p. 57. 5 *αὐτῆς τὸν σκ.* 6 *τὴν θ. τῆς αὐλῆς* 7 *ῥίπτει αὐτὸν* 10 *ε*
αὐτοῦ 12 *ἔφρακε*

p. 58. 8 *ἀκηδιάσας]* *ἐν ἀκηδία* 10 *δτι* after *αὐτοῦ*

XXIV. Stephen.

14 γενόμενος] + καὶ (VC) *διακριτικός 16 συντυγχάνοντα ἀνα-
 χωρήσαι 17 τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων
 p. 78. 5, 6 *ἐργαζόμενον κ. πλέκοντα θαλ. κ. λαλοῦντα 9 *stet τοῦτο
 μὲν 10 *δὲ 12 *βλαβῆτε 17 *om δεινοῖς καὶ ἀλγεινοῖς

XXV. Valens.

p. 79. 3 *φυσιώσεως 6 *stet αὐτὸν¹ παρεσκεύασεν (ABl)
 8 *stet τῆ 13 om ἐν 15 *stet ἡμῶν 17 ἀπενέγκαντα (B) :
 + καὶ (TB) 18 *σου χείρων
 p. 80. 3 *παρησιᾶ 5* αὐτὸν ἰδ. 7 om τῶν (adopt λαμπαδηφόρον
 (TAVCB+), though W has -ρων) 8 *οὖν 12 om σιδηρώσαντες
 13 *stet καὶ¹ 14 *καὶ ὡς 22 *δικαιώματι

XXVI. Hero.

p. 81. 13 ἐσθ(αι) (TAB+) 14 *om θείων 16 Σκήτην 19 om
 δὲ 20 *stet εἶτα τὸν μέγαν
 p. 82. 4 οὗτο (sic) 5 εἰς] + τῆν (AVCB) 6 om κατ' οἰκονομ.
 8 ἱπποδρομίας (TAB)

XXVII. Ptolemy.

19 *δυσδιήγητον 20 *stet γὰρ Σκίτεως
 p. 83. 1 *δεκεμβρίῳ 4, 5 as txt 7 μετέωρον ἀλώμενον
 8 δεδωκότα 9 *stet καὶ²

XXVIII. Virgin who fell.

16 *ὑπηρετούμενον 17 *συνεφύρη om ἐν τῷ
 p. 84. 3 *om τὰ 4 *οὐκ ἦν

XXIX. Elias.

7 om ὅς 'Αθρ.] + τῆ (TB) 9 ἐντός] ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ (TBs)
 10 om ἄλλα (T) 14 om οὖν (TB) 15 οὗτος] οὕτως
 p. 85. 2 πίθος] + μου (om ἀπ' ἐμοῦ) (TB) 8 om καὶ (T) 9 *ἐπι
 τοῦτοις *εἰσπρ. αὐτὸν ὄρκον 10 om τὸν δὲ...εἶναι 11 μου (TB)
 φροντίζω (TB+) 12 om καὶ¹ (T) 16 *ὠφελείας 19 ἔνθον ἔμαναν (T)

XXX. Dorotheus.

p. 86. 3 ἀνωγαίφ 5 (ἦν) + καὶ 7 ἀνάγαιον 8 οὖτε (but
 μήτε in 7) *δυναμένου κίτω κατελθεῖν 9 om ἡ (TA)

XXXI. Pinamoun.

11 τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Ἰδίας (AVC) 13 ἐν αἰς 14 ὑδρομερίας (B)
 15 *stet καὶ¹ 17 χειροπάλων (for καὶ ῥοσ.) *κόψαι 18 *αὐτῆ¹
 20 *stet καὶ 21 *ὑμῶν
 p. 87. 1 μίχης] αἰδίας (δηδίας) (B+) 3 om καὶ λέγοντες (T, but W
 retains αὐτῆ) 12 *πρώτην 14 *om τῆς ἀγίας (adopt αὐτῆς)
 16, 17 as txt

The chapters on the Pachomian monasteries, viz. XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV (18, p. 87 to 6, p. 100) are omitted in W.

From XXXV onwards the readings of W are incorporated in the text; only the differences of W from P are recorded: where (W) follows P in the

list of sources, P is always to be taken in the apparatus as equivalent to PW, unless there is an explicit mention of W. The contents of the remainder of W and the lacunæ are here indicated.

XXXV. John of Lycopolia.

XXXVI. Posidonius.

The last paragraph, 6, p. 108 to 2, p. 109, is omitted in W, as in P.

XXXVII. Sarapion Sindonita.

A folio was lost at *τελευ* (4, p. 116), the next word being *εχθες* (7, p. 125). The missing portions of XXXVII and XXXIX make up just 34 lines of the printed text, the normal amount in each folio of W: this makes it morally certain that only one folio has been lost at this point, and that therefore W (like P) never contained XXXVIII (Evagrius).

Conclusion of XXXIX, Pior.

XLVII. Chronius and Paphnutius.

The first paragraph (12—23, p. 136) is omitted in W.

LVIII. Monks in Antinoë.

XL. Ephraim.

XLIV. Innocent.

A folio lost, from *οὐδέν* (2, p. 131) to *κρεαδίου* (11, p. 132).

XLIII. Adolius.

LIII. Abramius.

L. Gaddanas.

LI. Elias.

XLVIII. Elpidius.

XLI. Holy Women (first 5 lines, to which is joined)

LXIII. Virgin and Athanasius.

LIX. Nuns in Antinoë.

LX. Virgin and Kolluthus.

XLVI. The elder Melania.

καρφ (sic) (15, p. 135) is last word on recto of last surviving folio; the verso was pasted to the wooden board of the cover: it has been partly detached, but only a few stray letters are legible. The rest of the MS is lost.

READINGS OF W^o

FF. 61—70 OF SAME MS.

(Same date, if not same hand; but a quite different type of the G text closely akin to O (Laud. Gr. 84): see *Introd.* lxxiii.)

XXII. The piece begins (f. 61^a): *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Φέρμῃ τῷ ὄρει. περὶ Παύλου τοῦ ἀπλοῦ.*

The following are the differences of W^o from O:

- p. 69. 17, 18 om διηγείτο...ὅτι 20 *stet ἦτις
- p. 70. 1 μηκίστους χρόνους ἐλθῶν 2 εἰς] πρὸς 10 *stet ὁ
12 *ζῆθι 14 ἄν] ἐάν 16 om καὶ 17 σου] σοι
- p. 71. 3 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ 11 ἐν] + τῇ 15 ἠλιγγιώτῃ (sic) 16 *ἐπ-
αγαγῶν 17 om τοὺς αὐτοὺς θαλλ. 18 ἐρυτιδίσσθαι 20 οὐτε] οὐκ
21 ἄρτον
- p. 72. 1 om πάλιν 6 βαλῶν 7 αὐτῷ] αὐτόν 8 προσηύξατο
11 om τὸν ἕνα...τῇ ἐξῆς (3, p. 73)
- p. 73. 4 om οὖν...ῆτόνους 5 *τελείας 7 tr Ἰδοὺ (+ γὰρ) γεγ. μον.
to after λάβης (8) 15 αὐτοὺς] καὶ τὸν δαιμονίωντα 16 om τοῦτο
ἀπὸ] ἐκ 18 ἄλλο] + γὰρ 19 om πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν 20 *ἐνεργῇ
προσευχῇ 23 ἔκραξε

p. 74. 4 ἐγὼ] ἐπὶ 6 χολέσας 15 om τοῦ με not om, but tr to
after ἐλαύνει 18 *ἀπαγγελεῖ After ἀδελφότητα (20) occurs in both O
and W^o the exhortation: *κτησώμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ τὴν
ὑπακοὴν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀξιωθῶμεν* (O ends).

XX. W^o goes on (f. 65^a): *ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος καθεζόμενος ἐν τῷ ὄρει ὁ καλεῖται
Φέρμη, ἐν ᾧ ὄρει καθίζονται ἕως πεντακόσιοι ἄνδρες ἀσκούμενοι, τοιαύτην ἔσχε
τὴν πολιτείαν· κ.τ.λ. (c. XX).* On the first occasion that the ms. was in my
hands I did not notice this identification of Paul of Pherme with Paul the
Simple, and so failed to record the readings of W^o in c. XX; the omission is
here made good: (the collation is with the text).

p. 62. 20 *πραγματείας* (TB₁₈₂)

p. 63. 1 αὐτῷ γεγ. 2 τοσαύτας ψήφους (om οὖν) (B) 4 om ἔξω
τ. κολπ. οὗτος] + ποτε (T1) 6 ἀββᾶ] + Μάκαρι (TB₁₈₂) ἠνάγκαζεν
om οὖν εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἧς ἐθλίβετο (B) 7 καθίξεται 8 ἐν τῇ
ἀσκήσει μοι] + τινες 9 ἦ] καὶ 10 σύμπαντα χρόνον (TB)
ἐβδόμ.] + καὶ (TB) ἡμερῶν ἔσθ. 13 ἔχω ἔτος (B⁺) τετυπωμένας
15 τὴν ὀφειλομένην συντυχίαν 16 τοῦ] + ἰδίου 18 εὐξάμενος: + εὐξά-
μεθι οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, κ.τ.λ. (3 or 4 lines).

XXI. Then comes (f. 65^b): *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ Κρονίου καὶ Εὐλογίου καὶ τοῦ
λελωθῆμένου.*

The readings of W^o are recorded in the apparatus: I take this opportunity
of making the following corrections in W^o on p. 64, which was printed off
before I had an opportunity of revising it on the ms.:

p. 64. 5 om ἐν 8 οἱ] + καὶ 11 stet τὰ 18 τίθεται (TB)

The extracts W^o end with XXI on f. 70.

ALTERATIONS AND CORRECTIONS IN TEXT AND APPARATUS.

(In the case of the Readings of W marked for adoption in the List on pp. 170—175, only those which cause an appreciable difference in meaning are included here.)

- p. 2. List of Symbols: l. 8 read: *Introd.* § 2 l. 33 insert P* P^{cor}
(see p. xciv)
- p. 4. 13 *ώφέλειαν* (ac.)
- p. 6. Title: see W (p. 170) 3 *έχάρησαν* 3 (app.) *ψυχωφελείς*
- p. 7. 1 *έστι* *μόνος*
- p. 8. l. 13. The title *Λαυσαϊκόν* is used in the seventh century by Anastasius Sinaita (see *Introd.* xxxv). l. 6 from bottom: for 50 read 36^b l. 3 from bottom: the mss. Athens 281 and Jerusalem, S. Sabas 368, also bear the title *Λαυσαϊκή ιστορία*.
- p. 9. 8 *μήνιδι* (ac.)
- p. 12. 3 *άδιακρίτως*
- p. 15. 6 *ύπαρεια* 8 *έκείσε*] *έν τή πόλει* 6 (app.) dele s₂^{rat}
- p. 17. 7 *ούγκίας* (as elsewhere) 12 (app.) *έμου*]+*μόνου* B†ll₂
- p. 18. 3 *μεταλήψεως*]+*τής ώρας της έννάτης* 22 *παρεκάλεσε*
- p. 19. 7 *καταγγοισθηναι* 21 *τελευτᾶ*
- p. 20. 3 *όχυρως* 14 read: *καί άδημονούντος μιᾶ τῶν ήμερῶν, και μέχρις έσπέρας κ.τ.λ.* 17 *εις ύπνον*] *ύπνω* 18 *καί κηρύττοντας*
- p. 21. 11 *Μελάνιον* (so throughout) 17 (app.) *φησίν* (ac.)
- p. 22. 1 *φαγοῦσα*]+*μου*
- p. 23. 7 read: *Ταύτην τήν παρθένον θελήσας, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, φλεβοτομήσαι εἰς κ. τῆς πλ. ὁ άγιώτατος Μ...τῶν λελ., σοφίζεται κ.τ.λ.* 10 *δράμα*
19 dele *έφάπτομαι*
- p. 25. 2 dele comma
- p. 26. 2 *έκτης*] *τής* (cf. 95, 8; 130, 21)
- p. 27. 16 (app.) *λοιπόν*]+*Τούτο* B† 20 (app.) *τή* (ac.)
- p. 28. 19 *στιπερ* (so also in app.)
- p. 29. 11 dele *τούτο* (at p. 36, 13 and 15 s has *κ'ιολ*, *κ'ιασ*, where there is no *τούτφ* in the Greek) 26 read: *Introd.* § 10 above app.
insert: P†ll₂
- p. 30. 10 *θαλλούς* (ac.) 18 *ίνα οιδας* 18 (app.) for k read c

- p. 31. 18 δέ] + αὐτῶ (om τοῦτο) 20 for b₂ read l₂ 11 (app.)
after T insert ven 12 (app.) Ἀμμῶνι (ac.)
- p. 32. 14 dele τί πεποίηκας οὕτως (and in app. insert l after T) 1 (app.)
Ἀμμῶν (ac.)
- p. 35. 13 ὄλοις δακτύλοις] ἄλλους δακτύλους
- p. 36. 3 εὐπαθῶν and δυσπαθῶν (ac.) 6 διὰ τὰς χρείας τὰς λοιπὰς
(dele τοῦ σώματος)
- p. 37. 5 μή τις (dele καὶ ὀρώντα) 6 dele full stop, and adopt reading
of WTB (see app.) 17 (app.) for T(B) read (T)B
- p. 38. 3 ἐνηλαγμένη δὲ πολιτεία 9 τρεῖς] + ἡ τέσσαρας¹ 18 dele
the signs ' 1
- p. 40. 15 συγχρονίᾳσι
- p. 41. 14 τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν] τὸ εὔξασθαι
- p. 42. 10 μελλάκιον 14 ἐνεός
- p. 43. 3 ἀπολύοντας 10 εἰς] + ἦν
- p. 44. 20 αὐτῇ] + τοίνυν 22 ἀδηφαγίαν
- p. 45. 20 ἀπεκάλυψε γὰρ αὐτῶ ὁ θεός (and in app. after 35 insert B†)
- p. 47. 19 dele τοῦ θαυμασίου
- p. 48. 8 for τὸν βουκελλάτον (sic PW) read τὸ βουκελλᾶτον 12 ὄλα
12, 13 dele τὸ γὰρ παντελῶς μὴ ἐσθίειν and read: ὡς τελώνης γάρ μοι οὐ συνε-
χώρει 15 οὐγκίας
- p. 50. dele A from list of sources for text
- p. 51. 2 dele τῇ βουβάλῳ
- p. 52. 19 ἀσκοῦντα
- p. 53. 4 dele σου 24 for τὸν read τὸ
- p. 55. 2 (app.) τῶ (ac.)
- p. 56. 8 (app.) read: Note 31
- p. 57. 4 Παφνούτως 8 (app.) after T dele]
- p. 58. 25 read: Note 32 13 (app.) read: Note 31
- p. 60. 10 τὴν] + ἀρχαίαν¹ 15 ἀρχαί] + γάρ¹ 22 οὐγκίας 2 (app.)
A^b has ζαζέρναν with PTL₂
- p. 62. 1 δαίμοσι] + καὶ μὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπέμβαινε.¹
In cc. XX, XXI, XXII many of the TW^oB and TOB readings are
probably correct (see *Introd.* xcii): for XX see p. 177
- 20 πραγματείας (and in app. after TB insert l₂)
- p. 63. 6 ἀββά] + Μακάριε 11 ἐμαντοῦ] + τοῦτο μαθῶν¹
- p. 64. See p. 177, l. 2 from bottom
- p. 65. 2 ξενίδιον
- p. 66. 1 τῆς ἐρήμου] τοῦ σπηλαίου
- p. 67. 3 dele ἔπειτα
- p. 68. 4, 5 (app.) after "thus" insert TW^o
- p. 70. 14 dele αὐτῶ
- p. 71. 21 (app.) ἄρτον
- p. 75. 12 read: καὶ διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν χρειῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι (and in
app. after s insert s₂) 6 (app.) A^b has ἔρημον with P

- p. 76. 4 dele *αισχροῦς* 8 (app.) α_2 represents *ἀγροῦ*, as 36
 p. 77. 3 οὐδέ] οὐκ, and dele οὕτως
 p. 80. 13 (app.) read *καὶ*¹
 p. 81. 20 *ἔπειτα*] *εἶτα* 13 (app.) after *ἀρίστη* dele]
 p. 83. 7 *μετέωρον* and *ἀλώμενον* 8 *δεδωκότα* 9 *ὀμιλοῦντα* (see Note 45)
- p. 84. 9 *ἐντός*] *ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ* 10 dele *ἄλλα*
 p. 85. 2 *τὸ πάθος μου* (dele *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*) 11 *μου*
 p. 86. 18 (app.) read *αὐτῆ*¹
 p. 87. 1 *μάχης*] *ἀθλίας* 15 (app.) for TVC read VCB
 p. 95. 9 *σύνθεται* (ac.)
 p. 100. 6 (app.) read *παῖδια* C
 p. 101. 11 (app.) after WT insert *B*
 p. 109. 4 (app.) and 14 (app.) for *B* read *B†*
 p. 110. 19 (app.) after TA insert *B*
 p. 111. 4 dele *ὕφ' ἐν* 5 dele *ἄνθρωπε* and for *ἦ...ῆ* read *καὶ...καὶ*
 p. 113. 10 (app.) after TA insert *s* 13 (app.) after WT insert *B*
 p. 121. 8 (app.) Dorotheus Archim. reads *ἀγρίων* (see p. xxxv)
 p. 126. 6 (app.) after PA insert *B†*
 p. 132. 12 *κόπαιον*
 p. 133. 22 (app.) *ἦλθε* (ac.)
 p. 140. 19 dele *ὄσσιοι*
 p. 144. 20 dele *νεαρούς*
 p. 147. 16 *Πουπλικούλα* (ac.)
 p. 148. 9 *ἐρείπιον*
 p. 152. 10—12 adopt B1 text as in note (see p. lxii) 22 *φιλοπευ-*
σταύντων
 p. 153. 8 read *ἀμμᾶ Ταλίδι* (similarly in headline and l. 29)
 p. 155. 2 colon instead of full stop
 p. 157. 8 colon instead of full stop 12 *ξενοδοχία*
 p. 160. 18 (app.) *παλαιῶ* (ac.)
 p. 161. 3 (app.) *Ἔλ.* (ac.)
 p. 162. 22 read: A CL
 p. 163. Between text and apparatus insert: 13 see Note 114^b

LIST OF WORDS WHICH ARE CORRUPT OR
CONJECTURAL OR OF UNCERTAIN MEANING.

- p. 3. 8 διὰ τὸ ἀνδρὸς...ἐπιτάξαντος ἡμῖν (12)
- p. 14. 17 λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον (prob. -φων -ίων)
- p. 22. 7 προΐκασα
- p. 32. 16 words between ᾿ and 19 οὔτοι
- p. 47. 4 κιλικίσιον ὕδατος (cf. 83, 1)
- p. 48. 9 εἰς σαΐτας τὰ κεράμια
- p. 50. 16 ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων
- p. 55. 2 πᾶς ρυσιπέλαντος
- p. 59. 19—21 see Note 34
- p. 60. 2 ζαβέρναν (this seems to be the only occurrence of the word in Greek, but it is found in Latin, see Du Cange and Forcellini-De Vit; they give as the equivalent *arca* and *pera*)
- p. 65. 8 σχάστα
- p. 71. 16 σῆψιν
- p. 75. 20 καὶ ὡς
- p. 83. 1 κιλικίσια κεράμια (cf. 47, 4)
6, 7 see Note 45
- p. 120. 3 κομίματος ζωῆς
- p. 133. 22 ἦλθε
- p. 135. 8 and 13 καπνίζειν
15 τῷ τύφῳ (al. καμφῳ and καπφῳ)
- p. 142. 21 τῷ πλήθει
- p. 149. 1 δερμοτύλῳ
- p. 165. 6 δισκεύσω

NOTES

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL.

IN preparing these Notes I have endeavoured to exclude information easily accessible elsewhere; accordingly wherever it is possible standard works, usually Tillemont (still by far the best general authority) and the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, are referred to.

1. p. 1, 1. The Prooemium is found only in certain sub-groups of B, and in P; but not in W or T or any version (except l^{rev} and s^{an}). The text in P is almost identical with that of ms. 22 (and doubtless 20, not collated), so that it may be taken for certain that the Proem has been introduced into P from a B ms. of the type 19—22. It is quite in the style of the metaphrastic enlargements, and it may safely be rejected as one of the spurious B additions.

2. p. 6, 1. The external evidence is strongly in favour of the authenticity of the Epistle to Lausus: it is missing only in l^{rev} (s_2 l) and the B mss. 1-5^b—(though it is present in no. 6, $\epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ in p. 6, 3 shows that the Epistle in that ms. is not a B text, but has been imported from elsewhere). As it is in PWTs (= the γ text), in l_2 c, and in the general body of B mss., it must probably be accepted, not for a part of the actual Lausiatic History, but for what it claims to be—the Letter sent by Palladius to Lausus along with the book.

The angelology on p. 7, 1-6, finds certain counterparts in ps.-Dionysius Arcop. (see *De Cael. Hier.* c. VII § 1, *et alibi*); but there is no apparent literary connection.

3. p. 9. Title. Although it has not been questioned by any recent critic that Palladius, the disciple of Evagrius and friend of St John Chrysostom, bishop first of Helenopolis and then of Aspuna, was the author of the Lausiatic History, still it is proper here to tabulate the manuscript and other evidence as to the authorship (see pp. 3, 6, 8, 9, 170):

PWTs 7, 19: Palladius bishop of Helenopolis.

19, 47: Palladius bishop of Aspuna (see Socr. VII 36: Π. ἀπὸ Ἐλενοπόλεως μετηνέχθη εἰς Ἄσπωνα. The Epistle and Title in 19 have been imported from a ms. of another type; elsewhere it has P. bishop of Helenopolis).

B 6, 12—18, l^{cas}: Palladius the bishop.

(l^{cas}: Paradysus Palladii monachi qui fuit discipulus Euagrii).

B 20-21-22: Palladius bishop of Cappadocia.

(So also P in title to Prologue, but from a B ms. of this type, see Note 1.)

l₂^b: Palladius.

B 1—5, 8—11, s₂ c: Anonymous.

(There can be no doubt that in 6 Palladius' name was imported from the same source as the Epistle, see Note 2; 7 also shows signs of intermixture with a ms. like 19, see apparatus to p. 94, 3.

We now come to a group of authorities which attribute the book to a Heraclides:

A: Heraclides bishop of Cappadocia.

(22 has introduced this name with the title to the Epistle from A, see *Introd.* p. xxi; in title to Prologue it has "Pall. bp. of Capp." The A ms. 44^b attributes the book to St Jerome.)

As there is no name to the Proem, and as in A there is no title to the Prologue, which forms one piece with the Epistle, it follows that Palladius' name does not appear at all in A, the book being attributed to Heraclides: the departures of Hervet and Du Duc from A are due to the circumstances explained *Introd.* § 3.

l₂^a names as author Heraclides the disciple of St Anthony, or otherwise Heraclius the bishop.

l^{rev}: Heraclides the hermit, or the Alexandrine, without any mention of Palladius (the Epistola printed by Rosweyd does not belong to l^{rev}): presumably l^{rev} derived Heraclides' name from the Greek B ms. used for the revision of l.

The best known Heraclides is he of Cyprus whose career in outline bore so close a resemblance to that of Palladius, —first a monk in Nitria and disciple of Evagrius, then consecrated by St John Chrysostom as bishop of Ephesus, then a warm supporter of St John and a chief sufferer in his cause (*Dict. Christ. Biog.*). But the descriptions "bishop of Cappadocia," "disciple of St Anthony," "Alexandrine," would not suit him: nor would the personal details which the author of the *Hist. Laus.* supplies concerning himself in c. 35 (p. 102, 10; p. 105, 8-14) and c. 61 (p. 157, 10-13). I can throw no further light on the personality of this Heraclides, or on the manner in which the Lausiac History came to be attributed to him. But the attribution is found in only three sources: in a (the archetype of A), in the B ms. used by the reviser of l, and in the archetype of one group of l₂—in the last case it is doubtful whether the corruption goes back to a Greek authority, or arose among the Latin mss. (by assimilation to l^{rev}?).

Meanwhile the authorship is not in controversy; the autobiographical details given by the writer (see above), and the witness of Socrates (iv 23, cited *Prolog.* 138,) establish irrefragably that Palladius of Helenopolis was the author of the Lausiac History. A full account of his life will be found in

Tillemont (xi 500 25) and in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*; in Appendix V ii the chronology of his life is reconsidered.

4. p. 9, 1. The Prologue is certainly genuine and is Palladius' introduction to his book.

As here printed the first sentence runs to 40 lines: in this T has been followed. PW add after ζωῆ (p. 10, 2) ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην, but these words instead of helping wholly vitiate the construction; and as there is no trace of them in 1 (or 1₂ c) I conclude that, along with other words at p. 9, 10 and p. 10, 3, they were introduced in the ancestor of PW from a B ms. In B the sentence is broken up and much rewritten; and one of the B enlargements at p. 9, 12 has been introduced into W (see p. 170).

5. p. 11, 23. Lausus was chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II. The contemporary literature contains a number of references to a person or persons of the name Lausus, who may with reasonable probability be identified with Palladius' friend. See Tillemont, xi 526; also *Dict. Christ. Biog.* The present is the only place in the edited text in which the name is mentioned.

6. p. 12, 3. Enough has been said in *Prolog.* 176 on Palladius' employment of the word ἀπάθεια. The instances of its occurrence in *Hist. Laus.* are indicated in the Index of Greek Words, and an examination of them will, I think, justify Tillemont's verdict cited in *Prolog.* In c. 47 is a long discussion of the relations between God's providence and man's free will, which (to the non-expert eye at any rate) seems free from Pelagian taint.

Ibid. 10. Though the monastic vows had not yet been introduced as a universal feature of the system, Palladius' disapproval of vows is remarkable at that date.

Ibid. 18. His treatment of tectotalism is noteworthy for its moderation and good sense.

Ibid. 25. I am indebted to Dr Henry Jackson for the following note on Palladius' statement that Pythagoras, Diogenes and Plato were water-drinkers:

"I have been hunting for evidence as to the attitude of Pythagoras, Diogenes the cynic, and Plato, towards wine. My conclusion is that Pythagoras and Diogenes were 'total abstainers' and Plato a 'moderate drinker.'

(1) Pythagoras: Iamblichus *de Pythagorica vita* 107 μήτε οἶνον ὄλωσ πίνειν, and 69 αἰνίαν. (To be found at the end of the Didot edition of Diog. Laert.) Epiphanius i ἀπὸ οἴνου ἐγκρατεύσθαι, and iii μηδὲ οἶνον πίνειν τοὺς σοφοὺς. (To be found in Diels' *Doxographi* pp. 587, 4, and 590, 10).

(2) Cynics: Diog. Laert. vi 105. Cynics, e.g. Diogenes, drank water. So of Crates, Diog. Laert. vi 90: compare Teles ap. Stobæum *Floril.* T. 97, 31 *ad finem*. Of Diogenes, Lucian *uitarum auctio* 9. (See Zeller, *Ph. d. Griech.* II i 318.)

(3) Plato: The story in Stobæus *floril.* T. 17, 36, that, being thirsty, he would draw water and pour it away, as an exercise in self-control, may conceivably have suggested that he was a water-drinker: but according to Diog. Laert. iii 39 he drew the line at intoxication, and excused even this at Dionysiac festivals. (See Zeller, II i 433.)”

7. p. 15, 9. Three monks named Isidore are mentioned by Palladius:

(1) the hospitaller or almoner of the Church of Alexandria, here referred to; he played a prominent part in the ecclesiastical controversies of the time: see *Dial. de Vita Chrys.* 50; Tillemont, xi 443 and 464; and *Dict. Christ. Biog.* “Isidorus (28)”:

(2) the presbyter of Scete, mentioned c. 19: see Tillemont, viii 440:

(3) the bishop of Hieropolis Parva, previously a monk in Nitria, mentioned c. 46.

On the distinction between (2) and (3), see Tillemont's Note, viii 787: in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* (2) is omitted, and on (3) there are three different sections (Isidorus (3) (4) (6)).

It is impossible to say which of these is the Isidore mentioned in c. 10.

Besides the above there were:

(4) Isidore Pelusiota, (31) in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*:

(5) the abbot of a monastery in the Thebaid (*Hist. Mon.* c. 19):

(6) Tabennesiot monk (*Ep. Ammonis ad Theoph.* § 14).

8. p. 16, 9. This visit of Isidore the hospitaller to Rome, in company with “Demetrius the bishop,” gives rise to difficulties. On the strength of the statement made in this place by Palladius it is commonly accepted that Isidore was the monk who along with Ammonius the Tall (Socr. iv 23) accompanied St Athanasius to Rome in 340. Two other visits of Isidore to Rome are known, one in 388, on Theophilus' business, and one in 398, with Acacius of Berea, to try to end the Antiochene schism. The only known Demetrius who could be identified with the Demetrius here mentioned by Palladius, is the bishop of Pessinus in Galatia, who is known to have gone to Rome on St Chrysostom's behalf in 404, and again in 405: but, if Palladius' previous statement (15, 13) is correct, Isidore died in 403, at the age of eighty-five. Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* v 23) says that in 398 some bishops accompanied Acacius and Isidore to Rome, to represent Flavian of Antioch; and Tillemont (x 539) surmises that Demetrius of Pessinus may have been one of them, the only ground of the surmise is, however, the present passage of *Hist. Laus.*

9. p. 16, 19 (apparatus). This agreement of herv with PW is one of the herv readings not accounted for by the marginal entries of Ottobon. 377 (see *Introd.* p. xxv): it is an accidental coincidence.

10. p. 18, 14. Eusebius (*Hist.* vi 5) gives an account of the martyrdom of a Potamiaona in Alexandria during the persecution of Severus, which, in

spite of difference in detail, is in the main features so like this account in Palladius, that it is difficult to suppose (as Baronius does) that they refer to two martyrs of the same name. The chief difference between the two versions of the story is one of date,—the persecution of Severus taking place in 202–3, that of Maximian a century later. If we have to choose between Eusebius and Palladius, the former must here be taken as the more trustworthy authority; for, if Isidore really heard the story from St Anthony, it must have been forty years before he related it to Palladius, and Palladius wrote his book thirty years after his intercourse with Isidore.

11. p. 18, 19 (apparatus). PWT read *θεός* in place of *καρούς* found in *BlLs₂* (s vac): but mss. 17 and 18 (the only ones tested for this reading) of the sub-group 14—18 of B, agree with PWT. The alteration in itself would be so obvious as easily to arise independently¹; but it is by no means an isolated case. In the analogous passage in c. 65 (p. 161, 4) mss. 17, 18 again agree with P in omitting *καὶ τοὺς καρούς*; and throughout the whole book there is a series of readings wherein these mss. agree with P.

For the sake of disencumbering the *Introduction* I postponed to this place the treatment of the sub-group 14—18. Floss has given in the Appendix to his edition of the Epistles &c. of Macarius of Egypt (1851) a full description of the two Vienna members of the group (nos. 14, 15), and he printed their text of cc. 17, 18, 20, 25, 26 (reprinted in Migne *P.G.* xxxiv 177 sqq.): more-over under the symbols V¹ V² P^o, Dr Preuschen gives the collations of mss. 14, 15, 16, in the apparatus to his edition of cc. 10, 35, 38: so that ample materials are in print for the study of this form of the text. In the first place, it must be emphatically stated that the text is a B text: in the various text pieces printed in *Introd.* these mss. contain the distinctive B enlargements, and I have examined them carefully over large portions of the book. In *Introd.* p. xlix it has been shown that their order of chapters is a depravation of that found in B. Among the B mss. their affinity is closest with nos. 12–13. But they have been subjected to a very free process of literary revision, both by way of shortening and of re-writing; and in the process of abridgment many of the B enlargements have been pruned away (see an example in Note 32 (6)). Nor is this all: they exhibit throughout occasional agreements with otherwise singular readings of P: for instance:

p. 16, 13 ὑμῖν P 17 ²	ὑμῶν WTB
p. 17, 4 τελειῶν P 17	τελίσκων WTB
p. 31, 6 τῶν χειρῶν μου P 17	τ. ἐμῶν χ. WTB
p. 35, 3 πάντα P 17	παντὶ WTB
ὁ ἀξιώθεις P 17	καταξιώθεις WTB

¹ As a matter of fact in cod. Cass. 348 of *l atque temporibus* was erased and *corumque numinibus* substituted; so that cod. Cass. 50 (see *Introd.* p. lxxvi) seems to present the same reading as PWT: an example of the pitfalls that may await the textual critic.

² The other members of the group 14—18 have not been tested in these places.

A long list could be given of such cases. It would seem that the archetype of 14—18 must have been influenced by a ms. akin to P. At p. 147, 5, and p. 155, 11, ms. 17 reads Ἀπειανός with P, but ms. 18 Πιανός with B (see Note 107).

This sub-group contains the most debased type of text of all those known to me, and I have neglected its readings as worthless.

12. p. 19, 19. On Didymus the blind catechist of Alexandria see St Jerome *De Vir. Ill.* c. 109; Tillemont x 387; *Dict. Christ. Biog.* St Jerome says that at the time he was writing (392), Didymus was 83 (al. 80); according to Palladius he died about 398 at the age of 85.

13. p. 21, 2. A similar story of a revelation of Julian's death to Athanasius is related in the *Epistola Ammonis* (§ 23; see *Prolog.* 223), as follows: Ammon tells Theophilus that he had heard Athanasius relate how, while fleeing from Julian, he was in a boat on the Nile along with Abbot Theodore, Pachomius' successor, and Abbot Piammon, head of the monks of Antinoë; as they went along the two monks began to smile; on Athanasius asking the cause, Theodore replied: Ταύτη τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀνῆρέθη Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν Περσίδι·ἀναστήσεται δὲ βασιλεὺς χριστιανός, ὅστις λαμπρὸς μὲν ὀλιγίβιος δὲ ἔσται.

It is difficult to say whether we are in the presence of a twofold version of the same story: in each case the information claims to be at first hand. Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* III 24) relates that the Syrian monk Julianus Sabas also had a revelation of Julian's death.

14. p. 24, 24. The Wady Natron, or Valley of Nitria, lies almost due south of Alexandria at a distance of some 60 miles—Palladius says that after crossing the Mareotic Lake the journey took him a day and a half. The Valley extends east and west for a distance of about 30 miles, and is some 6 miles wide, lying between two ranges of mountains or table-lands. One of these mountains was the famous Mount of Nitria (in Coptic Pernoudj), but it is impossible to identify it. Palladius distinguishes three places in this district where there were monastic settlements—Mount Nitria, Cellia or the Cells, and Scete (see p. 51, 10—12, *et alibi*); and Cassian, the *Hist. Mon.*, and the *Apophthegmata* agree with him in distinguishing the three localities. There is considerable difficulty in fixing the positions of Scete and Cellia. The Coptic writers seem to use Scete and Nitria as practically convertible terms: thus Al-Makrizi, an Arabic writer towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, says: "As for Wadi Habib, also called Wadi Natrun, or the desert of Shihat, or the desert of Askit, there were formerly there 100 monasteries; but afterwards only seven remained, spread out towards the west of the plain lying between the province Al-Buhaira and the Faiyum, where sandy flats alternate with salt-marshes, waterless deserts and dangerous rocks¹." The earlier evidence from Coptic sources is collected by Quatremère (*Mémoires géogr. et*

¹ Appendix to Abu Salih's *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* (p. 320) ed. Evetts (Anecdota Oxon., Semitic Series VII).

hist. sur l'Égypte, "Schihet," I 451), and Amélineau (*Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, "Pernoudj" and "Schiit"). Amélineau holds that the northern side of the valley was Nitria and the southern Scete (*op. cit.* 447)¹. This is the view also of Mr A. J. Butler (*Ancient Coptic Churches*, I 287), of Prof. Stokes (*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. "Nitria"), and of M. Clugnet (*Vie et Récits de l'abbé Daniel*, v and ix): and it seems to be the accepted view. But serious difficulties may be urged against it. For if it be correct, the distance between Nitria and Scete was barely ten miles. But Palladius, Cassian, and the writer of *Hist. Mon.* represent them as being separated by a wide tract of pathless desert; their words are:

Palladius: 'Απείχε δὲ ἡμῶν (*sc.* from Nitria, or more probably from Cellia) ἡ Σκήτις τεσσαράκοντα σημεία (p. 81, 16), and he habitually calls Scete πανέρημος (pp. 49, 3; 51, 11; 75, 6).

Cassian: Morabatur in Cellis, qui locus inter Nitriam et Scitium situs, et a monasteriis quidem Nitriae quinque milibus distans, octoginta milium solitudine ab heremo Sciti interueniente discernitur (*Coll.* vi 1).

Hist. Mon.: "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ τόπος (*sc.* Σκήτις) ἔρημος, νυχθήμερον τῆς Nitρίας ἀπέχων τῷ διαστήματι ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ κίνδυνος μέγας ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀπιούσιν· ἐὰν γὰρ μικρὸν σφαλῇ τις, πλάζεται κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον κινδυνεύων (c. 30): the Latin (*i.e.* Rufinus) is substantially the same, but it says that Scete was "in eremo vastissima positus," and that there was no path leading to it (c. 29); and in c. 22 it states that Cellia was ten miles from Nitria.

Though the three authorities differ in their figures², still they agree as to the fact that Scete was distant from Nitria a long journey across the desert; and as they all three had visited Nitria, and as Palladius and Cassian claim to have actually made the journey between Nitria and Scete, their evidence as to the main fact must be accepted. The danger of losing one's way on the journey (*Hist. Mon.*) is illustrated by Palladius' story of a monk who died of thirst while travelling from Scete to Nitria or Cellia (p. 137, 15); this would not be possible in merely crossing the Wady Natron. The following passage from the stories relating to Abbot Daniel distinguishes between the desert of Scete and the monastic settlement of Scete: Εὐνοῦχος τις ἔμενεν εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον τῆς Σκήτιως· εἶχε δὲ τὸ λελλίον ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων δέκα ὀκτώ τῆς αὐτῆς Σκήτιως (*op. cit.* 2). Hence it may be inferred that there was a desert of

¹ Amélineau relies mainly on statements in the Coptic Life of Macarius of Egypt (see *Prol.* 220); but when read in their contexts their import is far from clear, and I find it difficult to accept Amélineau's interpretation as certain. Arguments based on the situations of the present monasteries in the Wady Natron are insecure, for it is doubtful that they existed in the sixth century.

² The figures are based on the recollections of journeys made many years before, and therefore cannot be relied on; *e.g.* Palladius' 70 miles as the measure of the Mareotic Lake (p. 25, 1) is grotesquely excessive. Rufinus in Latin *Hist. Mon.* (c. 21) gives 40 miles instead of the actual 60 as the distance of Nitria from Alexandria.

Scete, and that the monastic settlement was situated in it, and at a considerable distance from the Mountain of Nitria, if we are to believe Palladius, Cassian, and the writer of *Hist. Mon.* Now if Scete lay a day's journey to the south of the Wady Natron, it is difficult to understand how there can have been easy communication between it and Terenouthis (see Map); yet many passages show that such was the case (see Amélineau, *Géographie*, 493); e.g. when the Mazices made an irruption into Scete it was to Terenouthis that the monks fled (*Apophthegmata*, Anoub, no. 1); but if Scete was several miles south of Nitria, it would have been more natural for them to have gone on the line of the present track towards Cairo (near Babylon or Memphis).

The evidence of Ptolemy has been strangely neglected; his statement is: Τοῦ δὲ Μαρεώτου τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καλεῖται Ταυνία, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς κατέχουσι Γωνιάται καὶ Προσοδίται· μεθ' οὗς ἡ Σκιαθικὴ (al. Σκιθιακὴ and Σκιτικὴ) χώρα καὶ οἱ Μασίται· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ μεσημβρινώτερα νέμονται Νιτριῶται καὶ Ὀασίται (Lib. IV c. 5). Ptolemy thus places the Scetic region to the north of Nitria. If he is correct, and I am disposed to believe that he is, Scete was that portion of the Libyan desert which lies between the Delta and the Wady Natron, some 50 miles across. And if that be so, Cellia was situated in this desert, six or seven miles to the north of Nitria (see Cassian, cited above); while still further to the north or north-west, in the heart of the Scetic desert, lay the monastic settlement of Scete. The following passage from the *Apophthegmata* (Karion no. 2) might help towards its identification: Ἐλος παρακείμεν ἐν τῇ Σκήτει, ἔνθα καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ᾠκοδομηταὶ καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ὑδάτων εἰσὶ: Palladius also speaks of τὸ ἔλος τῆς Σκήτεως (p. 49, 2). We learn from Cassian (*Coll.* x 2) that there were four churches in Scete, each with its presbyter.

Some localities mentioned in connection with Scete cannot be identified—the rock called Klimax in *Hist. Lau.* c. 27, distant 18 miles from water (Amélineau, *Géographie*, 451), and that called Petra, mentioned more than once in the *Apophthegmata* of Moses the Robber or the Ethiopian (*ibid.* 442); also (probably) Apeliote and Foci, mentioned by Rufinus, (*Hist. Eccl.* II 8; see *Prolog.* 200).

The form Σκήτης, -τεως, seems the best attested by the mss. of *Hist. Lau.*, but Σκίτης and Σκήτη are found.

With Palladius' account of Nitria and the manner of life of its monks should be compared the account in the *Hist. Mon.* (c. 23), especially in Rufinus' Latin (cc. 21, 22), printed in *Prolog.* 270-75. In c. 13 Palladius repeats the figure 5000 for the number of monks in Nitria; I do not know any other so precise figure; St Jerome speaks of "thousands of monks" there (*Ep.* 108, 14). Among the facts mentioned by Palladius, attention may be directed to the use of wine by the monks in Nitria; to the developed organisation of the vast community; to the custom of celebrating Evensong in the separate cells; and to the voluntary character of the system and the large discretion allowed to each in the pursuit of his ascetical exercises (see the stories in cc. 13, 14).

The present state of the Nitrian monasteries and monachism may be read

in Mr A. J. Butler's book just referred to (Vol. I, c. vii); also in Père Jullien, *Missions Catholiques*, 1882.

15. p. 25, 11, 12. Of the monks named in this place, Arsisius and Sarapion occur again (p. 134, 12) among those seen in Nitria by Melania: concerning Arsisius or Orsisius (surnamed "the Great," but not to be identified with Arsenius, nor with Horsiesis the Tabennesiot), Putubastus and Asion, nothing more appears to be known (Tillemont, VII 165), except that perhaps the Apophthegmata under the name of Orsisius may belong to Arsisius. On Sarapion (surnamed "the Great," p. 134) see Note 68. On Cronius or Chronius see Note 37; some of his Apophthegmata are preserved.

16. p. 26, 20. Ἀμοῦν is the spelling best attested by the authorities for *Hist. Laus.*, including Soz. (and W); also by *Vita Ant.*: but *Hist. Mon.*, *Apophthegmata*, and Socr. have Ἀμμοῦν (like P). The μμ is more common in the various forms of the name found in the Papyri; but in the volume of *Tebtunis Papyri* the form Ἀμοῦνις occurs.

Other accounts of Amoun the founder of Nitrian monachism are contained in *Vita Ant.* § 60, *Hist. Mon.* c. 29, Socr. IV 23: (Soz. I 14 is based on these, see *Prolog.* 279). The accounts, though agreeing in the main outlines, differ in detail, and are independent versions of the same tradition (see Tillemont, VII 153).

Amoun died before St Anthony, *i.e.* before c. 356: as he had been (according to Palladius) twenty-two years in Nitria, this would place the beginning of Nitrian monachism about 320—330.

It may be of use to give a list distinguishing the principal monks who bore variations of this name:

- (1) Amoun the Nitriot.
- (2) Ammonas, successor of Anthony at Pispir (*Hist. Mon.* c. 17, and *Apophthegmata*).
- (3) Ammonius the Tall, or Parotes (c. 11).
- (4) Ammon the writer of the *Ep. ad Theophilum* (see *Prolog.* 223, and Ladeuze *Cénobitisme Pakhomien*, 108).
- (5) Ammon, abbot of the Tabennesiot monastery near Eshmunen (Hermopolis Magna); (see *Hist. Mon.* c. 3).
- (6) Ammonas or Piammon of Diolcos (*Hist. Mon.* c. 32), who gave the eighteenth of Cassian's Conferences: wrongly identified with (1) in Butler's *Coptic Churches*, I 342.

17. p. 29, 9. On the undeserved fate of Abbot Or of Nitria in being represented as a heretic, see *Prolog.* 177, note 2.

18. p. 29, 15. On Pambo see Tillemont, VIII 445, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.*; an account of him is found in Socr. IV 23, based on an independent life (see *Prolog.* 128—30), and a number of his Apophthegmata are preserved.

It was in 373 or 374 that Melania visited Nitria (see Note 86), and about the same time Rufinus also saw Pambo (*Hist. Eccl.* II 4, 8). The narrative in

the text plainly means that Pambo died during Melania's visit to Nitria on this occasion. Yet in c. 46 he is mentioned as one of the exiles whom Melania accompanied from Egypt to Palestine at the end of her stay in Nitria; and one of the Apophthegmata (Theophilus no. 2) makes Theophilus when already archbishop of Alexandria visit Pambo (*i.e.* after 385). Tillemont in a Note (VIII 788) discusses the difficulties¹. He rejects the theory that there were two Pambos, but suggests that Melania may have made a second visit to Nitria during her residence at Jerusalem, some time between 385 and 390. This expedient seems hardly more satisfactory than the other. Palladius' statement that Pambo was one of those banished to Palestine in 374 may easily be set down as an error; he heard of this event by hearsay long afterwards, and it is far more likely that he should have been mistaken in a mere name in a list, than in the circumstantial story he heard from Melania. As for the Apophthegmata, until they have been critically edited the Apophthegmata cannot claim to be textually certain, so that the name either of Theophilus or of Pambo may turn out to be an error: the fact, however, that this Apophthegma stands in the Latin collection (Rosweyd Bk. V xv 42) shows that the source goes back to the fifth century, and the story itself is quite in keeping with what Palladius and Socrates (IV 23) tell of Pambo's love of silence. But in any case, the Apophthegmata are on a much lower historical level than a story like this, which Palladius assures us he had heard from Melania herself: it is probable that many of the Apophthegmata are not authentic, but were composed for purposes of spiritual instruction.

19. p. 32, 16. In addition to the usual authorities (Tillemont xi 446-488, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.*), the tragic story of Ammonius the Tall and his brothers is well told in Bright's *Age of the Fathers*, II 55-72.

Although W and T give his name as Ammon, the usual form, Ammonios, commonly found in the documents of the time, has been retained in the text; in c. 46 WT conform to the rest.

20. p. 33, 2. Timotheus, bishop of Alexandria 381-5: *Dict. Christ. Biog.* For another account of this story, see Socr. IV 23.

21. p. 34, 7. For the writer Pierius, catechist at Alexandria, c. 290, see Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* VII 32; St Jerome *De Viris Ill.* c. 76; Harnack, *Altchristl. Lit.* I 439; Bardenhewer, *Altchristl. Lit.* II 198; and *Dict. Christ. Biog.*

Pierius and Stephanus are again named together in a similar passage, p. 149, 14. Of this ecclesiastical writer Stephanus nothing is known; he is not identical with the Stephanus mentioned in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* VII 32, as suggested by Meursius.

22. p. 34, 13 16. The text of s₂, the translation whereof is supplied on p. 34, is as follows (cod. vat. f. 271):

¹ He creates yet a third difficulty by unduly straining Rufinus' words towards the end of II 4, so as to include all the monks mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

the passage a "brouillerie," and has recourse to desperate expedients in order to reduce it to sense. The art. on Rufinus in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, relying on the printed texts of B, interprets it of Evagrius; but this is a misconception. The B enlargement is an apocryphal addition of unknown origin; and the story of Rufinus' baptism, which has found its way into all the histories, depends, so far as I know, upon it alone.

23. p. 35, 12. The difficulty here presented by the B text, which I attempted to meet in *Prol.* 189, disappears on the restoration of the true reading from W and T. Some Apophthegmata are attributed to Benjamin.

24. p. 36, 14. The expression γραφικὴ ἄσκησις is of interest as showing that already writing was counted among the recognised ascetical exercises: similar passages occur in *Hist. Laus.* among the occupations of the Tabennesiot monks (p. 96, 4), and in cc. 38 (p. 120, 11) and 45 (p. 133, 13): also Apophthegmata, Marcus, no. 1.

25. p. 42, 10—12. This passage seems to have escaped notice in recent discussions on the Agapè (Keating, Batiffol, Funk): yet the personal genitive (ἀγάπη τοῦδε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ) is noteworthy (cf. τοῦτων προσφορά, p. 97, 17). It may be questioned whether the Agapè in the present passage be not identical with the Eucharistic Celebration. The word occurs apparently in various significations in the *Apophthegmata*, but I think never as equivalent to the Eucharist.

26. p. 43, 5. Much needless uncertainty and confusion prevail concerning the monks that bore the name Macarius; the following is an attempt to distinguish the chief of them:

(1) Macarius of Egypt, otherwise the Elder or the Great, "the disciple of Anthony" (see *Prol.* 225). Besides the account in *Hist. Laus.* c. 17, there is one in *Hist. Mon.* c. 28 (compare the Latin), and a Coptic Life has recently been published by Amélineau (*Prol.* 220). He was born about 300, became a monk at 30 years of age, passed some time under St Anthony, and then settled in Nitria and Scete, where he spent the greater part of his monastic life, and died a short time before Palladius' arrival in Nitria (390)¹. To him are attributed, rightly or wrongly, the Homilies and Epistles reprinted in Migne, *P. G.* xxxiv, from Floss; also a great number of Apophthegmata. On him see Tillemont, viii 574, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.* "Macarius (17)."

¹ Al-Makrizi's work, named in Note 14, was written in the fifteenth century, and his statements, though often interesting and possibly preserving old traditions, must be taken with some reserve. Concerning Macarius of Egypt, he says: "They relate of him many noble deeds, among others that he fasted during the whole of the forty days, without tasting food or drink, and also watched through the nights; moreover he prepared palm-leaves and fed upon them, and never ate fresh bread, but he took old shoes, softened them in a mess of palm-leaves, and ate of them, together with his monks" (*op. cit.* 321).

(2) Macarius of Alexandria, otherwise ὁ πολιτικός. Besides the account in *Hist. Laus.* c. 18, there is one in *Hist. Mon.* c. 30 (the *Lat.*, c. 29, is much fuller). We learn from Palladius that he died c. 393, almost a centenarian. The art. in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* says he is "almost undistinguishable" from (1), but this is by no means the case. See Tillemont, VIII 626 (cf. *Prolog.* 225, note), and Zöckler in Herzog-Hauck, art. "Makarius."

(3) Macarius of Pispir, spoken of in *Hist. Laus.* c. 21, and also in St Jerome's *Vita Pauli* and *Chron.* (an. 361), as being along with Amatas the disciple of Anthony at the end of his life. The *Vita Antonii* speaks of the two disciples who tended St Anthony during the last fifteen years of his life and buried him, but it does not mention their names (§§ 91, 92). Abbé Nau in an ingenious paper (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900, ii. p. 23) puts forward the view that the names Μακάριος and Ἀμάτας (or Ἀμμάτος) originated by error out of the phrase μαθητῶν μακαρίου ἀββᾶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου in a Greek source employed by St Jerome, and suggests that Palladius derived them from St Jerome. Be that as it may (see Note 37 and Appendix VI), the disciple who buried St Anthony, if his name was Macarius, was almost certainly a different man from (1). See Tillemont, VII 139, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* "Macarius (16)."

(4) Macarius the Younger, or the Homicide, *Hist. Laus.* c. 15. Nothing else is known about him, but Soz. seems partially to confuse him with (2), (*Hist.* VI 29).

(5) Macarius the president of the πτωχείων τῶν λεωβημένων in Alexandria, *Hist. Laus.* c. 6; mentioned also by Cassian (*Coll.* XIV 4), but said to have been president of a xenodochium. Dr Gibson, in his translation of Cassian, follows Gazaetus in identifying him with (2), but erroneously.

(6) Macarius abbot of the Tabennesiot monastery at Pachnum, near Latopolis, *Vita Pachomii*, § 78.

(7) Macarius Magnes (c. 350–400), not a monk, but (as Dean Bernard has pointed out in *Journal of Theol. Studies* II 611), often confused with Macarius Magnus (1), e.g. by Nestle and Gregory (and Baljon) in their Introductions to New Testament criticism. See *Dict. Christ. Biog.* "Macarius (9)."

(Mac or Macar in apparatus to the Greek New Testament refers to (1); the writings of (7) were not printed until 1876.)

27. p. 46, 7. From this passage it appears that even for the laity five weeks were regarded as an abnormally long period of abstinence from Communion.

A variant of the story is contained in *Hist. Mon.* c. 28.

28. p. 46, 17–19. P and W omit these three lines and substitute: Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐμέυ ἄλλο αὐτοῦ διήγημα πᾶν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, thus passing on to the long piece (upwards of 150 lines) found in Migne *P.G.* xxxiv 209. Dr Preuschen gives a critical text (*Pall. u. Ruf.* 124–30) and maintains its genuineness in *Hist. Laus.* (*ibid.* 217). It contains a Creed which is of interest for the history of the Symbols; and so Dr Kattenbusch in *Das*

Apostolische Symbol, II 242, 247, 730, discusses the text at considerable length. These facts make it necessary to examine carefully the state of the evidence.

In addition to P and W, the piece is found in only two Greek mss. of the *Hist. Laus.*, Paris 1627 and 919 (nos. 47 and 33 in the List, *Introd.* § 2): in the other Greek mss. in which it is found, viz. Vienna Gr. 9 and Burney 50 nos. 15 and 26), it stands, not in the *Hist. Laus.*, but in collections of Apophthegmata. A much shorter version of the story is contained in the Latin *Hist. Mon.* c. 28 (but not in the Greek), and this has been inserted in some copies of the Latin *Hist. Laus.* 1₂; but the better group of mss. (1₂^a) is free from the interpolation and agrees with the Greek text that I have printed. The piece exists also in Coptic, and apparently in connection with the Life of Macarius that bears some relation to that in the Lausiaca History (see *Prolog.* 152); but the information given by Zoega (*Catal.* 127-9) is not sufficient for the formation of any accurate judgment.

Returning to the four Greek mss. in which the story stands as part of c. 17 of the *Hist. Laus.*, we find that in no. 47 it is embedded in the middle of a long series of Apophthegmata introduced into the text, and that it manifestly did not belong to the *Hist. Laus.*; while in no. 33 we find first the three lines which are omitted by PW, and then the story as found in the Apophthegmata without the special introduction of PW, so that here also it is an interpolation, — it is to be noted, too, that in ms. 33 Apophthegmata have been inserted also in c. 37 (see p. 112, 12). Thus PW receive no support from any other of the Greek mss. that contain the piece. Now P and W have been shown in *Introd.* §§ 9, 10 to be the offspring of a single ancestor from which they have inherited in common a number of errors, so that they count only as a single witness. Against them are ranged T and s (showing that the passage did not stand in γ , the archetype of the group PWTs), Bl, and 1₂; also Soz, who definitely bears witness to the lines omitted by PW: (s₂ vac, c is doubtful).

I am confident that the state of the evidence now is so different from what it was in 1898, that Dr Preuschen will agree that the passage is spurious, and that the problems raised by the Creed which it contains must be discussed without any relation to the *Hist. Laus.* or to Palladius. In the Creed itself W agrees exactly with Preuschen's text of P.

The passage in question is one of the chief sources of information as to the tenets of the Hieracite heresy; the Coptic form of the story (not used by Larnack, art. "Hierakas," in Herzog-Hauck) says that the complete rejection of marriage was one of the tenets of the Hieracitae.

29. p. 49, 9. On the cycle of James and Jambres literature see Schürer *Gesch. des jüdischen Volkes*, § 32, vi 3) and the standard Bible Dictionaries: also *Journal of Theol. Studies*, II 572.

In *Hist. Mon.* a different version of the visit to the Garden is related of Macarius of Egypt in the Greek, but of Macarius of Alexandria in the Latin.

As usual the form Mambres occurs in the Latin documents¹.

¹ On p. 50, A should be struck out from the list of authorities at the head of the apparatus.

30¹. p. 52, 9. Pachomius died probably in 345 or 346, certainly before 350; Macarius died in 393 or 394 at the age of about 95—almost a centenarian, says Palladius (p. 56, 15); so that he cannot have been more than 40 to 45 at the time of his visit to Tabennisi. Thus the words *εἰς γῆρας ἤλασας* are not correct.

31². p. 56, 8. The witness of Soz. and the versions shows that only lines 3–10 on p. 56 relate to Marcus, the narrative reverting to Macarius at l. 11. But in the B mss. there is at l. 8 a fresh title: *Περὶ Μάρκου*, and the rest of the chapter is told as of Marcus, though many of the scribes have at one point or another sporadically restored Macarius' name. In A the section p. 56, 3—p. 57, 3 is moved to the end and made a separate chapter on Marcus, the rest being reserved to Macarius. In P there is the same corruption as in B: W is missing, and T is free from the corruption. This is a case in which P has been assimilated to a B ms.

On this point Tillemont has been misled by I^{rev} (VIII 812).

32. p. 57, 12, 13 (see p. 58). Variants of the story of the sheepskin may be found in *Hist. Mon.* c. 28, Rufinus *Hist. Eccl.* II 4, and Sulpitius Severus *Dial.* I 15.

It is incumbent on me to substantiate the statement made in *ProL.* 179 relative to the introduction of St Athanasius' name into this story: in so doing a fully worked out sample will be supplied of the phenomena that justify the classification of the B mss. given in the Table on p. xxiii.

G. After it is related how the hyena brought the sheepskin to Macarius (*τῷ ἀγίῳ*) we read as follows in the printed text:

ὡς δὲ ἡ μακαρία Μελania μοι εἶπεν ὅτι Παρὰ τοῦ Μακαρίου ἐγὼ ἔλαβον τὸ κώδιον ἐκείνο ξένιον.

(G is determined by the versions, as P and W fail us, and T is contaminated by B: see note p. 57.)

B. (1) The original form of B was as follows:

ὡς δὲ ἡ μακαρία δούλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μ. μοι εἶπεν ὅτι Παρὰ τοῦ Μακαρίου (ἐκείνου) ἐγὼ ἔλαβον τὸ κώδιον ἐκείνο ξένιον τῆς ὑαλίνης ἐπιλεγόμενον.

This is what is found in the sub-group A^B. In the rest of the B mss. the story is told not of Macarius but as if of Marcus (see Note 31); hence some explanation was required of how it came about that Melania received the sheepskin from Macarius. This led to a series of successive corruptions in the B mss.

(2) A clause was inserted in l. 12 thus:

.....τῷ ἀγίῳ Μάρκῳ. ὅπερ κώδιον ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλος καταλλοίπει τῷ ἀγίῳ Μακαρίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ μακαρία δούλη.....(as A^B),..... ὅτι Παρὰ τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ θαυμασίου ἀνδρὸς Μακαρίου ἐγὼ.....(as A^B).

¹ The references to Note 30 in apparatus to p. 56, 8, and to p. 58, 13 should be to Note 31.

² The reference to Note 31 in line 25 of p. 58 should be to Note 32.

The passage stands thus in sub-group 8-11.

3) In the somewhat anomalous ms. 19 the passage is as in 8-11, except it reads in the added clause :

κατέλιπε τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ θανάτῳ Μακαρίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ

This (or the similar embellishment

καταλέλοιπε τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ θαυμασίῳ Μακαρίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ)

ld easily give rise to the reading :

4) καταλέλοιπε τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ μακαρίῳ Ἄθανασίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ¹

And this is the reading found in sub-group 1-6 (7 vac), which in other texts presents here the same text as 8-11,—(except that in 6 Melania she received the sheepskin from Marcus).

5) Here again there is a contradiction ; Marcus gave the skin to Athanasius, Melania received it from Macarius : the remedy is obvious :

.....Μάρκῳ. ὅπερ κώδιον οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος καταλέλοιπε τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ μακαρίῳ Ἄθανασίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ μακαρία δούλη..... (as A^B).....ὅτι Παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θαυμασίου ἀνδρὸς Ἄθανασίου ἐγώ..... (as A^B).

This is the text found in the sub-groups 12-13, 14-18, 20-22, except that

6) in sub-group 14-18 the passage has been characteristically rewritten, follows :

.....Μάρκῳ. ὅπερ κώδιον αὐτὸς κατέλιπε τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἄθανασίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. καὶ ἡ μακαρία δὲ Μελάνη εἶπέ μοι ὅτι Παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἄθανασίου ἐκείνο (τὸ κώδιον) ἔλαβον (αλ.-βε), ξένιον τῆς υἱίνης λεγόμενον.

In T the passage has been assimilated to the form found in 8-11 above.

Thus the introduction of St Athanasius' name is a mere transcriptional error, as stated in *Prolog.* 179.

It need hardly be said that the Table on p. xxiii has to embrace the results of a large number of such investigations as the preceding : it gives the meaning which on the whole stands out quite clearly, in spite of unexplained details in detail,—as here the departure of 19 from 20-21-22.

13. p. 58, 14. On Moses the Robber, otherwise the Ethiopian, or Black, Tillemont, x 62. As *Dict. Christ. Biog.* mentions only one of the monks called Moses, it will be worth while to distinguish them here:—

1) Moses, a solitary and then first bishop of the Saracens, c. 375 (Tillemont, vii 593 ; *Dict. Christ. Biog.* "Moses (1)").

2) Moses of Scete, who had known St Anthony, and who gave the first of Cassian's Collations (*Prolog.* 222).

3) Moses who lived in the desert of Calamus (or Porphyriion, see p. 60), who had committed a murder in his youth (*Cassian, Coll.* iii 5, 26).

¹ As a matter of fact, at p. 146 1 T has *ἀθανασίας* for *θαυμασίας*.

(4) Moses the Robber, who dwelt in Scete, whose life Palladius here relates, and to whom belong the Apophthegmata given under the name of Moses. Apophth. no. 10 says he was murdered by barbarians (Mazices).

(5) Moses the Libyan (*Hist. Laus.* c. 39).

(5) may be possibly identical with one of the others. Tillemont is disposed to identify (2), (3) and (4); but I think the balance of evidence is in favour of distinguishing them. It is, perhaps, curious that Palladius does not mention the fact that Moses the Robber was murdered; but of his identity with the Moses of the Apophthegmata there can be no doubt, for there are clear likenesses between the two pictures. He is one of the most striking and spiritual figures of the Desert.

34. p. 59, 19-21. I am unable to illustrate or explain this curious piece of demonology. I retain it in the text because s_2 supports Bl, and because PTA^a and l_2 all differ in the manner in which they eliminate it.

35. p. 62, 16. For the readings of W^o in c. 20, see p. 177.

The mountain of Pherme is mentioned also in the Apophthegmata, always in connection with an abbot Theodore (Arsenius no. 31, Theodore *passim*); our only information as to its locality is that given by Palladius in the present passage. It was one of the mountains (to the north) of the Wady Natron, but Amélineau declares that it is impossible to identify it (*Géographie* 385).

Accounts of the Rosary commonly begin with this chapter of Palladius, as the earliest Christian precedent; Soz., who is cited as a second authority, only repeats Palladius. One of the articles found in the tomb of Thais at Antinoë and described by M. Gayet (see Note 69), is considered by him to be an instrument for counting prayers: it seems to be somewhat on the principle of a rudimentary cribbage board.

36. p. 63, 9. The celebration of the Sabbath as well as the Lord's Day, the Saturday as well as the Sunday, common throughout Egypt and the East, is well illustrated by the *Hist. Laus.* These were the only days on which the Nitrian monks assembled in the church (p. 26, 8; cf. *Hist. Mon.* c. 23), and the Tabennesiot monks approached the Mysteries (p. 89, 12); on these days only did John of Lycopolis receive visitors (p. 102, 3), and Paesius prepare his tables for the poor and the sick (p. 38, 9), and the virgin in the text relax her fast: a similar practice in Palestine is mentioned at p. 142, 18.

Sometimes the Sunday alone is mentioned, as p. 52, 26; p. 97, 2; p. 153, 20: the last two instances give rise to the question whether Egyptian nuns, in contradistinction to monks, went to church for Communion on the Sunday only. At p. 42, 12 is a reference to a Saturday Eucharist.

Other instances of the coupling together of the Saturday and Sunday as days of equal solemnity by the Egyptian monks occur in *Vita Pach.* § 20, and *Asceticon* (or *Paralipomena*) § 16; *Hist. Mon.* c. 23; *Cassian Inst.* II 6, III 2, 12, v 26, *Coll.* II 21, III 1; *Coptic Vita Evagrii*, see *Prolog.* 144; *Apophtheg-*

mata, Poemen no. 30, Sisoe no. 2; Schenoudi documents, see Leipoldt (Texte u. Untersuchungen, N. F. x i p. 132); *Vita Onuphrii* § 11; Coptic fragm. on Pæul of Tammah (Amélineau, *Mémoires* 760). It is found also in the Coptic so-called "Egyptian Church Order," § 75 (Tattam, p. 138), to which corresponds *Apost. Const.* VIII 32 (al. 33) (= *Const. per Hippol.* § 21): Ἐργαζέσθωσαν οἱ δούλοι πέντε ἡμέρας, σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυριακὴν σχολάζετωσαν [ἐν] τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σάββατον εἶπομεν δημιουργίας λόγον ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν ἀναστάσεως (ed. Lagarde; see also II 59, VII 36, and Test. Dni c. 22). Another Egyptian authority is worth citing, Timotheus, bishop of Alexandria (381-5), who in his *Responsa Canonica* says: Ἐξ ἀνάγκης δὲ τὸ σάββατον καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἀπέχεσθαι [τῆς κοινωνίας σαρκικῆς] δεῖ διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν ἀναφέρεισθαι τῷ κυρίῳ (*P. G.* xxxiii 1305). Non-Egyptian testimonies are referred to by Funk, *Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen* 93, and in art. "Sabbath" in *Dict. Christ. Antiq.* The statement of the latter writer, that the reverence paid to the Sabbath was "markedly second to the higher sacredness of the Lord's Day," is not borne out by the Egyptian documents, which seem to indicate a practical coordination of the Saturday and Sunday.

37. p. 63, 21, 26. The "Mountain of Anthony" at Pispir by the Nile (see Map) is the "Outer Mountain" of the *Vita Antonii*, the place of his first retirement during twenty years, in contradistinction to the "Inner Mountain" near the shore of the Red Sea, where is the Der Mar Antonios (*Vita Ant.* §§ 12, 49, 50, 91; cf. Sulpitius *Dial.* I 17); and so Rufinus says he visited "Pispiri qui appellabatur mons Antonii" (*Hist. Ecl.* II 8). Amélineau (*Géographie* 353) identifies Pispir with Der-el-Memun, half way between Atfih and Beni Suef, described in the map to Evetts' Abu Salih as "Coptic convent of St Anthony, whence provisions are sent to convent of same name on Red Sea." That Anthony used at times to be at Pispir during the later years of his life is confirmed by *Vita Ant.* § 89 and *Vita Pach.* § 77. Grütznacher (Herzog-Hauck, XIII 218) places Pispir 30 miles from the Nile, apparently not distinguishing the two Mountains of Anthony.

In *Prol.* 199-202 I followed Amélineau in identifying "the high mountain overhanging the Nile," described in *Hist. Mon.* c. 17, with Gebel-el-Ter; but Dr Carl Schmidt (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1899, p. 16) shows convincingly that it must be identified with Pispir. Therefore, in the Table on p. 201, in each of the three columns, Pispir should be substituted for Gebel-el-Ter; and in addition, in col. I it should be moved to between Heracleopolis and Arsenoitis, its position in the Greek itinerary (col. 2) being correct. This rectification involves changes on pp. 199-202 of *Prol.*, but at the same time materially strengthens the line of argument there developed in favour of the Greek being the original of *Hist. Mon.*

In his desire to get rid of Palladius' evidence that the two disciples who buried St Anthony were named Macarius and Amatas, Abbé Nau, in his article in the *Journal Asiatique* (1900), already referred to in Note 26 (3), strives to throw discredit on this whole story of Eulogius and the Cripple;

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or sixty years before Palladius came to Egypt;—and it is also str
St Anthony did not have at his monastery some official interpreter
suggests that Palladius derived the name Cronius from the *Hist. M*
and Amatas and Macarius from the Greek of the *Vita Pauli*. In App
it will be seen how slender are the reasons for supposing that Pallad
either work. Palladius mentions Cronius also in c. 7, as one of the
he has seen in Nitria, and (probably) in c. 47 (see Note 89); mor
Dial. de Vita Chrys. 161 there is a mention of Cronius, and in the s
text with Hierax, as here in c. 22 (p. 69, 17): in all these cases, a
present one (and in *Hist. Mon.* c. 26,—(Cronius, Cronion, Cronides—)
is said to have been a disciple of Anthony. There is no ground wha
doubting that Palladius had personally known Cronius.

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38. p. 67, 20 (apparatus). The word for *πεπηρωμένη* in s is
This would mean lit. "over-boiled," "insipid"; and so "washed out,
good rendering of *πεπηρωμένος*, "incapacitated." Under ~~Καμ~~ Payi
quotes from Bar Bahlul the statement that in the "Pardaisa" the
used in the sense "wholly incapacitated, not even able to walk"
extract ~~Καμ~~ is probably a mistake for ~~Καμ~~, and Bar Bahl
refers to this passage. (This Note I owe to Mr McLean.)

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39. p. 68, 15. Whatever reading be adopted, the arithmetic
passage is at fault. Although PWTA^B have *τριακοστά*, I have
τεσσαρακοστά for the following reasons: (1) textual, for Bl in read
σαρακοστά have the support of s (see *Introd.* p. lxxxvii), as well as of
(2) historical, for the Greek practice, ancient and modern, seems to h
to commemorate the Departed on the fortieth day, the western (and c
on the thirtieth (see Meursius' *Glossarium*, sub voc. *τριτηνάραι*, a
Christ. Antiq., art. "Obsequies XXIX"). St Ambrose indeed prea
sermon *de Obitu Theodosii* on the fortieth day; but he explains th
tertium diem et trigesimum, alii septimum et quadragesimum o
consueverunt" (*init.*). *Apost. Const.* VIII 42, and Eustratius of Cc
nople (c. 550) name the *τρίτα, ἑνναρα* and *τεσσαρακοστά* (Eustratiu
ἀναρπερικός § 28, ed. Leo Allatius, *De utriusque Ecclesiae...de Purg. Cons*
The only apparent Greek authority I have found for the thirtieth d
marginal reading in Cotelier's ed. of *Apost. Const.*, VIII 42; but in
he explains it is not derived from any MS. Lagarde's i both

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40. p. 69, 17. Another account, similar but independent, of Paul the Simple is given in *Hist. Mon.* c. 31 (the Latin of this chapter being fuller than the Greek); anecdotes about him are preserved in the Apophthegmata and in the Life of Thais: these materials are brought together by Tillemout (vii 144). The monastery of St Paul (see Map), a day's journey from St Anthony's monastery by the Red Sea, was not the abode of Paul the Simple, "the disciple of Anthony," as is often stated, e.g. by Mr A. J. Butler in Evetts' Abu Salih (p. 162), but of Paul the Hermit (Sulpitius, *Dial.* i 17). Whatever view be taken of the personality of Paul the Hermit—and Grütz-macher (*Hieronymus* 161) on this point seems to be in substantial accord with Zöckler and the present writer (*Prol.* 231)—he must not be confounded with Paul the Simple. The *Dict. Christ. Biog.* ("Paulus:—Monks") carefully distinguishes the dozen Pauls that occur in this literature.

The Hierax here named as one of Palladius' informants is probably to be identified with the Hierax mentioned in the *Dial. de Vita Chrys.* (160) as having lived in Porphyrites, the same district as Anthony and Paul by the Red Sea, and afterwards in Nitria.

41. p. 78, 13. This passage must be read in the light of the eschatological controversies rife at the end of the fourth century, when a view was common which may perhaps be briefly expressed in modern terminology as follows: Purgatory for Christians; hell for all others. (See Abbé Turmel's *Eschatologie à la fin du 1^{er} Siècle*, reprinted from the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, 1900; also his *Histoire de la Théologie Positive* 190—2.)

42. p. 80, 14. The proverb τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ἐναντίοις (al. τῶν ἐναντίων) ἰάματα (al. ἰώνται) goes back to Hippocrates: 'Ἐνὶ δὲ συντόμῳ λόγῳ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἑστὶν ἰήματα (π. Φύσεων, *init.*).

It is quoted also by St Jerome: Et iuxta Hippocratem, contrariorum contraria esse remedia (*Ep.* 121, ad Algsiam, Pref.); by Cassian: Contrariis sanare contraria procuravit (*Inst.* xii 8); by St Gregory M.: Contraria opposuit medicamenta peccatis (*Hom.* 32 in *Evang.*); and by Ps.-Bernard: Ut contrarium contrario curaret (*P.L.* CLXXXIV 1020).

It will be convenient to bring together in this Note all the proverbs employed by Palladius.

p. 82, 6. Ἦλαφ τὸν ἦλον ἐξέκρουσε. This proverb is quoted by Aristotle (*Pol.* v 11. 3), Lucian (*Laps.* 7), Synesius (186 A). (See Liddell and Scott, sub voc. ἦλος and πάσσαλος.)

Here the proverb is introduced by the words: τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, and the same formula occurs in two other places in *Hist. Latins.*; p. 23, 7 (where it probably should follow *θελήσας*, with PW, and so qualify *φλεβοτομήσαι*); and p. 98, 5 (where it qualifies *σπύγγος*): I have not found any other instances of Palladius' proverbial or metaphorical use of *φλεβοτομήσαι* (but compare our slang expression "to bleed,") or of *σπύγγος* meaning a butt for practical jokes.

p. 81, 11. The expression: φίλη δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια sounds like a proverb; and it recurs in the B enlargements in c. 40 (see *Introd.* p. xxix). It suggests the

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γὰρ ὄντων φίλων ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. This reference]
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43. p. 81, 1. It is doubtful whether the Heron of whom
(*Coll.* II 5) relates a somewhat similar fall, is identical with the]
Palladius. Variant forms of a single story are common in this lit
but in regard to Heron both Palladius and Cassian claim to sp
personal knowledge.

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44. p. 82, 21. Amélineau (*Géographie* 451) says it is impo
identify the place in Scete here called Climax; there are various
mountains that from their natural configuration might be named I
Steps.

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45. p. 83, 4-9. It is necessary to treat at some length the te
passage describing Ptolemy's fall. I first give the text of W for e
with the variants of PTA and VC :

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ἐπὶ τοσούτων ἐξέστη τῆς εὐθείας ὡς λέγειν μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ πράγμα
ἢ φέρεσθαι μετέωρον ἄχρι τῆς δεύρου ἀλώμενον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἔκδοσι
δεδωκότα γαστριμαργίᾳ καὶ οἰνοφλυγίᾳ, μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀμιλῶν.

WPTAVC : ἀλλ' ἢ φέρεσθαι] WPA ; ἀλλ' εἰσφέρεσθαι VC ; ὥστε
αὐτὸν T μετέωρος P ἄχρι] μέχρι TA ἀλώμενος P ἐκ
ὀμιλοῦντα VC

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There can be no doubt that in this piece W reproduces the arcl
the six mss., with the exception probably of the ὀμιλοῦντα of VC.]
the original text, the words ὡς λέγειν μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ πράγματα must r
to deny the reality of things;" but the meaning of the passage is
gether satisfactory. We turn for help to the other authorities.
find: "He so far departed from the right path as to say that t]
nothing, that is to say the holy mysteries," etc.

Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 12173, f. 134.

ⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ : ⲕⲓⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲕ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲓ ⲓⲛⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲉ

ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐμάνη ἐκτραπέις τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ ὡς τὸν παρά τισι τῶν ἀσεβῶν λεγόμενον αὐτοματισμὸν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἄθλιον ὁμολογεῖν, τοῦ τῆς πλάνης δαίμονος αὐτὸν στρατηγούντος λοιπόν. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ δυσμενῆς τὸ καινὸν τοῦτο ὑπέθετο λέγειν, μηδεμίαν οὐσίαν ἔχειν τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς εἶναι τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον αὐτομάτως φέρεσθαι. ὑπέβαλεν οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ πολέμιος τῆς πάντων ζωῆς... λέγων· Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων τί μάτην οὕτως σαυτὸν καταδαμάξεις;.....(5 lines of Migne).....τούτοις τοῖς σατανικοῖς λόγοις κατακλασθεῖς ὁ πανάθλιος Πτολεμαῖος λέγεται φέρεσθαι μετέωρος ἐξεστηκῶς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν φρενῶν μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἀλώμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἔκδοτον ἑαυτὸν δεδωκῶς γαστριμαργίᾳ καὶ οἰνοφλυγίᾳ, μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὁμιλῶν.

The materials now before us make probable the following reconstruction of the β1 text :

ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξέστη τῆς εὐθείας (ὁδοῦ) ὡς λέγειν μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ πράγματα ἀλλ' ἢ (or ἀλλά) φέρεσθαι τὰ πάντα αὐτομάτως· ὅς γε λέγεται φέρεσθαι μετέωρος μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἀλώμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, κ.τ.λ.

This reconstruction of β1 is confirmed by s₂ :

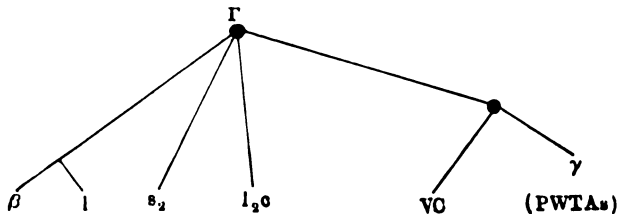
Vat. Syr. 123, f. 293.

ἰσικία κιακ κωϊακ ρη ραβ ριθικ ρη κρωσ φρησ
 κρωσ ραβ ραβ κκ . ρικ ρρη αλ κθωσ ρωσ
 ρικκω ριγρη γιρη ρη ριγρη ραβ ρικ κιασω . ἰσικησ
 . ρρη ρικ ρα κρωσ ραβ ρη κ . κωϊακ κθωσ ραβ

And on this account his heart was so lifted up from the right path that he said that these things are nothing, but that everything comes about by chance. And so he betook himself into Egypt wandering in Egypt, and he gave himself up to the lust of the body, and he did not speak anything with anyone.

Thus the question arises whether the text of PWTAVC may not have arisen from that of B1s₂ owing to the words φέρεσθαι τὰ πάντα αὐτομάτως ὅς λέγεται having fallen out in an archetype through homoeoteleuton, due to the double occurrence of φέρεσθαι.

An affirmative answer would depreciate the value of γ (the archetype of PWTAs), for it would involve the admission that γ and the archetype of VC were the offspring of a single ancestor vitiated at this place : such an admission would call for a readjustment of the position of VC in the Pedigree (p. lxvii), as follows :



This evidently would enhance the value of the βl readings, and would necessitate the adoption of those of VCβl. As a matter of fact, I began the work of textual construction on the basis of this passage; but before I had proceeded far, the difficulties indicated on p. lxxxiv brought home to me the impracticability of working along these lines: moreover, it seemed unreasonable to base the method of editing on a conjecture which at most is but plausible. I have set out the evidence in full as a sample of the difficulties which I have had to encounter, and to show that the various possibilities have been duly considered.

Another matter in connection with this passage should be mentioned: in s, after the words cited above, the text continues: "and through this to become mad and to leave his wits to such an extent that he betook himself into Egypt" (cf. Bedjan, 99); this resembles the B text: *λέγεται φέρεσθαι μετώρος ἐξεστηκώς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν φρενῶν, μέχρι τοῦτο ἀλώμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ*. The Syriac, however, may well be regarded as an attempt to translate *μετώρος* and *ἀλώμενος*.

46. p. 84, 7. We cannot be certain whether the Athribè here mentioned was Athribis in the Delta, or Atripè, also called Athribis, near Panopolis (see Map). But in all probability it was the latter. Atripè was on the W. bank of the Nile nearly opposite to Panopolis (Akhmim), at 26°30' N. latitude. Here was Schenoudi's great White Monastery, the ruins of which are still standing. Schenoudi established also a convent of nuns at Atripè, and the story in the text may possibly refer to this convent. It is very striking that Palladius should have spoken of his visit to the Tabennesiot monastery at Panopolis (c. 32), barely ten miles distant across the Nile, and should have so minutely described the life there, and yet have made no reference anywhere to Schenoudi, at that time the dominant personage in Egyptian monachism; indeed, although a leading churchman of the time, Schenoudi is never named by any Greek or Latin writer. On Schenoudi and the criticism of the documents that relate to him, see Dr Leipoldt's admirable study *Schenute von Atriipe* (Texte u. Untersuchungen, N. F. x 1 (1903)); also Abbé Ladeuze's *Cénobitisme Pakhomien* (Louvain), and *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, "Senuti."

47. p. 87, 18. The authorities for the text in the Pachomian section (cc. 32, 33, 34) call for separate treatment. These chapters never were in W; but in addition to P and T we have the following Greek G texts: O, 33 and 47, and 34. What has been said in *Introd.* (pp. lxxiii, lxxiv) on these four mss. need not be repeated: they are all contaminated by B. In this section 47 preserves the same text as 33 (see p. xxii), so that they are cited as 33-47; the readings of 33-47 are recorded in full in c. 32, only occasionally in cc. 33, 34. Full collations of O are given, only a few readings of 34.

Sozomen's citations from c. 32 are fuller than from any other part of the *Hist. Laus.*

We have in addition three versions not extant for the rest of the book:

eth. (See *Prol.* 155-8): cc. 32 and half 33: a fairly close translation of a good G text, without intermixture of B--unless, perhaps, at p. 96, 4? Of the three translations mentioned in *Prol.* 156, König's German is the best; on one or two points I have had recourse to Mr Norman McLean.

s^{an}. A Syriac version of cc. 32, 33, 34 is in Anan-Isho's *Paradise* (Bedjan pp. 112-120). I have not found this piece in any independent ms., so that it is impossible to say whether it belongs to s, or to s₂, or to either of them: but as another Syriac version of c. 34 stands in the s ms. *Addit.* 17177, it is to be presumed that the Pachomian section in the *Paradise* is not from s. I prefer, however, to designate it s^{an} rather than assume that it is s₂. The text is somewhat abridged and paraphrased, but it is derived from a good G text, and shows no trace of admixture of B; so that when available it is a valuable witness to the text.

ar. (See *Introd.* p. lxxxi).

P departs widely from all the other authorities in the disposition of the subject-matter in c. 32. To suppose that P here preserves an earlier text than that of Soz. and the rest of the authorities, would run counter to the whole tenor of the evidence developed in *Introd.*

48. p. 87, 18. *Ταβέννης* is the name of St Pachomius' first monastery both in *Vita Pachomii* and in *Hist. Laus.*: the variants *Ταβέννης* and *Ταβέννησος* occur. The latter was Sozomen's spelling, but in some mss. the word was written *Ταβέννη νῆσος*, and this gave rise to the misconception (which, though pointed out by Valois, the Bollandists and Tillemont, has survived till this present time), that the monastery was on an island in the Nile, commonly identified with Elephantinè at the First Cataract. The Coptic name is Tabennisi; it was in the diocese of Tentyra, the modern Denderah, as appears plainly from the *Vita*, and was close to Pabau, the modern Faou, on the E. bank of the Nile at 26° 10' N. lat. Hence the Pachomian monks and their whole monastic organisation received the designation Tabennesiot. The notion that St Pachomius' first monastery was near Syene at the First Cataract is probably due to Palladius' words in the Prologue (p. 10, 5): *καὶ Σὺνήνῃ ὅφ' ἦν καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Ταβεννησιῶται*. The Tabennesiot was the type of monachism that prevailed in the south; St Pachomius himself founded a monastery as far south as Latopolis (Esneh); and it is quite likely that by Palladius' time the institute had penetrated to Syene (Aswan).

In the *Archaeological Report* of the "Egypt Exploration Fund," 1901-2, (p. 53) Mr W. E. Crum notifies that Prof. Spiegelberg has of set purpose restated the view that Tabennè was the correct name and that it was on an island there are some islands in the neighbourhood of Denderah. The Pachomian documents give no indication whatever that the first monastery was on an island, and the extreme facility of communication between it and Pabau (Faou)—it can hardly have been an hour's journey—tells against the notion (Amélineau, *Géographie*, 470). However, the important point is that it was near Denderah, and not nearly so far south as the First Cataract.

Père Jullien (*Études*, 1901, Oct. 20, p. 248) would identify Tabennisi with the village of Dechna, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Faou.

49. p. 88, 1. The best authority by far on St Pachomius and his monasteries is at the present day Abbé Ladeuze's *Étude sur le Cénobitisme Pachomien* (Louvain, 1898): four articles by Dr Schiwietz in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht* (1901, iii; 1902, iii, iv; 1903, i) give a full account of Pachomian monachism, and offer some criticisms on Ladeuze: Dr Grützmacher's *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben* (Freiburg i. B., 1896) contains valuable matter, but it is vitiated from beginning to end by Amélineau's now discredited theory that the Arabic translation preserves the most authentic form of the Life of Pachomius: Tillemont's account of Pachomian monachism (VII 167-235), though based only on the Greek and Latin documents, has by no means lost its value. In the first 100 pp. of his book Ladeuze demonstrates beyond cavil the validity of the position quite independently arrived at in *Prol.* 164-71, viz. that the Greek *Vita* is the source of the others, and the Arabic the worst of all¹. I do not think, however, that he has made good the thesis that the Greek *Asceticon* (or *Paralipomena*) is derived from a Sahidic Life. Leipoldt (*Schenute von Atripe*, 36) agrees with Ladeuze (*op. cit.* 222 sqq.) in placing Pachomius' death in 346, instead of 345, the date given by the majority of recent writers. Ladeuze shows good reason for the view that Pachomius became a monk about 314 (233 sqq.), so that the beginning of Tabennisi must fall somewhere about 315-320: the date 305, given *Prol.* 219 and 232, was based on a statement in the Arabic Life; Ladeuze shows that it cannot be trusted. He places Pachomius' birth in 292.

50. p. 88, 10. In regard to the problems raised by the various forms of the Rule of Pachomius, Abbé Ladeuze has arrived at much the same conclusions as those indicated in *Prol.* 156-7: I cannot, however, agree with his and Schiwietz' depreciatory estimate of Palladius' account of the Rule and of the Pachomian institute in general (256 sqq.); but a discussion of the question would require more lengthy treatment than is here possible; I hope to be able to deal with the matter elsewhere.

I have not been able to find the source of Sozomen's statement that the brazen tablet, whereon the Rule was written, was preserved to his day; everything else in his account is derived from Palladius, except a mystical interpretation of the monks' clothes: he manifests no acquaintance with the *Vita*.

51. p. 90, 3--p. 91, 6. The earliest reference to the "Mystical Alphabet" of St Pachomius is in the Greek *Vita* (§ 63): *Καὶ ἔτι δὲ ζῶν ὁ πατήρ ἕταγορεύσει ἰδίᾳ ἐποίησε γραφήναι οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ κοινοβίου λόγους καὶ θεσμούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιστολάς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τῶν μοναστηρίων, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ὀνόματα γραμμάτων οἷον ἀπὸ Α ἕως Ω σημαίνων τινὰ ἐν γλώσσῃ κρυπτῇ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκείνοις νοοῦσιν, ἕνεκεν κυβερνήσεως ψυχῶν, ὅτε οὐ σχολῆ*

¹ The various documents referred to in this and the succeeding notes dealing with St Pachomius are described in *Prol.* § 18.

εἶχε πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγενέσθαι· καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀντέγραφον αὐτῷ πνευματικοὶ ὄντες. (This piece is not in the Coptic Lives.)

The next reference is by St Jerome (c. 404), in the *Pref.* to his translation of St Pachomius' Rule: Aiunt autem Thebaei quod Pachomio, Cornelioque et Syro.....angelus linguae mysticae scientiam dederit, ut scriberent sibi et loquerentur per Alphabetum speciale, signis quibusdam et symbolis absconditos sensus inuoluens (*P. L.* xxiii 68); and he says he translated some of these Epistles. There can be little doubt that the following extract is from one of the "Mystical Epistles" translated by Jerome, and referred to by Genadius (*Vir. Inl.* c. 7): Habetote Ω, ut possitis occurrere deo in die uisitacionis, liberati ab increpatione Marthae. para domum tuam secundum terminos eius. obserua Theta ne reus sis increpacionis eius cui dictum est: Redde rationem dispensacionis tuae, etc. (*P. L.* xxiii 93). That these "Mystical Epistles" (or some of them) existed in Coptic c. 400 is proved by the fact that Schenoudi cites a sentence from no. 1 (Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe*, 86).

Palladius' account of the mystic alphabet possesses the advantage of being intelligible,—compare p. 95, 12, 13,—and I am not satisfied that it is incompatible with the statement of the *Vita*. In any case, it is compatible with the following passage from the *Doctrina S. Orsiesii* (§ 7): Quapropter, o duces et praepositi monasteriorum ac domorum, quibus crediti sunt homines, et apud quos inueniuntur T, (sive I,) sive E, sive A, ut in commune dicam, quibus crediti sunt homines, singuli cum turmis suis expectent saluatoris aduentum (*P. L.* ciii 455).

I see that this is the opinion also of M. Hebbelynck: "Le symbolisme attaché aux caractères de l'alphabet parait avoir eu surtout pour objet de désigner les catégories des moines, leur condition morale etc." (*Muséon*, 1900: "Les Mystères des Lettres grecques," translated from Coptic).

Concerning the difficulty discussed in *ProL.* 157, note, see "Addenda and Emendanda in Part I," (Appendix VIII).

52. p. 91, 11 p. 92, 3. Compare the Greek *Regula Pachomii*: Μηδεὶς περιβλέψεται τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐσθιοντας (§ 8, ed. Boll.). The Tabennesiot discipline in the refectory seems to have exercised a curious fascination on visitors; thus concerning the Pachomian monastery near Hermopolis we read in *Hist. Mon.*, c. 3: μεγάλην ἔχοντας πολιτείαν καὶ μηλοτάς φοροῦντας καὶ κεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ ἐσθιοντας καὶ κάτω νεύοντας, μή τις τὸν ἄλλον θεάσῃται ματώμενον: similarly Cassian, *Inst.* iv 17.

53. p. 92, 3 7. This is the only passage in *Hist. Litus.* of liturgical interest. Concerning the text there can be no doubt, the evidence of Sozomen being decisive; and even P (and 34) differ only in a point of order and not at all in substance. There is a conflict between Palladius and Cassian. Cassian is most explicit and positive that "per uniuersum Aegyptum et Thebaidem" the monks assembled for public prayer only twice in the twenty-four hours, viz. for Evensong and for the Night vigils; on each occasion twelve psalms were recited, each followed by a short private prayer, and two lessons were

read from H. Scripture. Beyond this there were, he says, no set prayers, the public offices of Prime, Terce, Sext and None, in use in Syria, being unknown in Egypt (*Inst.* Bks. II, III). Cassian's statements are perhaps borne out by St Anthony's instructions to his monks: *εὔχεσθαι συνεχῶς ψάλλειν τε πρὸ ὕπνου καὶ μεθ' ὕπνον* (*Vita Ant.* § 55). Palladius' account of the practice of the Tabennesiot monasteries agrees with Cassian's statement in so far as he says that there were twelve prayers at nightfall and twelve during the night; but he adds that there were also twelve prayers "throughout the day," (or "every day,") and three at the ninth hour (about 2—3 p.m.) The various redactions of the *Regula* (Boll. § 4, Holsten §§ 5, 10) and the other Pachomian documents make several references to the night office, *ἡ νυκτερινὴ σίναξις*, and a passage in § 17 of the *Asceticon* implies that it was celebrated about midnight; and the Latin form of the *Regula*¹ (due to St Jerome) and the *Ep. Ammonis* (§ 14) refer to the Vesper office. The *Vita* (§ 39) speaks of *ἡ σίναξις πρωτῆ*, and the *Regula* also mentions a morning office (*Pitra* § 9, Holsten §§ 20, 25). The Latin *Regula* mentions also a "Collecta meridiana" (Holsten § 24; this section is not in Gazaueus); could we read here "pomeridiana," the *Regula* would tally with Palladius. An anecdote in *Asceticon* § 17 implies public prayer about the ninth hour.

The Latin *Regula* speaks quite distinctly of only "six prayers" at the public Vesper Collecta, and of six more said in the various houses before the monks separated for the night (may this perhaps be the origin of the office of Complin²). But the *Ep. Ammonis* (§ 14), as also the common Egyptian practice, show that Palladius' number of twelve prayers at Evensong represents the early Tabennesiot practice, that of the *Regula* being an innovation made between 350 and 400. On the psalm before and after meals, see Cassian, *Inst.* III 12.

In Schenoudi's monasteries, according to Leipoldt (*Schenute von Atripe*, 129), the public assemblies for common prayer were morning and evening only, there being no mention of a night office, though it was introduced later; Ladeuze (*op. cit.* 317) thinks, on the contrary, that the practice was substantially the same as the Pachomian.

To sum up: Palladius' central statement, that in the Tabennesiot monasteries there were four daily services, is supported by the scattered liturgical notices of both groups of Pachomian documents, viz. the Rules and the Lives. Cassian's statements, on the other hand, must be limited to Scete and Lower Egypt: although he speaks as if he had at one time thought of visiting Upper Egypt, the evidence is against the supposition that he ever carried out this intention.

54. p. 93, 7—p. 94, 6. Palladius is inaccurate in implying that Tabennisi was still the head monastery of the Tabennesiot order; after a time

¹ The liturgical notices in the *Regula* are brought together by Dom Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, 75—6.

² On the origins of Complin see Pargoire, *Prime et Complies*, *Rev. d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, 1898, 456.

St Pachomius transferred his residence to the monastery at Bau or Pabau (wrongly written Πρόου in some places in the *Vita*), two or three miles from Tabennisi, and made it the head house (*Vita* § 50).

The growth of the order is thus traced in the *Vita*, some of the additions being new foundations, others cases of affiliation of existing monasteries; on the names and localities, see Ladeuze, 172 sqq. and Père Jullien, *Études*, 1901, Oct. 20, p. 238 sqq.; (see Map): Tabennisi (§ 7); Pabau, Chenoboskion, Monchosia (or Temouschons) (§ 35); Thèbeu (§ 50);—these were all in the same district as Tabennisi:—Panopolis (Akhmim) (§ 51), and near to it Tasè and Tismènae (§ 52); lastly Pachnoum near Latopolis (Esneh), a long way to the south (§ 52). This gives the “nine monasteries” spoken of by Pachomius at the Synod of Latopolis (§ 72). Ammon says there were ten about 350 (*Ep.* § 13); but in another place (§ 17) he mentions that Theodore had founded one at Ptolemais (Psoi, to the south of Akhmim). The *Vita* makes no mention of this foundation, but it does mention two monasteries founded by Theodore near Hermopolis Magna (Eshmouèn) (§ 86; cf. *Hist. Mon.* c. 3), and one near Hermothis (§ 86), doubtless Hermonthis near Latopolis. Thus at Theodore’s death, 368, the order included thirteen monasteries of men, besides three of women (see Note 59). St Jerome speaks of a Tabennesiot monastery at Canopus, close to Alexandria, in which were the Latin monks for whom he translated the *Regula* (*Pref. in Reg.*); and Ladeuze (p. 202) cites from the Council of Chalcedon a reference to the *μοναστήριον τῶν Ταβεννησιωτῶν* in Canopus (Labbe iv 407). Basset says that the Pachomian institute spread most widely in Ethiopia (*Apocryphes Éthiopiens* viii p. 15).

In c. 7 (p. 26, 18) Palladius says that Pachomius had been archimandrite of 3000 monks; in c. 32 (p. 93, 8) he says that the Tabennesiots amounted to 7000: the first figure may well represent the number at Pachomius’ death,—Ammon says that four or five years later they were “more than 2000” (*Ep.* § 13), and upwards of a hundred had recently died of the plague along with Pachomius himself (*Vita* § 74),—while the second figure may represent the number when Palladius wrote: similarly Ammon says that c. 350 there were 600 monks at Pabau, the head house; Palladius says that in his day there were 1300 (so p. 94, 1; but 1400 at p. 52, 16¹). Thus the relative increase of the head house and of the whole order would be almost the same. If Cassian’s “more than 5000 monks” (*Inst.* iv 1) be taken strictly, as giving the number at the head monastery, it is a great exaggeration; but if it can be taken as meaning the number of the whole Tabennesiot observance, it is fairly in line with Palladius’ estimate. The *Hist. Mon.* (c. 3) says that Ammonas, abbot of one of the Tabennesiot monasteries near Hermopolis, was “father of 3000 monks”; far more reasonable is Palladius’ statement that, excepting the head house (Pabau), the number of monks in the other monasteries was 200 or 300—the latter was the number at Panopolis: but the writer of the *Hist. Mon.* is given to exaggerating his figures; that there

¹ PA¹ have 1400 also at p. 94, 1, against Soz. and all the other authorities; no doubt they have been conformed to the earlier statement.

were 10000 monks and 20000 nuns at Oxyrhynchus (c. 5) is incredible. Equally incredible is St Jerome's statement that c. 404 there were upwards of 50000 Tabennesiot monks (*Pref. in Reg. Pach.*).

Palladius' figures—viz. 3000 Tabennesiot monks (with 600 at Pabau) c. 350; and 7000, with 1300 or 1400 at Pabau, c. 410—may probably be taken as the best information we can get on the subject.

55. p. 94, 7. Three pieces are enclosed in square brackets: p. 94, 7-9; p. 94, 11-p. 95, 8; p. 95, 9. Their position is critically the same; they are attested by Bl, and omitted by the G authorities, including eth and s^{an}. It is true that they are in O; but this, I take it, is certainly due to the admixture of a B text often apparent in this part of O (see Note 57). More curious is their absence from some of the better B authorities (A^B, B⁴⁵⁻⁶). In the case of the second piece, the long one about the swine, the internal evidence is strongly in favour of its authenticity, and I do not anticipate that any question will be raised on the point; especially as the motive of its elimination is transparent—the notion that even sick and old monks should eat flesh meat in any shape, offended sixth century Greek ideas on monastic propriety. Yet it is on record that St Pachomius did give meat to one of his sick monks (*Vita* § 34). The third piece naturally fell out along with the second. Why the first piece should have been cut out is not apparent: it is the strongest single argument in support of the theory that Palladius may have made a revision of his book (see *Introd.* lv). Its presence in 33-47 must be attributed to intermixture with B.

56. p. 95, 5. On the Blemmyes see an article by Revillout, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1874, Series I, t. viii p. 361. They were a savage tribe who occupied a large territory on the Upper Nile, and were for some centuries formidable enemies of the Roman government in Egypt (Ladeuze, 246).

57. p. 96, 1-4. To justify the order adopted in the list of trades exercised in the Akhmim monastery, the authorities being at first sight hopelessly at variance, it is necessary to construct a Table in parallel columns:

Order adopted	s ^{an}	eth	Bl (O 33-47)	T	P
1 agriculture	1	1	1	1	1
2 garden	2	2	2	2	2
3 smithy	3	(om 3)	3	3	6
4 bakehouse	4	5	4	(om 4)	3
5 carpentry	5	4	5	(om 5)	(om 4)
6 fulling	6	(om 6) ¹	6	(om 6)	5
7 weaving <i>σπιρίδες</i>	7	7	8	8	(om 7)
8 tanyard	8	(om 8)	9 (om 33-47)	7	8
9 shoemaking	9	9	10	11	9
10 scriptorium	10	10	7	9	10
11 weaving <i>μαλάκια</i> (om 11)	11	11	11	10	11

¹ 'Carving' is substituted for 6.

(O and 33-47 have evidently been assimilated to Bl.)

It will be seen that I have relied chiefly on s^{an} and eth, which are both at bottom good G texts. My reason is as follows: assuming that the order adopted is the true one, there would be a strong temptation on the part of scribe either (a) to bring together the two basket-weavings, nos. 7 and 11; else (b) to join one or other of them. As a matter of fact, eth alone has withstood both these temptations. When allowance has been made for these manipulations (and for characteristic vagaries in eth), it is found that Bl, s^{an} and eth are in agreement, while P and T are divided from one another in their witness. I conceive that the reconstruction of the text is practically certain, seeing that G (represented by the two versions) and Bl are in agreement. This whole passage of Palladius contains the most detailed and the most graphic account we possess of the daily life in a Tabennesiot monastery; it may be supplemented by St Jerome's *Pref. in Reg. Pach.*

58. p. 96, 5. Palladius' statement that the Tabennesiot monks "learned by heart all the Scriptures" is of special interest. In the *Asceticon* (§§ 29, 35) the expression *ἐκστηθίζων τὰς γραφάς* is used of Tabennesiot monks: the Latin *Regula* (Holsten, 139, 140) says that no one was allowed to stay in the monastery who did not learn by heart at least the Psalter and the New Testament. The Tabennesiot documents certainly imply a Sahidic version of the whole Bible at the beginning of the fourth century, and their witness is accepted by Mr Forbes Robinson as the earliest evidence of a Coptic version (Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art 'Egyptian Versions').

59. p. 96, 6. There were three Tabennesiot nunneries :

- (1) one at Tabennisi, founded by St Pachomius' sister Mary (*Vita* § 22) :
- (2) one founded by Pachomius *εἰς τὸ Μηνέ* (*Vita* § 86) : Ladeuze (p. 177) shows that *τὸ Μήν* and *Τισμηναί* are forms of the same name; therefore, as *Τισμηναί* was one of the monasteries near Panopolis (see Note 54), it follows that there was also a convent of nuns in that neighbourhood :
- (3) one founded by Theodore at Buchre, a mile distant from Pabau (*Vita* § 86).

The nunnery spoken of by Palladius in cc. 33, 34 is almost certainly (2) : I therefore must correct the note, *Prolog.* 190,—like Grützmacher I did not know of the locality of this nunnery, but owe its identification to Ladeuze.

There were about 400 nuns in this nunnery; not far off was the convent under Schenoudi's guidance, and probably also the convent established at Athribè itself by Elias (see Note 46).

Schenoudi's government of the nuns was most drastic : a letter of his to the abbess is still extant wherein he directs her to inflict with her own hand blows with a rod, varying from 10 to 30 in number, on twelve of her nuns for specified offences—one had given the abbess a box on the ear (Leipoldt, 142). Leipoldt says there is evidence that one of Schenoudi's monks died from the castigation inflicted by the abbot. So far as I know, such excesses are not met with elsewhere in Egyptian monachism.

60. p. 98, 16. It is uncertain whether Piteroum here mentioned should be identified with Pityrion the disciple of Anthony, whom the writer of the *Hist. Mon.* visited at Pispir (c. 17; see Note 37), and of whom an Apophthegma is preserved.

Mount Porphyrites is situated on the shore of the Red Sea, at 27° N. latitude. It is mentioned again in *Hist. Laus.* (p. 107, 4), and in *Dial. de Vita Chrys.* (p. 160); Cassian speaks of the Porphyrian desert, also called Calamus, as being seven days' journey from human habitations (*Inst.* x 24; *Coll.* III 5, VII 26, XXIV 4). In all these cases it is described as the abode of hermits.

61. p. 100, 6. John of Lycopolis, otherwise St John of Egypt, was one of the most famous of all the Egyptian monks. Our information concerning him is derived mainly from this sketch by Palladius, from a similar sketch in the *Hist. Mon.* (c. 1), and from some anecdotes preserved by Cassian (*Inst.* iv 23-26; *Coll.* I 21, XXIV 26): all the materials are woven together by Tillemont (x 9); see also *Dict. Christ. Biog.* "Joannes (487)," and *Prol.* 186.

It is worthy of note that Palladius and the writer of *Hist. Mon.* agree in representing John as of a bright and mirthful disposition; compare *Hist. Mon.* p. 8, 5 (ed. Preuschen): ὡς δὲ ἠσπάσατο ἡμᾶς φαιδρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐκάστῳ προσιλαρευόμενος, and p. 9, 15: ὁ δὲ ἄτε γνήσια τέκνα ὑποδεξάμενος, μειδιᾷντι προσώπῳ πρὸς ἡμᾶς (ἔλεγεν), with *Hist. Laus.* p. 103, 13 and p. 104, 8, 15; compare also *Hist. Mon.* p. 6, 3: ἠλόγει μόνον διὰ θυρίδος, with *Hist. Laus.* p. 102, 6; and *Hist. Mon.* p. 5, 18: ὁ δὲ μὴ ἑωρακὼς γυναῖκα τεσσαρακοστὸν ἦδη ἔτος ἔχων ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, with *Hist. Laus.* p. 105, 16; see also *Prol.* 183, note. The resemblance between the two pictures of John is very striking, and is a confirmation of the view that the writer of *Hist. Mon.*, no less than Palladius, had visited John, and so affords an additional argument against the theory that Rufinus' Latin is the original of *Hist. Mon.*, for Rufinus never was at Lycopolis (*Prol.* 198-200).

Lycopolis is the modern Asyut or Siout. Père Jullien believes that he found John's cell at Der Rifeh, an old monastery on a mountain about five miles from Asyut, as the *Hist. Mon.* states, and agreeing in other respects with Palladius' description (*Études*, 1901, Juil. 20, p. 205).

The first apophthegma under the name of John Colobos, or Curtus, tells as of him a story which Cassian tells of John of Lycopolis; there must be a mistake in the attribution on the part either of the apophth. or of Cassian, for John Colobos passed his life in Scete and was not an enclosed anchorite, so that it is impossible to identify him with John of Lycopolis: Père Jullien (*loc. cit.*) is mistaken in saying that the Bollandists made the identification. On John Colobos see Tillemont, x 427, and a Coptic Life written about A.D. 700, printed by Amélineau (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, xxv 316); on the various other Egyptian monks who bore the name John, see Tillemont, x 438-448.

62. p. 100, 16. Palladius' statement that Theodosius consulted John as to the issue of his military expeditions, is borne out by similar statements

of Cassian (*Inst.* iv 23; *Coll.* xxiv 26), *Hist. Mon.* (c. 1, cited *Prolog.* 25–29), Augustine (*de Civ. Dei* v 26; *de Cura ger. pro Mortuis* c. 17), Claudian (*Eutrop.* i 312), Rufinus (*Hist. Eccl.* ii 19, 32), Sozomen (vii 22), Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* v 24), Prosper (*Chron. an.* 394): it is accepted as an historical fact by Gibbon (c. xxvii).

63. p. 102, 8, 18. The mention of an interpreter raises the question whether Palladius knew Coptic at all—it seems clear that Greek was freely spoken in Nitria,—or whether the need was due merely to the differences between the dialects spoken in Upper and Lower Egypt, just as an interpreter might be necessary between men speaking Irish and Scotch Gaelic respectively. The latter hypothesis seems the more likely, but I know of no positive evidence on either side.

64. p. 105, 3. John of Lycopolis is represented by the *Hist. Mon.* (c. 1 fin.) as having died towards the end of 394 or early in 395. On the date of Palladius' visit to him see *Prolog.* 181–2.

65. p. 106, 7. Νικίον πόλις, or Nicium, a town in the Delta, on the Canopic or Rosetta branch of the Nile, about midway between Memphis and Alexandria (the modern Menuf).

Amélineau has published a Coptic fragment of an apparently different account of Poemenia's visit to John (*Mémoires* iv ii 664).

66. p. 107, 1. M. Pargoire in his art. "Prime et Complies" (*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, 1898, p. 283) discusses the situation of Posidonius' monastery, and concludes that the Ποιμένιον of Palladius (μοναστήριον τὸ λεγόμενον Ποίμωνιον of Epiphanius Hierosol., *Enarratio Syriac.*, P.G. cxx 264) may be identified with the Tur Ader, just outside Bethlehem: he considers that this probably was Cassian's monastery.

67. p. 108, 6–18. Though omitted in PW (A) the authenticity of this passage is incontestable, as it stands in Ts, VC, and Bl. St Jerome on his side was no less vehement in his language concerning Palladius: Palladius seruilis nequitiae eundem haeresim instaurare conatus est, et nouam translationis Hebraicae mihi calumniam struere. num et illius ingenio nobilitatique inuidimus? (*Prologus in Dial. adv. Pelagianos.*) The cause of the enmity between Palladius and St Jerome has been sufficiently explained in *Prolog.* § 14.

68. p. 109, 3. The name Sarapion or Serapion was common in Egypt and occurs frequently in the literature of the fourth and fifth centuries. Both spellings are found; Sarapion appears the dominant form in the Greek authorities, Serapion in the Latin; the Indexes to the volumes of Greek Papyri published by the "Egypt Exploration Fund" demonstrate that Sarapis, Sarapion, is the correct spelling, and it is found (though not consistently) in PW and T (see p. 25, 12, and p. 134, 12).

Various Sarapions occur in Egyptian monastic literature:—

- (1) Sarapion Sindonita, the hero of the present chapter.

(2) Sarapion or Sarapamon, disciple of St Anthony and author of the Coptic Life of Macarius of Egypt (*Prolog.* 220).

(3) Sarapion, surnamed the Great, a Nitrian monk (see cc. 7 and 46); it is doubtless his name which stands along with those of Paphnutius and the Macarii in the title of the Latin *Regulae Patrum* in the "Codex Regularum."

(4) Sarapion of Scete, who gave the fifth of Cassian's Collations.

(3) and (4) may be the same.

(5) Sarapion of Arsinoitis (*Hist. Mon.* c. 20).

(6) Sarapion the Anthropomorphite (*Cassian Coll.* x 3, see *Prolog.* 206) was probably different from all the above.

Two bishops of the name occur in connection with the monks:

(7) Sarapion, bishop of Thmoui, the friend of SS. Athanasius and Anthony, to whom belongs the recently discovered Sacramentary.

(8) Sarapion, bishop of Tentyra, who figures frequently in the Pachomian documents.

With the exception of (2), these are adequately dealt with in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, "Serapion" (8) to (14).

On Sarapion Sindonita see Tillemont x 60. There can be no doubt that the pretty "Story of the little Gospel" belongs to Sarapion Sindonita (see *Prolog.* 98); and Abbé Nau has shown that he, and not Paphnutius, is the hero of the story of Thais the Penitent (*Histoire de Thais, Annales du Musée Guimet*, xxx 51): this would make Sarapion a contemporary of St Anthony.

A long Syriac Life of Sarapion Sindonita has been printed by Bedjan (*Acta Mart. et SS.*, v 263-341): I had intended giving an analysis of it, but as Nau has done so (*op. cit.* 55), it will suffice to say that the Syriac Life incorporates, along with other materials, most of what is contained in c. 37 of *Hist. Laus.*, but in a much extended form. Moreover it relates as of Sarapion four anecdotes told of others by Palladius, viz. cc. 6 and 34, and two episodes of c. 18 (the visits to Tabennisi and to the Garden of Jannes and Jambres). In all these passages the text has been completely rewritten and altered, and throughout the narrative lengthy prayers, harangues and discussions have been introduced. Thus, in spite of its early date (one ms. was written in 569), there can be no doubt that it is an apocryphal compilation, which the author based on the *Hist. Laus.*, supplemented by materials drawn perhaps from other sources, but probably in great measure from his own fancy: this is Nau's view also. No trace of this Life has yet been found in any language except Syriac. The single point of interest it presents for the *Hist. Laus.* is dealt with in the following Note.

I had looked upon Palladius' account of Sarapion's life and travels as extravagant and impossible, until a little time ago I met a Hindu Renunciant, a well educated high caste Brahmin, who on a religious mission travelled from India to Europe clad in what may be described as pyjamas and a brown dressing gown, with shoes and skull cap, carrying no money nor anything

besides the clothes he wore and an umbrella: he arrived in London with no money, no luggage, no friends, no introductions; yet he managed to effect the purpose of his journey, and said he had no doubt he would get back to India somehow. What Palladius tells of Sarapion's adventures is hardly more wonderful than this.

69. p. 116, 5 (apparatus). A curious and interesting point arises in connection with the place of Sarapion's burial. The representatives of γ (PTA 33 s—W vac) and also VC state that he was buried in Rome—*ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ταφείς*: but in Bl we find *ἐρήμῳ* in place of *'Ρώμῃ*¹. Either reading might have arisen from the other by an easy transcriptional error: on the one hand the fact that the episode just recorded occurred in Rome would naturally lead to the supposition that Sarapion died and was buried there, and to a consequent substitution of *'Ρώμῃ* for *ἐρήμῳ*; on the other hand the force of *αὐτῇ* as applied to *ἐρήμῳ* is not apparent. In compliance with the practical conclusions arrived at in *Introd.* § 10, I have adopted the γ reading.

It is right, however, to point out that there is here some external authority in support of Bl. At the end of the Armenian version of this chapter are some additions, and among them is the statement that Sarapion died in Scete in the cell of his disciple Zacharias (*Prol.* 98): among the *Αἰρηθηγμᾶτα* are some attributed to a Zacharias in Scete, but there is nothing to connect him with Sarapion. The long Syriac Life of Sarapion, spoken of in Note 68, states that he returned from Rome to Egypt, betook himself to "the monastery of Pachomius," and died and was buried there². The statements of arm and the Syriac Life differ so much in detail that they are clearly independent of each other, and they are also independent of Palladius; thus, though singly they would be of little weight, together they afford some support to the reading of Bl—*ἐρήμῳ*.

The statements of the Syriac Life demand fresh consideration in the light of a discovery recently made by M. Gayet when excavating some tombs at Antinoë (see *Annales du Muséum Guimet*, xxx 35; also Crum in the *Archaeological Report*, 1900-1901, of the "Egypt Exploration Fund," p. 77). In a tomb constructed of cemented stones he found the skeleton apparently of a monk, to judge from the attire, wearing moreover a collar, belt, bracelets and anklets of iron; while on a potsherd in the tomb were inscribed the words:

ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ
ΚΟΡΝΩΣΘΑΛΟΥ

Some have read for $\alpha\lambda$ in the second line μ , which would give $\theta\mu\omicron\gamma$; but M. Gayet says he cannot so read it, and in any case it seems impossible to suppose that this can be the skeleton of Sarapion of Thmoui. But Abbé Nau,

¹ MSS. 12-13 and the sub-group 14-18 read: *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων κηδεύουσιν (καὶ ταφείς)*. 14-18 omitting *καὶ ταφείς*.

² The grave anachronism involved in the letter purporting to be from Theophilus the Patriarch (385) to Pachomius (†346) may safely be attributed to the redactor of the Syriac Life, and need not compromise the other statements.

in his *Histoire de Thais* (see Note 68), draws attention to the fact that the Syriac Life of Sarapion says that when the monks came to prepare his body for burial they found that he wore a girdle of iron which had caused numerous wounds on his flesh¹; and also that he was buried in a stone tomb.

Nor is this all: Nau shows, too, that it was Sarapion Sindonita who converted Thais the Harlot; and alongside of the tomb of Sarapion M. Gayet found another tomb enclosing the skeleton of a woman, and on some plaster in the tomb the inscription:

+ ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΜΑ
ΚΑΡΙΑΘΔΙΑΣ
...ΘΕΣΣΑΛ...

Now there was a Pachomian monastery near Hermopolis Magna (see *Vita Pach.* §§ 86, 88, and *Hist. Mon.* c. 3), a short distance from Antinoë across the river; and we know from Palladius (c. 58) that at Antinoë itself there were several convents of women, one of which may well have been the convent wherein Sarapion enclosed Thais for her lifelong penance: so that the data are quite compatible with the notion that Sarapion and Thais may both have died near Antinoë.

The question arises: Are we in the presence of a strange congeries of coincidences? or are these really the bodies of Sarapion Sindonita and Thais the Penitent? There would be a certain fitness, and a pathos, in the thought that Sarapion was buried alongside of the woman whom he had reclaimed from a life of sin. A definite pronouncement seems impossible; the names Sarapion and Thais (or kindred forms) are of common occurrence in the papyri. The two bodies are still lying side by side in the Musée Guimet at Paris.

But if it be indeed the body of Sarapion Sindonita, we have another striking case of the correctness of the text of the *Hist. Laus.* transmitted by B1, and an additional reason for the modification, indicated in Note 45, of the Pedigree on p. lxxvii.

70. p. 116, 6. On Evagrius see Socrates, iv 23; Tillemont, x 368; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*; Preuschen in Herzog-Hauck; and above all Dr Zöckler's monograph *Evagrius Ponticus* (Munich, 1893).

Dr Preuschen in his review of the First Part of my book says that the reasons there brought forward (*Prol.* 139) in support of the view that c. 38 is part of the original Lausiac History, succeed in making probable its authenticity (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1899, 125). The production since then of T, in which c. 38 stands, and in a distinctively G text, adds greatly to the strength of the case. The evidence may be summed up as follows:

- the chapter is found in T, in VC, in B1, in 1₂c;
- it is absent from P (and W, see p. 176), and from sub-group 1-6 of B²;
- the Syriac and Armenian are neutral (see Note 71).

¹ See Note 81.

² In 5 and 5^b the first half of c. 150 of A and c. 38 have been added after *Hist.* non s. 39 is up 4. Preuschen gives its reading.

When this attestation is considered in the light of the discussions in *Introd.*, no further doubt can remain as to c. 38 having stood, and in its present place, in *Hist. Laus.* from the beginning.

71. p. 116, 6. A word is necessary on the oriental versions of c. 38 :

Syriac: As has been shown in *Prol.* 88, there are among the British Museum mss. remains of three Syriac versions of the Life of Evagrius; but as no known copy occurs in connection with any section of the *Hist. Laus.*, it is impossible to say whether any of them belonged either to s or to s₂: they are therefore here designated s₁, s₂, s₃. We have seen (*Introd.* xliii) that s₂ represents a Greek B text, and that there is reason for suspecting that the extant fragment of s₃ has at least suffered contamination from a B ms. On the other hand s₁, though in places shortened or paraphrased, represents a G text without any signs of intermixture with B. The readings of s₁ and s₂ are recorded, but not those of s₃.

Armenian: What has been said of s₁ is applicable to arm also; the transmission of c. 38 is different from that of the other Armenian fragments (*Prol.* 101), and in this chapter arm represents a G text.

Coptic: the curious fact that c preserves a considerably longer form of the Life, found also in a single Greek fragment, has been commented on at some length in *Prol.* 131-148: I have nothing to add to the discussion there instituted.

72. p. 116, 14. The reading Ἰβωρῶν (al. Ἰβόρων) is textually certain, in spite of Sozomen's support of Ἰβήρων, the reading of three of the authorities. Iborā was a town in Helenopontus, one of the divisions of Cappadocia, not far from St Basil's monastery. St Jerome in *Ep.* 133 uses the term "Evagrius Ponticus Iborita," though most mss. have Hyperiborita or Hyperiberita: see also *Prol. in Dial. adv. Pelag.* The substitution of Iberia, the old name of Georgia, for Iborā would be very natural. (See Rosweyde's "Notatio," *in loc.*; Valois ad Soz. vi 30, 8; Zöckler, *op. cit.* 3.)

73. p. 117, 2. The determination of the true text of *Hist. Laus.* in this passage brings Palladius into line with Socrates and the other authorities in the statement that it was St Gregory of Nazianzus who ordained Evagrius deacon. The apparent testimony of Palladius that it was St Gregory of Nyssa has been a puzzle to historians from Rosweyde down to Zöckler (*op. cit.* 4-9). We now know that this statement is due to the metaphrastic reviser of the *Hist. Laus.* (see *Introd.* xliii).

74. p. 120, 12. Two scholars have in recent years offered explanations of the expression ἔγραφε τὸν ἀξέυρητον χαρακτήρα. An analogous expression—τὸν ἀξέυρητον τύπον γράφειν—occurs in Joannes Philoxenos, *Comm. in Arist. de anima* (c. 600), evidently signifying a special kind of calligraphy. Dr Ehrhard in his remarkable paper on the Codex II Pauli in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1891, 404, and Dr Ulrich Wilcken in a Note in *Hermes*, 1901, 315, identify it with known kinds of uncial writing; and the latter scholar attaches much importance to the presence of the term in Palladius,

for he considers that it calls for a reconsideration of the dates assigned to a whole series of uncial codices. Ehrhard is disposed to see in Codex H Pauli an actual autograph of Evagrius. (See *Prol.* 104-6.)

75. p. 121, 1. Concerning the titles of Evagrius' works, two questions arise—one of text, the other of fact.

As regards the textual question there can be no doubt that the reading of the text: *τρία βιβλία ἱερὰ μοναχῶν ἀντιρρητικά*, is the original reading of *Hist. Laus.*; it is attested by VC, by B, by arm (where "against rhetoricians" clearly represents *ἀντιρρητικά*), and also by T ven. The reading given by Du Duc (*P.G.* xxxiv 1194 B) and Preuschen (*Pall. u. Ruf.* 112, 3): *τρία βιβλία, Ἱερά, Μοναχόν, Ἀντιρρητικόν*, is (in known mss.) found only in Paris Gr. 1600 (no. 13, the only one of Du Duc's three mss. which contains c. 38), and in l. But the Leyden ms. (no. 12), the twin of 13, has *τρία βιβλία ἱερὰ μοναχῶν ἀντιρρητικῶν*. I have ascertained the reading of the passage in nos. 9, 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, and in members of the A³ group,—i.e. in representatives of each sub-group of B (see p. xxiii);—they all read *ἱερὰ μοναχῶν*, and differ only as to *ἀντιρρητικά*, *-κόν*, or *-κῶν*: it is on these grounds that I claim B as supporting the text. The agreement of 13 and l must be set down as one of those curious coincidences occasionally encountered. There can be no hesitation in adopting the reading of the text.

As regards the question of fact, the restored text creates a difficulty: the *Ἀντιρρητικός* is in eight books, not in three; but it may be that Palladius speaking roughly, and at a long interval from Evagrius' death, applied the title to some others of his works. On the other hand a difficulty is removed, for there is no record of a work of Evagrius entitled *Ἱερά*, and its identification with the *Γνωστικός* was an expedient of desperation.

Our information concerning Evagrius' works is derived in part from those that are extant, and in part from the notices given by Socrates (iv 23), and Gennadius (*De Vir. Inl.*, c. 11; see the notes added by Czajla in his edition, Münster, 1898). A number of the works, not otherwise extant, exist in Syriac and are still awaiting an editor. Zöckler brings together and discusses with admirable clearness all the information that is available on the subject (*Evagrius Ponticus*, 18-54).

76. p. 123, 4. For other stories about Pior see c. 10 *fn.*, Socrates iv 23, and Apophthegmata. In a Latin collection of Apophthegmata (Rosweyd, Bk. III 31) the story of Pior is told in a form which in general outline resembles Palladius' narrative: this apophthegma is not known in Greek, so that it is impossible to say whether it was made up from *Hist. Laus.*, or preserves an independent account of Pior. (See Tillemont VIII 569, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.*)

77. p. 126, 1. On St Ephraim Syrus see Tillemont VIII 259, Payne Smith in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, and Nestle in Herzog-Hauck. The story related by Palladius is not in the Greek or Latin Lives (see Tillemont, p. 309), but it has been introduced into the Syriac Life (see Bevan, *Acta vii 493*): the

form found in the Syriac *Acta S. Ephraemi* (Assemani, *Op. Ephraem Syro-Lat.* III lx) is a rewriting of this.

78. p. 128, 6. On the authenticity of this whole section see *Introd.* liii, and on the attack on St Jerome see Note 67.

There is no need to say anything on Paula and Eustochium. Paula's husband and her son both were named Toxotius. Meursius proposes to punctuate thus: Π. τῆ 'Ρ. τῆ μητρὶ, Τ. γυναικί, εἰς κ.τ.λ., taking τῆ μητρὶ as distinguishing her from her granddaughter, the younger Paula. In favour of the punctuation adopted is, among other considerations, the fact that it is quite likely Palladius met Paula's son Toxotius in Rome in 405.

What Palladius says of Asella makes it practically certain that she was the noble Roman lady, St Jerome's friend, who professed the ascetical life (*Epp.* 24, 45); her sister Marcella lived until 410, so that it is quite probable that Asella was alive in 405, the date of Palladius' visit to Rome. On Apronianus, Avita and Eunomia see Note 95. The other holy women here mentioned are not otherwise known to history.

79. p. 129, 16. Ephraim's Life of Julian, referred to by Soz., exists in Greek (Assemani, *Op. Ephraem Gr.* III 254). The statements of *Hist. Laus.* reproduced by Soz. are not to be found in the Greek Life.

80. p. 131, 7. The phrase δομέστικος στρατευόμενος signifies a member of the imperial Body Guard (see Meursius' *Glossarium*).

Palladius' account of Innocent assumes a new interest in face of Dr Wittig's brilliant *Studien zur Geschichte des Papstes Innocenz I.* (Tübingen *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1902, 388-439). He shows that the Innocent here spoken of by Palladius is mentioned also in letters of St Athanasius and St Basil, and that there is what appears to be a concatenation of reasons suggesting the view that he is to be identified with Pope Innocent I. Abbé Lejay has contributed striking supplementary considerations supporting the same view (*Le Concile Apostolique d'Antioche*, in the *Revue du Clergé Français*, 15 Oct. 1903, 343-355). If this hypothesis prove to be well-founded, considerable and interesting light is shed upon the earlier life of Innocent I, concerning which we have hitherto had only the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis* that he was a native of Albano.

It will be convenient to discuss here rather than in Appendix V ii another point raised in Wittig's article, which, however, had not escaped Tillemont (IX 149). The letter of St Athanasius which refers to Innocent is addressed: Ἀγαπητῶ εἰς Παλλαδίῳ προσβυτέρῳ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, and it contains the words: Καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰννοκετίου διαίγεις, οὐ πρῶτον εἶν, ἀλλ' ἔκπαλαι μαθὼν κ.τ.λ. (*P. G.* xxvi 1167). Similarly St Basil's *Ep.* 259 is addressed: Παλλαδίῳ καὶ Ἰννοκετίῳ μονάζουσιν, while in *Ep.* 258, addressed to St Eriphanus, occurs the passage: Ἐπεστείλαμεν οὖν ἤδη τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἐλαιῶνα, Παλλαδίῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ καὶ Ἰννοκετίῳ τῷ Ἰταλῷ κ.τ.λ. (*P. G.* xxxii 949, 953). That this is the Innocent with

whom Palladius, the writer of the Lausiaca History, resided for three years on the Mount of Olives, is beyond doubt; but can the Palladius mentioned by SS. Athanasius and Basil as living with Innocent, be identified with our Palladius? Chronological considerations forbid the identification. In the *Hist. Laus.* mention is made of the death of Pammachius the Senator, 409 or 410 (p. 157, 18), of the Sack of Rome by Alaric, August, 410 (pp. 148, 4-9, 156, 16), and of the death of Melania the Elder, 410 or (more probably) 411 (p. 148, 1): so that the end of 410 is, speaking absolutely, the earliest possible date for the composition of the book. Now in the Prologue Palladius tells us that it was then the thirty-third year since he had embraced the monastic life (p. 9, 12). Therefore 377 or 378 is the earliest possible year in which he can have been a monk. But 410, or even 411, are not reasonable dates for the writing of the Lausiaca History: a variety of considerations would make us place it at least three or four years later. Thus the earliest reasonable date for Palladius' entry into the monastic life would be 380. As a matter of fact, in Appendix V ii it is established that the Lausiaca History was written in 419 or 420, and that therefore Palladius was not a monk till 386 or 387,—385 at the very earliest. But St Basil died 1 Jan., 379; and the Maurists assign the two letters in question to 377; moreover it is evident from their tenor that Palladius and Innocent had then been living together on the Mount of Olives for some time. Hence it follows that St Basil's friend Palladius was not Palladius the writer of the Lausiaca History. Still more impossible would it be to suppose that this Palladius, the writer of the Lausiaca History, could have been a monk before St Athanasius' death in 373. Thus, strange coincidence though it be, it must be held that two monks of the name Palladius resided with Innocent on the Mount of Olives, whether simultaneously after 386, cannot be determined. The fact that these two Palladii must be distinguished is explicitly recognised by Wittig (*loc. cit.* 430, note), but Lejay confuses them (*loc. cit.* 353).

Wittig ventures on yet another combination. He notices that St Basil in his letter to St Epiphanius uses the expression Παλλάδιος ὁ ἡμέτερος: whence he infers that this Palladius was a mutual friend of SS. Basil and Epiphanius¹. Now Epiphanius had a friend named Palladius, who while a magistrate (πολιτευόμενος) of Suedra in Pamphylia, sent to Epiphanius one of the letters which induced him to write the *Ancoratus*; and to whom, among others, Epiphanius addressed the letter prefixed to that work: Καὶ τοῖς ποθεινοτάτοις τέκνοις ἡμῶν, Παλλαδίῳ καὶ Σεβηρίῳ κ.τ.λ. (*P. G.* XLIII 13, 17): the continuation shows that during the interval between the two letters Palladius of Suedra had embraced the monastic life. The *Ancoratus* was published in 374. Wittig suggests that Epiphanius' friend Palladius of Suedra, a monk in 374, is to be identified with the earlier of the two Palladii who dwelt with Innocent, the one spoken of in the letters of Athanasius and Basil, and said

¹ But may ἡμέτερος signify Basil's "fellow-countryman," as contrasted with Ἰννοκέντιος ὁ Ἰταλός?

By the latter to be a friend of Epiphanius. I see only one difficulty in the way of the proposed identification: Palladius of Suedra might well have been a monk in 372 (the date of St Athanasius' letter); the question is whether he could have been already a presbyter (see above, foot of p. 219), for the letter which he signs as a magistrate can hardly have been written before 370.

In view of the discussions to be instituted in Appendix V ii, I wish to repeat with emphasis two facts that follow with certainty from what has here been said:

(1) The Palladius mentioned in St Basil's letters must be identified with St Athanasius' correspondent, already a priest in 372, and not with Palladius who wrote the Lausiaca History;

(2) St Epiphanius had a friend named Palladius: viz. Palladius of Suedra, a different man from our Palladius.

81. p. 131, 12. Palladius' employment of *σιδηροφορεῖν* here and p. 133, 3 calls for a modification of what is said in *Prol.* 261; there can be no doubt that the monks condemned by Apollon as *σίδηρα φοροῦντες* (*Hist. Mon.* c. 8, p. 49, 3) were such as loaded themselves with iron chains and weights. These practices were common in Syria (*Prol.* 241); but I expressed the belief that they were not in vogue in the best period of Egyptian monachism (*Prol.* 188). Apollon's condemnation of such forms of asceticism, and the discovery of the monk Sarapion's body bearing iron bands (see Note 69), show indeed that such things were done in Egypt; but these facts do not invalidate the generalisation made as to the character of the ascetical exercises performed by the Egyptian monks. The case of one who had travelled so widely as Sarapion Sindonita would not constitute a real exception to the rule.

82. p. 131, 25. The Bollandist Papebroch has put together nearly 100 folio pages on the Relics of St John the Baptist (*Acta SS. Junii*, Tom. iv). He has overlooked this passage in Palladius which runs counter to all that is stated by the other authorities. The earliest is Rufinus who says (*Hist. Eccl.* ii 27, 28) that the sepulchre was at Sebaste in Palestine, that it was broken open in the reign of Julian, the bones burnt, and the ashes scattered; but that they were in part gathered together and sent to Athanasius who preserved them in Alexandria, and later on Theophilus built a Martyrium to hold them. The head has an independent history, see *Soz.* vii 21.

83. p. 132, 8. The term *Λαζάρου*, or tomb of Lazarus, as a name of Bethany, occurs also in the *Peregrinatio* that has hitherto gone under the name of Silvia, and in the *Vita S. Euthymii* of Cyril Scythop.

84. p. 132, 16. I have not been able to find any other record of this Philoromus or of his interview with Julian; Tillemont's account (vii 380) is based wholly on Palladius, and neither Rendall nor Allard in their works on Julian refer to the case of Philoromus.

I offer some stylistic considerations in favour of the genuineness of c. 45:

- p. 132. 15: *συνεχρονίσασμεν μακρῷ χρόνῳ* cf. 39, 21: *πολλὰ συγχρονίσας*, and 40, 15: *συγχρονίσασι* (the true reading, see p. 173): also 135, 19 (app.)
- p. 132. 21: *Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ δυσωνύμου βασιλέως*
cf. 20, 13: *Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀθλίου βασιλέως*
- p. 133. 1: *ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγῆσατο*
cf. 49, 10; 121, 7; and frequently
- p. 133. 4: *τῶν ἐφομένων διὰ πυρός*
cf. 34, 4: *ὁ διὰ πυρὸς διήρχετο*; 48, 4: *τὸ διὰ πυρὸς διαβαῖνον*; 122, 13: *διὰ πυρὸς* (=cooked food)
- p. 133. 16: *ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ*
frequent (see *θεός* in Index of Greek Words)
- p. 133. 19: *πέζῃ τῇ πορείᾳ*
cf. 11, 7 (same phrase)
- p. 133. 24: *ἀποστὰς κατὰ νοῦν τοῦ θεοῦ*
cf. 152, 10: *νοῦς ἀποστὰς θεοῦ ἐννοίας*

The significance of these locutions varies considerably: for *συγχρονίζειν* in the meaning of *χρονίζειν*, "to stay with a person, or in a place," the only reference I can find is to the Prol. to Sirach. Taken together, and considering they all occur within some 30 lines, the cases cited afford, I think, a sound argument for authenticity. (See *Introđ.* liv.)

85. p. 134, 1. On Melania the Elder see Tillemont, x 591, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.* The chief sources of information concerning her are *Hist. Laus.* cc. 46, 54, and St Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 29, which should be read in connection with Palladius' narrative.

There is considerable variety in the spelling of the name, the forms *Μελανία*, *Μελανή*, *Μελάνη* and *Μελάνιον* being found; I give a summary of the evidence, embracing the references to both Melanias:

Hist. Laus.

- P has *Μελάνη* always.
- W has *Μελάνιον* always (when extant).
- T has *Μελάνιον* usually (at times *Μελανία* and *-νη*).
- A (not A^b) varies between *Μελανία*, *-νίη*, *-νη*.
- VC have *Μελάνη* in the two cases extant.
- B mss. yield all four forms.
- l^{case} has *Melania*, l^{case} has *Melanius* (commonly).
- l₂ has *Melania* always; c *Melania* and *Melanò*.
- s has *Melania* and *Melanius* (once *Melanou*).
- s₂ has *Melania*. arm has *Melania* (in c. 38).

Other authorities

- Vita Melaniae Junioris*: Greek *Μελάνη*, Latin *Melania*.
- St Jerome: mss. vary between *Melanium*, *Melanius* and *Melania*.
- St Paulinus (ed. Hartel): *Melanius* is certainly his form.

St Augustine: the Maurists print Melania and indicate no variants of it, but Muratori notices the dat. Melanio in the title to *Ep.* 124 (*P. L.* LXI 1); Goldbacher has not yet edited the letters in question in the Vienna corpus."

I adopted *Μελανία* as being the familiar form and sufficiently attested, but had had W at the outset I should have chosen *Μελάνιον*.

Palladius met Melania and her family during his stay in Rome in 405 (see 157, 10), and perhaps on other occasions; and in cc. 5, 9, 10, 18, he quotes her as his authority for events that had taken place before his arrival in Syria. It is worthy of note that Palladius' statements regarding Melania tally in broad outline very well with those of St Paulinus (see Notes 86, 93, 95, 96).

With Palladius (p. 134 1-10) compare St Jerome's *Chronicle* (Olympiad 9): Melania nobilissima mulierum Romanarum et Marcellini quondam consulis filia, unico praetori tunc urbano filio derelicto, Hierosolymam uigauit. Paulinus (*Ep.* 29, 8) and Rufinus (*Apol.* II 26) say she was the daughter of Marcellinus (consul in 341); and it is likely that they were better informed than Palladius and Jerome.

86. p. 134, 16. St Paulinus (*Ep.* 29, 11) also relates how Melania was brought before the governor in Palestine for ministering to the exiles. The account of the banishment of Egyptian bishops and others to Diocaesarea is attested by a number of contemporary writers (Tillemont, VI 580-589). It is worth noting that a document cited by Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.*, LXXII 11) as addressed to the bishops τοῖς ἐν Διοκαιοσαρείᾳ ὑπερορισθεῖσιν, contains in the list of addressees three names identical with those here given by Palladius—Pitimo, Pitimus, Adelphius. This banishment was part of the persecution which took place after the intrusion of Lucius into the see of Alexandria, about 373, so that the date may be fixed as 373, 374 or 375,—probably 374.

This supplies a starting point for calculating the chronology of Melania's life, concerning which the contemporary statements are much at variance. Tillemont arrays all the data in a note (x 821), but I am unable to accept his construction of the chronology.

Melania we learn from Palladius (p. 135, 2) accompanied the exiles from Egypt to Palestine, probably in 374. Palladius says she had been in Egypt about a year (p. 134, 15), and St Jerome in his *Chronicle* places her departure from Rome in the year corresponding to 373 (Schoene, *Weltchronik*, 106). These statements hang together very well, so that St Jerome and Palladius may be taken as agreeing that Melania left Rome in 373. But St Paulinus (*Ep.* 29, 8-10) and St Jerome (*Ep.* 39, 4), no less than Palladius (p. 134, 4-10), imply that she left Rome not long after her husband's death. Thus 371 or '2 is the probable date of his death; and as Melania was 22 (al. 20) years old at the time, her birth may be placed about 349 or 350. The date of her return to Italy is considered in Note 94.

87. p. 136, 1. Palladius' estimate of Rufinus is a valuable pendant to

St Jerome's; his high praise of Rufinus was the natural converse of his dislike of St Jerome (see *Prol.* § 14). St Augustine was able to admire both: *Multum dolui inter tam caras familiaresque personas, cunctis pene ecclesiis notissimo amicitiae vinculo copulatas, tantum malum exstitisse discordiae* (*Ep.* 73). For the verdict of Rufinus' contemporaries see Tillemont, XII 318: "uere sanctus et pie doctus et ob hoc intima mihi affectione coniunctus," are St Paulinus' words (*Ep.* 28, 5).

88. p. 136, 7. Tillemont (XII 199) surmises that Paulinus is a mistake for Paulinianus, St Jerome's brother; and that the schism here spoken of was not the Antiochene schism, but the schism that arose between the monks of the Bethlehem monasteries and John bishop of Jerusalem, consequent on Paulinian's ordination by St Epiphanius without the sanction of the diocesan bishop.

89. p. 136, 12; p. 137, 1, 4. It is difficult to say whether the Chronius here mentioned and the Cronius of c. 7 and of c. 21 are the same man (see Note 37). In all three cases there is some uncertainty in the first letter (κ or χ); and in all three cases the monk referred to is said to have known St Anthony. Amélineau does not mention the village Phoinikè.

Concerning Jacob the lame nothing seems to be known.

Paphnutius "surnamed Kephalas" is mentioned also in the Apophthegmata (Matoes no. 10). Cassian frequently speaks of an Abbot Paphnutius, presbyter in Scete, who was called Bubalis from his great love of solitude (*Coll.* XVIII 15), to whom is attributed the Third Conference. Palladius in c. 46 makes mention of Paphnutius the Scetiot, one of those banished to Diocaesarea in 374: also (p. 57, 4) of Paphnutius a disciple of Macarius of Alexandria, though the Apophthegmata make him a disciple of Macarius of Egypt (Macarius Aeg. nos. 28, 37); the Coptic documents say he succeeded Macarius as presbyter in Scete (cf. Cassian). There are a number of Apophthegmata of Paphnutius, without any designation being added. Lastly Paphnutius appears with the Macarii and Sarapion as the author of a *Regula Patrum* in the "Codex Regularum." Tillemont (x 722) is disposed to think that these are all one. The Paphnutius of *Hist. Mon.* c. 16 is certainly a different man. On all these see Tillemont, x 43.

With the doctrine attributed to Paphnutius Kephalas by Palladius in this chapter should be compared that attributed to Paphnutius Bubalis by Cassian in the latter half of *Coll.* III; compare in particular Cassian: *Credere inconcussa fide nos conuenit nihil sine deo prorsus in hoc mundo geri. aut enim uoluntate eius aut permissu agi uniuersa fatendum est, ut scilicet haec quae bona sunt uoluntate dei perfici auxilioque credantur, quae autem contraria sunt permissu, cum pro nequitiis ac duritia cordis nostri deserens nos diuina protectio diabolum nobis uel ignominiosas corporis passiones patitur dominari. quod etiam apostoli uocibus euidentissime perdocemur, dicentis: Propter quod tradidit illos deus in passiones ignominiae, et iterum: Quia non crediderunt deum habere in notitia, tradidit illos deus in*

eprobum sensum, ut faciant ea quas non conuenit (*Coll.* III 20), with *Hist. Laus.* p. 138, 2-12; p. 139, 3-13; p. 142, 3-8 (the citation of Rom. i 26, 28). It is difficult to escape from the conclusion that Cassian has here borrowed his thought from Palladius. Similarly there can be little doubt that the arable on gluttony which Cassian (*Coll.* v 21) makes Sarapion of Scete attribute to "quidam senum," is really based on the story of Sarapion Sindonita and the Athenian philosophers, related by Palladius (p. 111). Thus it seems that though the first ten Conferences were written not later than 426,—only six years after the Lausiaca History,—Cassian already had a copy of the work, and is the earliest witness to the text; he throws no light, however, on any of the textual problems. On the historical character of his writings see *Prol.* 203-8.

90. p. 137, 17. The rejection of *ἐμνήσθημεν* after *ἐν οἷς*, as a B enlargement, removes the difficulty indicated in the note in *Prol.* 83. It seems likely that the stories of Stephen and Eucarpus, found in one redaction of Bk. II of Anan Isho's *Paradise* (Bedjan's ed., pp. 292, 296), were composed by some Syrian to fill up an apparent gap. At any rate I have not met with them in Greek or Latin. Meursius' identification of Stephanus with the bishop of Antioch spoken of by Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* II 9, 10) is plainly wrong; that of Eucarpus with a bishop mentioned in a letter of Pope Liberius (Nicephorus I 8) is impossible. On Chaeremon see Cassian, *Coll.* XI, XII, XIII.

91. p. 142, 14. Timotheus the Cappadocian, a chorepiscopus, may be identified with the addressee of St Basil's *Ep.* 291, a chorepiscopus and ascetic, referred to also in *Ep.* 24.

On Elpidius see Tillemont, XI 501; also the *Acta SS. Sept.* Tom. I 378, where his possible identification with the patron of Sant' Elpidio in Piceno is discussed: there is no reason for making the identification, nor for Meursius' suggestion that he was Elpidius the deacon, spoken of in some of St Basil's letters.

The Mountain of Doukas may be identified with Jebel-Karantel (Quarantina), a range of steep cliffs close to Jericho pierced with caves, just as Palladius describes, where are the remains of several hermitages. The name Doukas may probably be recognised in τὸ ὄχυρωμάτιον τὸ καλούμενον Δῶκ (al. ἰώκος or Δωήκ) of 1 Macc. xvi 15, and in the present well called Ain Dūk Baedeker's *Palestine* under "Jericho").

92. p. 146, 5. Why Persia should be named as in a special manner the recipient of Melania's benefactions, I am unable to divine. The B enlargement is characteristic,—“Persia, the Britains, and all the islands.”

93. p. 146, 12. Palladius' expression *μονογενῆς* must not be taken strictly, or Melania had two other sons who died in the same year as her husband Paulinus (*Ep.* 29, 8, Jerome *Ep.* 39, 4). This "filius unicus," as they also call him, died after Melania's return, and she was with St Augustine when he heard the news of his death; for St Paulinus writes to Augustine: *locuisti me in spiritu ueritatis salubre moderandi in occiduis mortalibus*

animi temperamentum, quo et illam beatam matrem et auam Melanium fleuisse carnalem obitum unici filii, taciturno quidem luctu, non tamen sicco a maternis lacrimis dolore uidisti (*Ep.* 45, 2; 94 inter *Epp. August.*). Tillemont (XIII 997) places the death of Melania's son in 408, and the Maurists accept this date; but it is the result of combinations that are by no means convincing, and other authorities place it earlier: the *Vita Melaniae Jun.* (c. 7) seems to imply that he died before 405; he was not one of the large family party that visited Paulinus in 406, though his wife Albina was there; nor does Palladius anywhere mention him among those whom he met in Rome in 405-6. In any case a visit of Melania to Africa, not otherwise recorded, is postulated some years before she left Rome for ever with her family 409-10. We learn from p. 147, 16 that his name was Publicola (al. Publicus). Tillemont introduces uncertainties through not taking Ποπλικόλα as a genitive (x 823). Thus τὸν Ποπλικόλα υἱὸν τὸν νεώτερον, whom Melania took with her on leaving Rome, was her grandson, the brother of Melania the Younger.

94. p. 146, 21. On her return to Italy Melania landed at Naples and went in the first instance to visit her kinsman St Paulinus at Nola, who describes her reception in *Ep.* 29. The conclusion of the letter shows that a short time before Melania's arrival St Paulinus had seen St Nicetas of Dacia. Now in *Carm.* xxvii (the ninth "Natalitial") St Paulinus addresses Nicetas: "Venisti tandem quarto mihi redditus anno," showing that he had received two visits from Nicetas at an interval of four years. These visits may be fixed as having fallen in 398 and 402; thus one of these two years was the date of Melania's return¹. Palladius' evidence points to the later year; for Melania went from Egypt to Palestine in 374 (see Note 86), and it was after the recall of the exiled bishops and monks that she established her monastery in Jerusalem (p. 135, 18), say in 375-6, and here she lived for 27 years (pp. 135, 19, 136, 4): this brings us to 402. In favour of 398, however, weighty reasons may be urged:

(1) St Paulinus, writing shortly after Melania's stay with him, says: Sanctam ipsam ex Hierusalem post quinque lustra remeantem excepimus (*Ep.* 29, 6): 373 + 25 = 398.

(2) The relations between Rufinus and Apronianus in connection with Rufinus' Apology and his translations from St Gregory Nazianzen (see Note 95) show beyond all doubt that Apronianus was a Christian before 402: but Palladius says that his conversion was due to Melania's influence on her return (p. 147, 1). Tillemont, who adopts the later date for Melania's return, evades the difficulty by retracting what he had previously said (see Note 95),

¹ Fontanini in his *Vita Rufini* (ed. Vallarsi) and other old authorities say 397 and 401—they place the first of St Paulinus' "Natalitial" poems in 398; but 394 seems to be accepted without question by modern authorities (*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, Barrow, *Biog. Logi*). The writer, however, of the arts. "Hieronymus" follows Fontanini.

and suggesting that there were two of the name Apronianus (xii 219); but this is hardly a reasonable interpretation of the evidence.

I think 398 must be taken as the date of Melania's return. (See addition at end of Index.)

It would not be unduly pressing Palladius' 27 years (c. 46) to understand them of the whole period of Melania's absence from Rome, and so understood they would be roughly correct. The real difficulty arises from what Palladius says in c. 54, that she passed 37 years in foreign parts (p. 146, 7), and also that she was 60 when she returned to Rome (p. 146, 20), having been 22 at her husband's death (p. 134, 4). It is almost impossible to accept this period of 37 or 38 years for Melania's absence from Rome. Tillemont (x 821) supposes that she left Rome in 366; but this involves the notion that she spent nearly 10 years in Egypt before going on to Palestine, which seems quite inadmissible: for Palladius' narrative (p. 134, 15) indicates a stay in Egypt of not much over six months, while Paulinus (*Ep.* 29, 10) and Jerome (*Chronicle*) speak as if she had gone direct from Rome to Jerusalem, making no mention of any visit to Egypt on the way. These facts seem plainly irreconcilable with the theory that Melania was in Egypt from 366 to 373 or 74. I dissent from Tillemont's contention that ἀρχήν in p. 134, 6 signifies "the beginning" of Valens' reign; I translate the phrase "in the days when V. held the sovereignty in the empire," i.e. "in the reign of V." (364—378).

It must be held, I think, that Palladius was mistaken as to the length of Melania's absence from Rome and her age at the time of her return; perhaps his mistake lay in applying to this shorter period what in reality applied to the whole period of her ascetical life, so that the 37 or 38 years are to be taken as including the 12 years of her life after her return to Rome, and so embracing the whole period from her widowhood to her death, c. 372—c. 410. It follows that Tillemont's chronology of Melania's career, which has been very commonly accepted, requires rectification; and as the dating of a whole series of documents depends on dates in the life of Melania, I venture to offer an approximate chronological skeleton which seems to fit in with the facts, so far as I know them. The extraordinarily early age at which marriage was contracted (e.g. Pinian and Melania at 17 and 13 respectively) has to be remembered. I distinguish the two Melanias as I and II.

341 Consulship of Marcellinus (grand-)father of Melania I.

49-50 Birth of Melania I.

365-6 Birth of her son Publicola (or Publicus).

("In teneris adhuc annis nuptias passa et breui mater," Paulinus, *Ep.* 29, 8).

371-2 Death of her husband.

373 Goes to Alexandria and Egypt.

374 Goes to Palestine.

375-6 Settles in Jerusalem.

383-4 Birth of Melania II, daughter of Publicola.

396-7 Marriage of Melania II and Pinian.

398 Return of Melania I to Italy; conversion of Apronianus.

403-4 Melania II and Pinian embrace an ascetic life (she being 20 or 21 years old).

404-5 Visit of Melania I to St Augustine (see Note 93); death of Publicola; Melania II and Pinian quit Rome.

405 Palladius visits them in Campania.

406 They, along with Apronianus &c., visit St Paulinus at Nola.

409-10 The family leaves Italy and goes to Sicily.

410-11 Melania I goes thence to Jerusalem and dies there.

411-12 Melania II and Pinian go to Africa (St Augustine) and Egypt.

414 They settle in Bethlehem.

c. 440 Death of Melania II.

95. p. 147, 1. Apronianus and Avita, as well as their daughter Eunomia, are mentioned also at p. 129, 10, as having been met by Palladius in Rome in 405. St Paulinus too speaks of them along with Albina, Pinian and Melania, in his *Carmen* XXI, written at the very time, 406; and what he says corroborates Palladius. He describes them as

mancia Christi, nobiles terrae prius,
nunc uero caelo destinatos incolas,
quos Christus ipse, qui creatur diuites,
hoc pauperavit saeculo, in regnum ut suum
terreni honoris arce deiectos uehat (205-9).

From the references in ll. 210, 281-9, it may be gathered that Paulinus represents Apronianus Turcius and Avita as husband and wife, and Eunomia as their daughter¹; (see Muratori's *Dissertations*, *P.L.* LXI 779). Like Palladius (p. 129, 12) Paulinus represents Eunomia as dedicated to virginity (66-71). Tillemont (x 607) shows that it is reasonable to identify with this Apronianus the "Aproniane, fili charissime," to whom Rufinus dedicates his translation of Origen's *Hom. in Pss.* 36, 37, 38 (*P. G.* XII 1319), where the words "religiosa filia mea, soror in Christo tua," may probably be taken as referring to Avita, in view of Palladius' statement that Melania had induced Apronianus *ἐγκρατεύσθαι μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας γυναίκος* (p. 147, 2). The *Apologia* also was addressed to Apronianus, who had communicated to Rufinus St Jerome's attack upon him: that a member of Melania's family circle should be on the side of Rufinus in the controversy is only natural. It was at Apronianus' request, too, that he translated some writings of St Gregory Nazianzen, and in the dedicatory letter he styles him "fili carissime" (*P. G.* xxxvi 735).

¹ When Paulinus says of Eunomia "Melani soror est simul et quasi filia" (72), *soror* must not be understood more literally than *filia*; they were cousins. Also, though he says Apronianus was "aetate puer" (211), still he was older than Pinian (217). This statement concerning Apronianus' age shows that TAs are wrong in making Avita the sister of Melania the Elder (p. 147, 3), and that we must read *ἀνεψιά* with P (or *ἀδελφιδή* with B).

The form Ἀπρονιανός being thus attested, and being a common patrician name in the documents of the time,—there were several consuls of the name,—the form Ἀπριανός given by PA may be rejected as a corruption; I have not been able to find it elsewhere.

p. 147, 5. That Albina was the mother of Melania the Younger is corroborated by St Paulinus (*Carm.* XXI 281-5, 838), St Augustine (*Op.* 124-5-6), St Jerome (*Ep.* 143), and the *Vita Melaniae Jun.* § 8. Albina is the usual form, and the only one I have met in the mss. of *Hist. Eccl.*; but there are traces elsewhere of the forms Albinus and Albinium (see p. 107).

p. 147, 17. That Melania and her family on leaving Rome went in the first instance to Sicily is attested by Rufinus who was of the party (*Prolog. in Irsacium in Hom. Orig. in Num., P. G.* XII 586), and died in Sicily (410 or thereabouts). That the elder Melania went direct from Sicily to Jerusalem is attested in St Augustine's Letters (124-6) welcoming to Africa Albina, Pinian and Melania the Younger, but without mentioning Melania the Elder: this shows that her visit to St Augustine, spoken of in Note 93, took place before the departure of the family from Rome. Her death occurred probably in 410 or 411.

p. 148, 6. Gregorovius in his *History of the City of Rome* (Bk. I, c. 4) endeavours to clear the Visigoths, men of Teutonic race, from the slur of having destroyed the statues and monuments during the sack of the city in 410. He has overlooked this passage of Palladius, which appears to be good temporary evidence, and more explicit than those he cites. With ll. 9-13 may be compared the following from the *Vita Melaniae Jun.*: After their departure from Rome εὐθέως Ἀλάριχος ἐπέστη τοῖς κτήμασιν ἀπίδοντο οἱ μακάριοι. καὶ πάντες τὸν τῶν ὄλων δεσπότην ἐδόξαζον λέγοντες· μακάριοι οἱ φθάσαντες ἑαυτῶν ἀποδόσθαι τὰ πράγματα πρὸ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων κρατίας (c. 19).

p. 148, 15. There is no need to revert to the question whether the Melania or Silvina here mentioned, the sister-in-law of Rufinus the praetorian prefect, was the Pilgrim who wrote the so-called *Peregrinatio Silviae*. In *J.* 296 I pointed out that there was nothing in favour of Gamurrini's conjecture, and weighty arguments against it. Quite recently Dom Ferotin in the *Revue des Questions historiques* of Oct. 1903 p. 367, has shown reason for believing that the "Peregrinatio" of the Spanish virgin Etheria (or Eteria) spoken of in the Letter of Valerius (a Spanish hermit of the seventh century) "ad Fratres Bergidenses" (Vierzo) (Migne, *P. L.* LXXXVII 421), is no other than the "Peregrinatio ad loca sancta," that has been going under the name of *Silvia*. It is too soon to say whether Dom Ferotin's thesis will find general acceptance. It would follow that the Pilgrim was a Spaniard, and not an Aquitaine or Gaul. In any case, nothing whatever is known of Melania beyond what Palladius relates: she was not sister, but sister-in-law,

of Rufinus; there is no reason for supposing that she had any connection with Aquitaine or Gaul. It follows that "St Silvia of Aquitaine" is a purely mythical personage.

If Valerius is describing the *Peregrinatio*, it seems that a considerable portion is lost, and that the missing part contained the account of a visit to the Thebaid: Sanctorum summo cum desiderio Thebeorum uisitans monachorum gloriosissima congregationum cenobia, similiter et sancta anachoretarum ergastula. The recovery of such an account of the Egyptian monks c. 380 would be of extraordinary value.

100. p. 148, 17. Jovinus, one of the bishops of Palestine mentioned by St Augustine (c. *Jul.* 15, 7) as having taken part in the Council of Diospolis in 415, is identified by Mansi (*Conc.* iv 316) with the Jubinus here mentioned by Palladius.

101. p. 149, 13. The absence from Ts and A of the clause: ἐν οἷς Ὁριγένους μυριάδας τρακασίας makes it probable that it did not stand in γ and that its presence in P is due to intermixture with B, of which some clear cases have been pointed out in *Introd.* lxxxix. The phenomena presented by the analogous cases of the treatment of tainted or suspected names scheduled in *Introd.* lxxxv, would lead to the same conclusion. As probably the words belong only to Bl, I have enclosed them in ' '. On the similar passage in c. 11, and on Pierius and Stephanus, see Note 21.

102. p. 150, 2. Olympias is here said to have been the granddaughter of Ablabius (praetorian prefect, executed in 337), the daughter of Seleucus, and the wife of Nebriidius. The *Dial. de Vita Chrys.* also says of her: νύμφη ποτὲ γενομένη Νεβριδίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν (p. 150), and also: ὄρφανὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ συναφθείσα οὐ συνεχωρήθη παρὰ τοῦ προγόνου τοῦ θεοῦ.....οἰδὲ εἴκοσι μῆνας δουλεῖσαι τῇ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ τῆς πάντων βασιλείᾳς, τοῦ συναφθέντος αὐτῇ συντόμως τὸ τῆς φύσεως χρέως ἀπαιτηθέντος (p. 163). Some copies of the Menology give for her father's name Secundus or Acundus. Meursius introduces needless trouble by confounding Olympias with her aunt (or mother) of the same name, who married Arsaces, king of Armenia.

On the B enlargements in this chapter, see what is said *Introd.* xlvi. Palladius must have known Olympias well, for, like him, she figured largely in St John Chrysostom's story, several of his letters being addressed τῇ αἰδεσμοπατῆρ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῃ διακόνῳ Ὀλυμπκίῳ. Her career is well described in Bright's *Age of the Fathers* (II cc. 28, 29, 30); see also Tillemont, XI 416, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.*

Trajanus, mentioned p. 150, 14 was general under Valens: see *Dict. Christ. Biog.*

103. p. 151, 8. The *Hist. Mon.* tells us that in the neighbourhood of Antinoë and Hermopolis there were monks (cc. 7, 8), and the *Vita Pachomii* (§§ 86, 88) mentions a Tabennesiot monastery; there are to this day remains of monasteries in the neighbourhood. Palladius' sojourn at Antinoë probably belonged to the period of his exile into Upper Egypt in 406.

104. p. 154, 9. Coluthus was a priest and physician martyred at Sinopolis, near Antinoë, in the persecution of Diocletian: Coptic fragments as *Acta* are printed by Giorgi and by Peyron (*Gram. Ling. Copt.* 163); see Lélineau, *Actes des Martyrs*, 21. He is mentioned in the Greek "Synaxarion," May 19. He was the patron saint of Antinoë. The story recalls that the appearance of the martyr Basiliscus to St Chrysostom on the eve of his death (*Dial. de Vita Chrys.* 99).

105. p. 154, 20. No other mention is found nor is any trace known in a Commentary on Amos by Clement of Alexandria (Harnack, *Altehr.* . 1 303). The statement deserves more consideration than it has received, the "exiled bishop" to whom the book was bequeathed was Palladius himself (see p. 244).

106. p. 155, 2. On Melania the Younger and Pinian see Tillemont xiv 2, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.* Since these accounts were written in purer forms in the *Vita* than the Metaphrast's have been published by the Bollandists in Greek (*Anal. Boll.* xxii) and in Latin (*Anal. Boll.* viii). Though it is probable the *Hist. Laus.* was known to the writer of the *Vita* (see *Introduct.* iii-xxxiv, including the footnote), still it does not appear that, except in a piece printed on p. xxxiii, he directly borrowed from it; indeed the two accounts, though in substantial agreement, differ sufficiently in detail to be recognised as independent, and so may be taken as corroborating each other. There is the same uncertainty as in the case of the elder Melania concerning the form of the name (see Note 85).

107. p. 155, 11. Palladius says that the father of Pinianus was Severus Prefect; the Prefect of Rome in 382 was Valerius Severus, and in 386 Valerius Pinianus Severus (Rauschen, *Jahrbücher* 126, 231): there can be little doubt that one of these is the man intended by Palladius¹. The *Vita Pinianæ* does not name Pinian's father, but calls his brother Severus (c. 10); Valerianus (*Carm.* xxi 220) says Pinian was of the Valerian gens. For the variations in the spelling of the name of the younger Melania's husband in the mss. of *Hist. Laus.*, see pp. 147, 5; 155, 11; 157, 8. As the reading of Πινιανός, has the support of s, and as Pinianus is a patrician name of common occurrence in the general monuments of the time, I adopt it. Pinianus is the spelling of the name of Melania's husband found in Rufinus . cit. in Note 97), Augustine (*Epp.* 124-6; *de Grat. Christi* 1), and Valerianus of Nola (*Carm.* xxi 217, 241, 295-7, 840); it is the form also of the name in *Vita Melaniae Jun.* In the Greek *Vita* the form is Πινιανός; P and

¹ Rauschen (*op. cit.* 209) supposes that Valerius Pinianus Severus, Prefect of Rome in 386 and Vicar in 385, was Melania's husband, and that his father was Valerius Severus, Prefect of Rome in 382. But Pinianus can have been but a child 85-6, for he was still quite young—only 21 says the *Vita* c. 8—when he and Melania devoted themselves to the ascetic life, certainly not before 400, and probably nearer to 405.

the single B ms. 17 (see Note 11) have similarly 'Απεινανός; and it is remarkable that St Jerome writes to St Augustine: Sancti filii communes, Albinus Apinianus et Melania plurimum uos salutant (*Ep.* 143, ed. Ben. (iv 646) and Vallarsi's note). That those who knew him personally, and were in actual contact with him at the time when they were writing, should thus differ as to his name, is a curious phenomenon.

Our chief sources of information on Melania and Pinian are the *Hist. Laus.* and the *Vita Melaniae Jun.* On the whole their testimonies are in agreement; the most salient agreements and differences will be pointed out in this and the following three Notes.

Palladius says that Melania was 13 when married to Pinian, and that their two children were boys; the author of the *Vita* says she was about 14 and Pinian 17, and that the children were a girl and a boy: they agree in representing her desire that they should live in continence, and his reluctance at first but consent after 7 years of married life, on the death of their two children—the *Vita* adds that the determining motive in Pinian's mind was Melania's imminent danger at her second confinement.

108. p. 156, 5-23. The description given by Palladius of the manner in which Pinian and Melania distributed their wealth for religious and charitable purposes may be illustrated from the *Vita*, the writer of which says that he heard it from Melania herself.

ll. 5-8: cf. *πᾶσάν τε αὐτῶν τὴν ὀλοσῆρικον στολὴν, πολλὴν οὖσαν καὶ βαρύτιμον, θυσιαστηρίοις ἐκκλησιῶν τε καὶ μοναστηρίων προσήνεγκαν· τὸν δὲ ἄργυρον αὐτῶν, πολλὸν σφόδρα τυγχάνοντα, συγκόψαντες θυσιαστήριά τε καὶ κειμήλια ἐκκλησιαστικά καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἀναθήματα τῷ θεῷ ἐποίησαν* (c. 19).

ll. 8-10 (and p. 151, ll. 20-23): cf. *ἄπερ εὐθέως ἀρξάμενοι προθύμως ἐμέριζον, ἀγίοις ἀνδράσιν τὴν τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης διακονίαν ἐγχειρίζοντες ἀπέστελλον ἐν ἄλλαις χώραις δι' ἐνὸς μὲν μυριάδας τέσσαρας, δι' ἑτέρου δὲ τρεῖς, δι' ἄλλου δὲ δύο καὶ ἑτέρου μίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καθὼς συνήργει ὁ κύριος* (c. 15).

ll. 10-14: cf. *ποία γὰρ πόλις ἢ ποία πατρίς ἄμικρος τῶν μεγίστων αὐτῶν εὐποιῶν γεγένηται, εἰδὼς εἰπωμεν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Συρίαν, Παλαιστίνην τε πᾶσαν καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Πενταπόλεως; καὶ ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ λέγωμεν, πᾶσα ἡ δύσις καὶ πᾶσα ἀνατολὴ τῶν μεγίστων αὐτῶν εὐποιῶν μετείληφεν* (*Lat.* Si dixeris Mesopotamiam aut alias partes orientis aut occidentis et arctum et meridianum, non existimo insulam aut ciuitatem quae non communicarit horum beneficiis) (c. 19): (cf. p. 146, 5-7).

ll. 16-19: cf. (Pinian's brother Severus) *ἀνέπεισεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ὅτι "Ὁλωσ ὅτι πιπρασκόμεθα· εἰ δὲ βιασθῶμεν ἐπὶ πλείον τοῦ πραθῆναι, ὁ ἀδελφός σου Σευῆρος δεσπότης ἡμῶν ἐστίν καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγοράζει* (c. 10).

ll. 19-23: cf. *πώλησαντες δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ Ἰταλίαν [καὶ Σπανίαν] καὶ Καμπανίαν κτήματα ἀπέπευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν* (c. 19; *Lat.* om. καὶ Σπανίαν); also: *πωλοῦντες τὰ κτήματα ἐν τῇ Νουμιδίᾳ καὶ Μαυριτανίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἀφρικῇ, ἀπέστειλαν τὰ χρήματα τὰ μὲν (+in Orientem *Lat.*) εἰς τὴν τῶν πτωχῶν διακονίαν, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἀγορὰς αἰχμαλώτων* (c. 20). In c. 11 is given

List of the countries in which they had property: ἐν Σπανίᾳ καὶ Καμπανίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ καὶ Ἀφρικῇ καὶ Μαυριτανίᾳ καὶ Βρεττανίᾳ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς χώραις: Lat. c. 10: in Hispania, Italia, Apulia, Campania, Sicilia et Africa [uel adia] seu Britannia [uel Neumidia].

The agreement between the two accounts is very striking; but the *Vita* contradicts Palladius in regard to the properties sold and retained (e.g. Campania and Africa). The general phenomena of the combination of agreements in outline with differences in detail make the impression not of any dependence of the author of the *Vita* on Palladius, but rather of two well-informed independent witnesses; though it is natural that the author of a particular *Vita*, reporting information obtained from its subject, should be more accurate in matters of detail than the general writer of memoirs, like Palladius.

109. p. 157, 6. Palladius' statement that at the time he was writing Albina, Pinian and Melania used to live partly in Sicily and partly in Campania, is certainly wrong. On leaving Rome in 409 or 410, they went to Sicily; thence they passed on to Hippo and to Egypt, and eventually they went to Palestine, where they settled at Bethlehem (414), never returning to Europe. Palladius no doubt had in mind their manner of life when he knew them in 405; but it is strange that he was not aware of their presence in Bethlehem when he wrote.

110. p. 157, 10-13. This passage may be illustrated from the *Vita Melaniæ Jun.*: Coeperunt esse peregrinorum susceptores et pauperum curis curare; sanctis etiam episcopis et presbyteris et omnibus aduenientibus peregrinis in suburbano urbis Romæ in rure constituentes non paruum humanitatem exhibentes administrabant (c. 7); the Greek is less definite: *ν ταῖς προαστείοις αὐτῆς (sc. Ῥώμης) σχολάζοντες ἐκεῖ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐργάζεσθαι παιδεύοντο.*

111. p. 157, 16, 19. Pammachius the son-in-law of Paula, and then a monk-senator, the friend of St Jerome, is a well-known figure in the documents of the time: see Tillemont, x 567, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.* What Palladius says of his distributing his wealth in charitable purposes is abundantly attested; he was still alive in 405, dying in 409 or 410.

There are two or three Romans of the name of Macarius any one of whom may be the Macarius here spoken of by Palladius; Tillemont is disposed to regard them all as one man (xii 203-211): see *Dict. Christ. Biog.* "Macarius" 23) and (24).

112. p. 158, 1. As explained in *Prolog.* 178-9, Weingarten puts forward his story as the primary proof of Palladius' inaccuracy and incompetence. That Palladius is mistaken in saying that St Athanasius stayed concealed in the virgin's house for all the six years till the death of Constantius, is admitted on all hands. In the passage referred to, I mentioned a suggestion of Tillemont's, viz. that Athanasius may in the first instance have been concealed for a time in the virgin's house, before withdrawing from Alexandria,—so affording a possible foundation and explanation of Palladius' story. Pro-

fessor Gwatkin, in the *Classical Review* (March, 1899), called my attention to the notices in the *Index* to the Festal Letters of Athanasius, as perhaps giving some support to Tillemont's suggestion. The relevant entries are here quoted:—

356. (In the raid on the church Athanasius) "escaped in a wonderful manner."
 357. "Athanasius the bishop was fled. And he was searched for in the city with much affliction, many undergoing dangers on this account."
 358. "The bishop Athanasius was in Alexandria concealed."
 360. "The governor (Faustinus) and Artemius having entered into a private house and a little cell in search for Athanasius the bishop, bitterly tormented Eudemonis, a perpetual virgin." (*Festal Letters*, ed. Cureton, lvii.)

Gwatkin has a high opinion of the *Index* (*Studies of Arianism*, 107). But the question at issue is not the degree of accuracy or inaccuracy that there may be in this passage of Palladius; the question is whether it is a proof that Palladius (to use Weingarten's words) "falsified without shame the best known facts of the history of his own time." What has given this chapter a quite undue importance is the fact that on it, and on the passage dealt with in Note 32, Weingarten based his view as to the wholly unhistorical character of the Lausiaca History. In view of the facts brought together in *Introd.* § 1, and also, I venture to hope, in these Notes, there is no need to discuss this question further.

113. p. 160, 10. The close verbal correspondence between Palladius and Eusebius (cited *in loc.*) leads to the supposition that they must both have seen the volume with Origen's autograph entry, and that Palladius made a copy of the note. That the inscription should be shown to visitors at Caesarea of Cappadocia, and that an admirer of Origen should copy it out, is altogether natural. The general bearings of the passage are discussed by Dr Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, 49.

114. p. 160, 18. Nothing is known of this "Story from Hippolytus" beyond what Palladius tells us—neither Lagarde, nor Harnack, nor Achelis, nor Bardenhewer has any further information to give. Rosweyd pointed out that it is found among a collection of stories of women preserving their chastity under difficulties, recorded by Nicephorus (VII 13). Though the passage is completely rewritten, the details agree minutely with those of the *Hist. Laus.*, except that in Nicephorus the young man is said to have been beheaded. Probably the passage in Nicephorus goes back ultimately to *Hist. Laus.*; but since, to the best of my knowledge, Nicephorus elsewhere used *Hist. Laus.* only indirectly through Sozomen, it seems reasonable to suppose that he found this narrative already incorporated in some collection of similar stories of virtuous women.

Of course it is an error to style Hippolytus *γράφους τῶν ἀποστόλων*: also

to take (as is sometimes done) *μαγιστριανός* as a proper name; it means the official of the *Magister Officiorum* (Du Cange, *Gloss. Gr.*).

114^b. p. 163, 13 (reference omitted). One of the treatises of St Nilus of Sinai, himself a Galatian, is addressed: *Πρὸς τὴν σεμνοπρεπεστάτην Μάγνῳ διάκονον Ἀγκύρας* (*P. G. LXXIX* 967). The date is about 425. There can be no doubt that this is the Magna spoken of by Palladius. I cannot imagine why Tillemont (XIV 743) should have supposed that Palladius implies she was dead in 420, whereas it is evident from the narrative that she was still living.

115. p. 167, 6. There has been some perplexity and speculation as to who this Brother can have been. In *Dial. de Vita Chrys.* (195) we read of Brisso, brother of Palladius, a bishop apparently, who, like Palladius himself, was driven out of his see in the persecution of the adherents of St John Chrysostom; but he cannot be the brother of whom Palladius here speaks. I think it is evident that under the guise of "the brother who has been with me from my youth till the present day," Palladius, imitating St Paul, speaks of himself here under the personality of another; and the words: "On behalf of such a one will I glory," seem to remove all doubt. By means of this somewhat transparent device Palladius was able to relate matters about himself which otherwise his modesty would not have allowed him to mention. I was pleased to find that I was not the first to divine Palladius' secret:—in mss. 6, 10, 46, a note is added: *περὶ ἐαυτοῦ ὁ Παλλάδιος διηγείται ὡς ἐκ ἐτέρου προσώπου ὑποκρινόμενος*, while in Dr Budge's copy of Anan Isho's *Paradise*, the chapter (Bk. II 41) is entitled: "Of Palladius the writer."

116. p. 167, 20. Whatever we may think of the story of the hot rolls and the other autobiographical reminiscences here narrated by Palladius, there can be no reason for hesitating to accept the categorical and impressive statement made in ll. 19–21. And this evidence is all the more welcome in face of the insinuations levelled against Palladius' character by Baronius. The most effective way of exposing the hollowness of Baronius' case against Palladius will be to cite his words in full:

(Ad an. 415). Porro quod in eam dementia[m] superbus iste (Pelagius) elatus fuerit ut assereret esse hominis ut liberi arbitrii non tantum non peccare, sed etiam non tentari: hinc ipse Hieronymus ex persona Pelagii eiusque uerbis haec ait: Alii clausi cellulis et feminas non uidentes, quia miseri sunt et uerba mea non audiunt, torquentur desiderijs; ego etiam, si mulierem uallor agminibus, nullam habeo concupiscentiam: de me enim dictum est: Lapidēs sancti uoluunt super terram; et ideo non sentio quia liberi arbitrii potestate Christi trophaeum circumferro. Huiusmodi plane haeticos uisus est idem S. Hieronymus alibi suggillasse dum ait: Si nota fecissent uerba mea populo meo, non blandientes eis et adulatione perdentes, ut dicent: Non habetis peccata, perfectam iustitiam possidetis, sanctitas et pudicitia atque iustitia in uobis tantummodo reperiuntur: et: Ego non tradidissē eos in immunditiam et ignominiam, ut facerent quae non conueniunt, et sequerentur cogitationes suas pessimas. contemplerur haeticos quomodo semel

desperantes salutem, gulae se tradant et deliciis; uescantur carnibus, frequentes adeant balneas, musco fragrent, unguentis uariis delibuti quaerant corporis pulchritudinem etc. Perstringens in hunc modum S. Hieronymus Pelagium atque Pelagianos, et haud dubium in alios suggillat Palladium Galatam episcopum Helenopolis in Bithynia, cuius disertis uerbis meminit in Praefatione in eosdem libros aduersus Pelagium scriptos (cited in Note 67), quod cum uersari soleret assidue cum feminis religiosis, magna tamen iactantia gloriaretur quod omnis esset penitus concupiscentiae expers. ita quidem ipse cum praesertim in Aegypto uisitans monachos iunctus feminis peregrinaretur. quo nomine redargutus est etiam per epistolam ab Isidoro Pelusiota, dignam illam quidem quae recitetur utpote tanti uiri profuturum omnibus monumentum. sic enim habet: Palladio Episcopo. Mulierum congressus, uir optime, quantum fieri potest, fuge, etc. (*Ep.* II 284, *P. G.* LXXVII 713).

Isidore's letter is too long to quote, nor is there any need. It gives excellent and sensible advice to a bishop, who by his office is obliged to have dealings with women; but not even by reading between the lines is there reason for suspecting that the recipient had been guilty of any imprudence. Moreover, as Tillemont points out, there is no ground for identifying Isidore's correspondent Palladius with Palladius of Helenopolis; the name was a common one at the time,—Fabricius (IX 10) enumerates more than 50 Palladii,—and “une simple conuenance de nom ne suffit pas pour noircir la reputation d'un illustre Euesque” (XI 528).

The other counts of Baronius' case will not bear inspection: it is quite gratuitous to surmise that St Jerome had Palladius in mind in the passages cited: it is not true that Palladius ever claimed to be “omnis penitus concupiscentiae expers,”—quite the contrary, witness the words: *πλὴν τοῦ πολέμου* in the passage that has given occasion to this note, and also the beginning of c. 23; moreover, what he does claim he ascribes to *ἐλεεί θεοῦ*: there is not a shred of evidence that he frequented the society of women, or habitually journeyed with them—on one occasion only, in c. 55, does he tell us that on a voyage from Jerusalem to Alexandria he was one of a party which included Silvania, then sixty years of age. The pity of it is that Rosweyd has transferred the whole passage from Baronius into his classic edition of the *Vitae Patrum*, under the heading in large capitals: Palladius Galata ab Hieronymo impudicitiae notatus—thus surpassing even Baronius. From Rosweyd it has passed into Migne, and so the slander will be handed on till the end of time. Tillemont's estimate of Palladius is quoted in *Prol.* 177; it is characterised by the great historian's wonted penetration and fairness, and may be taken as true.

117. p. 169, 6. The consulate of Tatian was in 391 (see p. 246); he had been City Prefect in 388.

(For Appendices I—V see Part I.)

APPENDIX V ii.

The Chronology of Palladius' Life reconsidered.

The chronology of Palladius' life was dealt with in the former Part of this work, *Prol.* pp. 179–82, and Appendix V, pp. 293–97. Now that we are in possession of more complete and accurate information, it is necessary to go into the matter more fully, because a certain number of other dates depend on those of Palladius' life. In the previous portion of this Appendix I relied on two passages in the *Hist. Laus.* as enabling us to fix the termination and the beginning of Palladius' first sojourn in Egypt respectively in the years 399–400 and 388. I shall begin by examining the degree of certitude that may be accorded to these two passages in the light of our present knowledge of the various textual sources:

(1) The first was the statement at the end of c. 38, that Palladius was present at Evagrius' death in Cellia, 399 or 400: 'Αφηγείτο οὖν ἡμῖν περὶ τὸν θάνατον, κ.τ.λ. (p. 122, 15). Concerning the authenticity of c. 38, there will not, I think, be any further hesitation (see Note 70); but the word ἡμῖν may legitimately be called in question. It is supported by VCB; the paraphrase in l_2 may probably (and that in arm possibly) be taken as supporting it; it is supported also by s_6 , but there are grounds for suspecting the influence of B in s_6 (see apparatus *in loc.*): ἡμῖν is absent from T and I: (s_2 and c vac, see Note 71). The attestation is about evenly balanced (for in VC there are cases of B readings, see p. lxxiii), and leaves ἡμῖν doubtful. On the other hand, the very precise knowledge manifested concerning Evagrius' last years and the circumstances of his death, and his exact age (p. 116, 11), lend probability to the notion implied by ἡμῖν, that Palladius was with him to the end, and so did not leave Egypt till 399 or 400.

(2) The other passage was the opening of c. 1: Πρώτως πατήσας τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ὑπατείᾳ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, δε νῦν ἐν ἀγγέλοις ὑπάρχει διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πίστιν εἰς τὸν Χριστόν, ἡ περιέτυχον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀνδρὶ θαυμασίῳ, κ.τ.λ. (p. 15, 5–8). The second consulship of Theodosius was in 388. The words between ' ' are attested by B s_2 ^{vat}: they are absent from PWT l_2s_2 ^{add}: (c vac).

We must first consider whether l_2 and s_2 ^{add} afford real attestation to

PWT, or whether the agreement may be due to accidental coincidence in error—always more possible in the case of omissions than in other kinds of corruption.

In regard to l_2 , attention has already been called to the fact that one of the most notable characteristics of the type of text it represents is "the omission of words and short clauses" (p. lxv). In illustration of this statement I offer the following list of omissions by l_2 of pieces textually certain occurring in the first ~~ix~~ chapters (pp. 15–24):

- p. 15, 8 *ἐν τῇ πόλει* (see p. 171).
 15 *ἐκτὸς φακιολίου*
 21 *αὐτοῦ τὴν σκιάν διὰ τὸ λίαν χρηστὸν*
- p. 16, 5 *διὰ τὴν δοθείσαν ἡμῖν παρὰ Χριστοῦ ἐξουσίαν*
 17 *ὡς καλὸς πωλοδάμνης*
- p. 18, 2 *ἐν τῷ φρέατι αὐτοῦ*
 9 *εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων*
- p. 19, 26 *ὡς καθ' ἱστορίαν πληροῦσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Κύριος σοφοῖ τυφλοῦς*
- p. 20, 10–12 *ὥστε εἰ κατ' ἴχνος βαλνεις τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας, ἄτε μονάζων καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν ξενιτεύων, ἀπόθου τὴν φιλοεικίαν*
- p. 21, 5, 6 *μήτε γυναῖξί μήτε ἀνδράσι συντυγχάνουσα κατ' ὄψιν*
- p. 24, 13, 14 *ἀνάγει αὐτὴν εἰς τὰ ἀνώγεα καὶ δεικνυσιν αὐτῇ ἠκρωτηριασμένας γυναῖκας λελωβημένας ὄψεις ἐχούσας*

These instances from the first ten pages—the list might be extended over the whole of l_2 —suffice to show that the absence from l_2 of a clause such as that under consideration, is of itself of no significance.

We must now examine the case of s_2 : only two mss. are known, both of the sixth century (p. lxxxviii), and their testimony in this place is contradictory, the clause standing in s_2^{vat} , but not in s_2^{add} . The question is: Which of them here represents s_2 ? A number of clauses and passages certainly authentic find place in s_2^{vat} , but not in s_2^{add} : e.g.

- p. 16, 25 *ἤρθην ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*
- p. 17, 7 *οὐγκίας ἐξ ἄρτου*
 11 *ἐκ θαλλῶν φουίκων εἰς λόγον τροφῆς*
- p. 18, 3 *πληρῶσαι τὸν κάδον*
 19, 20 *τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς διωγμοῖς*
- p. 21, 1 *καὶ τὸν μῆνα καὶ τὴν ἐβδομάδα*
- p. 39, 17 *καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι πάντες*
- p. 40, 16 *εἰς ἣν ᾤκει οὐκέτι μὲν οὐδεὶς*
- p. 59, 3–5 *παρεμποδίσαντι αὐτῷ εἰς πρᾶγμα τι μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν ἐν νυκτί· ὃν ἀποκτεῖναι θελήσας περινοστεῖ τὸν τόπον ἐνθα τὴν στάσιν εἶχε τὴν τῶν προβάτων*
- p. 77, 14–16 *οὗτος εἰς ἄκρον γενόμενος ἀσκητῆς καὶ διακριτικὸς κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος ὥστε πάντα τὸν λυπούμενον οἰανδῆποτε λύπην συντυχόντα αὐτῷ ἄλυπον ἀναχωρεῖν*

It will hardly, I think, be suggested that the presence of this series of clauses in s_2^{vat} is due to revision on a ms. of another textual type, and not

rather that their absence from s_2^{add} is due to the deterioration of s_2 in a particular line of \mathfrak{Mss} .—in spite of its early date (A.D. 534), s_2^{add} shows signs of being already a “worn” text; this appears in the piece printed on p. 241.

But the question arises whether it is reasonable to suppose that the clause at the beginning of c.1, wherein it is stated that Palladius came to Alexandria in 388, can be accidentally absent from both s_2^{add} and l_2 . But this actually happens in the following clauses, which are found in the Greek text and s_2^{vat} , but are missing in both s_2^{add} and l_2 :

p. 15, 15 οὐ κρεῶν μετέλαβεν

21 αὐτοῦ τὴν σκιάν

p. 17, 8 ἐπὶ θεοῦ μάρτυρος

p. 59, 3 παρεμποδίσαντι αὐτῷ εἰς πρᾶγμα τι μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν

These instances suffice to show that accidental agreements between s_2^{add} and l_2 do occur in regard to the omission of words that belong to the Greek text and to s_2 . After what has been brought forward it may be concluded that in such cases it is s_2^{vat} , and not s_2^{add} , that really represents s_2 ; and that in the particular case under consideration s_2^{add} lends no true support to PWT in the omission of the clause at the beginning of c.1, s_2 being here properly represented by s_2^{vat} , which is on the side of Bls ; and it has already been shown from the very nature of l_2 , that its evidence in the case of a mere omission is of little or no weight.

If this position be accepted, the only question of importance is whether PWT are to be taken as in this place faithfully representing γ , the archetype of the group PWTAs. A is here wanting, and s stands against PWT. If the principles deduced from the discussions of §§ 7, 8, 10 of *Introd.*, and formulated on pp. lxiv and lxxxvii, be sound, it follows that the agreement of s with Bls_2 shows that these latter, and not PWT, present here the true γ text. The only escape from this conclusion could be found in the theory that s has been subjected to revision on a \mathfrak{M} s. of the type B or βl , or on s_2 . I have given on p. lxxxi a list of the places where it might possibly be supposed that s has been influenced by B: each one may form his own judgment. In the piece under discussion ~~ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ~~ is so natural an addition to ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ (“his ‘perfect’ faith”), that I do not think (when the somewhat loose and paraphrastic character of the Syriac versions is considered, see *Introd.* § 5.) it can be taken as really representing the metaphrast’s $\delta\rho\theta\eta\nu$: and this is my judgment on the whole series of readings in question. In regard to any possible influence of a βl text on s, it is evident that only where some other Greek G \mathfrak{M} s. besides PWT or A is available, could any such inference be drawn from the combination Bls ; the only portions of the text extant in any such independent G \mathfrak{M} s. and in s are those covered by Schedule II of Appendix VII, and cc. 21, 22, 23, 63. The apparatus to these chapters does not reveal any instance of Bls standing alone that could reasonably be regarded as significant. I do not think that any or all of the cases that have come under consideration can afford justification for the theory that s has suffered

contamination from B or βl; on the contrary, the general phenomena of the apparatus as a whole tell altogether against such a notion; and in particular, in regard to the names in the Table on p. lxxxv, it seems incredible that the presence in s of the correct names should be due to a series of restorations at the hands of some one revising s by a B (or βl) ms.: such a view would seem little short of fantastic.

The same verdict would have to be passed on the last of the possible alternative hypotheses, viz. that the clause was introduced into s from s₂. As the discussion of the genuineness of the clause turns so largely on the Syriac versions, I print in the accompanying Table the whole passage as it stands in s₂^{vat} and s₃^{add}, in s, and in Anan Isho. It will be seen that neither in the general context, nor in the particular clause, is there any relation between s and s₂^{vat}.

To sum up this prolonged and minute investigation: I hold that the clause is textually certain, and that in it we have Palladius' own statement that he went to Egypt for the first time in 388.

This conclusion finds strong confirmation in the statement, made a few lines later (p. 15, 18) that Isidore the hospitaller died fifteen years after Palladius first met him: for in 398 Theophilus tried to secure Isidore's appointment to the see of Constantinople, and later in the year Isidore journeyed to Rome (see Note 8); then began the quarrel between Theophilus and Isidore, who in 399 or 400 fled to Nitria; in 401 Theophilus made an armed raid on Nitria in order to capture Isidore and the Tall Brothers, and Isidore fled along with them to Palestine and thence to St John Chrysostom at Constantinople (Soz. VIII 13); this brings us to 402, and it is the last that is heard of Isidore: so that the year 403 (=388+15) is an altogether likely date for his death¹. Moreover, in the *Dial. de Vita Chrysa.* (p. 50) it is said that Isidore was 80 at the time when Theophilus began to persecute him, i.e. in 398-9; and in *Hist. Laus.* (p. 15, 12) Palladius says that Isidore was 70 when he met him on his first arrival at Alexandria: this again points to c. 388 as the date of Palladius' coming to Egypt.

There is no call in face of new textual evidence to alter any of the figures given in *Prolog.* 180 as determining the duration of Palladius' first sojourn in Egypt: viz. 2 or 3 years in the neighbourhood of Alexandria (pp. 16, 21, 25, 24, 22); 1 year (ἐνιαυτόν, om. δλον) at Nitria (p. 25, 10); and 9 years in Cellia (p. 47, 24)—11 or 12 years in all, reasonable allowance being made for round numbers. This gives the period 388 to 399 or 400 for Palladius' first stay in Egypt. To these limits the only serious difficulty is St Epiphanius' Letter to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, cited *Prolog.* 293: Palladium uero Galatam, qui quondam nobis carus fuit et nunc misericordia dei indiget,

¹ For the facts recited see Tillemont, xi 464-478. It is hard to say whether Palladius' words *τελευτῆ ἐν εἰρήνῃ* are to be taken as a sign that Isidore shared in the reconciliation between Theophilus and the surviving Long Brothers, 403: Palladius was present at these transactions.

צמחיה היא בה ארלה לאלמנותיה

אעפ"כ היתר
בז"ל עד אהמיה: תבונה שמה היא כחמל
הנדר לך בחלה וכו' בהבחה: שמה היא
אעפ"כ לאלמנותיה
אעפ"כ בהבחה ואלמנותיה.

8^m (Anan Isho, ed. Bedjan p. 19).

צמחיה שחל בה ארלה לאלמנותיה
במשפחה היתרית החלה והאשה וכו':
מה המה שחל חלקה מהני תולדה היתרית
מחלמה והבחה: שמה כח בהבחה
בבז"ל היתרית מה היתר כל
בז"ל אעפ"כ היתרית מה היא בחלה
בהבחה וכו' וכו': המה שמה לאלמנותיה:
אעפ"כ מה שמה לאלמנותיה והבחה
לאלמנותיה.

צמחיה היא בה ארלה לאלמנותיה מהמה

במשפחה היתרית והאשה וכו' (sic) חלה
וכו': מה המה אעפ"כ כח חלקה
תולדה מחלמה הלה הבחה: אעפ"כ היתר
בז"ל עד אהמיה: תולדה שמה היא כחמל
הנדר לך בהבחה וכו' בהבחה: שמה היא
אעפ"כ מהמה שמה חמל אעפ"כ: בז"ל
אעפ"כ בהבחה ואלמנותיה.

8 (Addit. 17177, f. 61).

מהמה שחל חלקה לאלמנותיה מהמה
במשפחה היתרית והאשה וכו': מה המה
אעפ"כ שחל חלקה מהני תולדה היתרית
מחלמה והבחה: שמה כח בהבחה
בבז"ל היתרית מה היתר כל
הן חלה אעפ"כ בהבחה וכו' וכו':
כח אעפ"כ שמה האשה שמה שמה חמל
הבחה ואלמנותיה.

caue, quia Origenis haeresim praedicat et docet, ne forte aliquos de populo tibi credito ad peruersitatem sui iudicat erroris (51 inter Epp. Hieron. P. L. xxii 527). This letter implies a belief on the part of St Epiphanius that Palladius was in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem at the time he wrote,—i.e. in 394 or (according to Rauschen) 393¹. The difficulty would be fully removed only by placing Palladius' sojourn in Egypt either wholly before or wholly after 393-4, i.e. from 382 to 393-4, or from 393-4 to 405-6. The second period is summarily excluded by the well-known facts of Palladius' life and the part he played in the struggle in behalf of St John Chrysostom: the earlier period is equally excluded by the statements that Isidore the hospitaler was 80 in 398-9, and 70 when Palladius first came to Alexandria (see above); and that he died 15 years after Palladius' arrival in Alexandria,—this figure occurs without variation in all the sources for the text (PWTBl_{ss}),—for Isidore certainly lived until after 397-8². Thus it seems impossible to remove the difficulty created by the statement in Epiphanius' letter. In *Prol.* 296-7 I suggested that Palladius during his stay in Cellia may have made a journey to Palestine;—though there is nothing to suggest it in the text, still it cannot be said to be absolutely excluded: this explanation Dr Preuschen in his critique pronounced unsatisfactory³. Tillemont's explanation was that the Palladius referred to by Epiphanius was not the writer of the Lausiaca History but another Galatian of the same name: this theory on the previous occasion I concurred with Preuschen in rejecting (*Prol.* 293). But in view of Dr Wittig's recent article on Innocent, summarised in Note 80, it is right to point out now that Epiphanius says of the Palladius of whom he speaks: "quondam nobis carus fuit." Now there is no record of any friendship or any relations between Epiphanius and our Palladius; but about 370 he had a friend named Palladius (of Suedra), who became a monk, and perhaps even a second friend of the name,—i.e. if Wittig's proposed identification of the priest and monk Palladius, the correspondent of SS. Athanasius and Basil and companion of Innocent on the Mount of Olives during the years 372-378, with Palladius of Suedra be rejected (see Note 80). In the light of the facts now before us it has to be asked whether a modification of Tillemont's view may not supply the clue to the difficulty. St Epiphanius' letter exists only in St Jerome's translation, and it is conceivable that the word *Galatam* may be a gloss or an error on the part either of translator or scribes, the Palladius intended being St Epiphanius' friend of 370, Palladius of Suedra: (or the hypothetical other Palladius just indicated). I have, however, hunted in several editions of Jerome, early and late, without finding any trace of variant or textual uncertainty in regard to *Galatam*.

¹ *Jahrbücher der Christl. Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen*, 553.

² The statements concerning Isidore's age and death were overlooked by Dr Preuschen when he proposed to make 394 the end of Palladius' stay in Egypt (*Palladius und Rufinus*, 233-246), and by myself on the previous occasion.

³ *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1899), 125.

Another possibility has to be borne in mind, namely that St Epiphanius may have been misinformed as to Palladius' presence in Jerusalem in 393-4. Such mistakes do occur in letters in every age. The fact of a letter being printed in a folio volume and becoming "Patrology," is apt to lend a wholly spurious dignity and finality to its contents, and to make us forget that its authority is in reality no greater than that of the letters that reach us by the penny post every morning.

It should be noted that the period between the second consulate of Theodosius (388) and the death of Evagrius (399-400) gives just the 11 or 12 years required by Palladius' scattered figures as to his movements during his first stay in Egypt. Either date therefore is enough in order to fix the other:

Palladius came to Egypt in Theodosius' second consulate, he must have left it within a few months of Evagrius' death; if he were present at Evagrius' death, he must have come to Egypt within a year of Theodosius' second consulate. This latter year, again, was probably just 15 years before the death of Isidore the hospitaller; and the death of Evagrius occurred a few months before Palladius' consecration in the spring of 400 (see below). The determination of each of the seven figures,—viz. the year of Theodosius' second consulate, the duration of Palladius' stay in Egypt, Isidore's ages in 38-9 and when Palladius first met him, the dates of Evagrius' death, of Palladius' consecration, and of Isidore's death,—depends on considerations wholly independent of the others, and sometimes independent of Palladius. That two glosses, the one saying that Palladius came to Egypt in the second consulate of Theodosius, the other that he was present at Evagrius' death, would thus fit into each other and into the chronology, both internal and external to the Lausiac History, is a well nigh incredible hypothesis,—the agreement is too extraordinary to be due to chance, and too subtle to be due to design. But if either the clause *ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ ὑπαταίᾳ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως κ.τ.λ.* at p. 15, 5, or the word *ἡμῖν* at p. 122, 15, be authentic, the limits of Palladius' sojourn of 11 or 12 years in Egypt must have been 16 years (387-388 and 399-400).

When the various probabilities developed in the preceding pages are combined, there cannot, I think, remain any practical doubt that the year 388 was the date of Palladius' first arrival in Egypt. It remains to determine as accurately as may be the dates of the other events of his life. We know from the *Dial. de Vita Chrys.* (p. 131-2) that he took part as bishop of Helenopolis in the Synod held at Constantinople by St John Chrysostom, and was one of the three bishops delegated to investigate on the spot the charges against the bishop of Ephesus: this synod was held in the spring or summer of 400 (Tillemont, xi 581-2). As Palladius was in Egypt till 399-400, his consecration took place early in 400,—it is likely, but not certain, that St John Chrysostom was his consecrator (Tillemont, xi 514, and Preuschen agrees, *Pal. u. Ruf.* 241). Now in the Prologue Palladius forms Lausus that he was then in the twentieth year of his episcopate, the thirty-third of his monastic life, and the fifty-sixth of his age (pp. 9, 12

—10, 2)¹. Thus 419–20 is fixed as the date of the composition of the Lausiaca History²; and, calculating back from this, 386–7 is obtained for the date when Palladius became a monk, and 363 or 364 for the year of his birth. Thus it appears that he had passed a couple of years in the monastic life before going to Egypt in 388. In various parts of the *Hist. Laus.* mention is made of periods spent in the monastic life outside of the main period of 11 or 12 years from 388:

- c. 36—1 year with Posidonius in Bethlehem (p. 107, 1).
- c. 44—3 years with Innocent on the Mt. of Olives (p. 131, 3).
- c. 45—"a long time" with Philoromus in Galatia (p. 132, 16).
- c. 48—some time with Elpidius at Jericho (p. 142, 21).
- c. 58—4 years at Antinoë in the Thebaid (p. 151, 8).

Tillemont is no doubt right in placing the four years at Antinoë during Palladius' exile in Egypt, which began at Syene in 406; for (as he points out) *ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὁ ἐξωρισμένος* to whom was bequeathed Clement of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Prophet Amos* (p. 154, 21) is evidently Palladius himself. And the suggestion may be enforced by another argument: Palladius relates how Melania the Younger had sent a large sum of money to Dorotheus, one of the anchorites at Antinoë, for distribution (p. 151, 20); but this must have been about 404–5 (see Note 94), after Palladius' first stay in Egypt, but just about the time of his exile there.

Other features of Tillemont's scheme require rectification: he is clearly wrong in placing Palladius' stay with Posidonius at Bethlehem before 388; for the situation reflected by Posidonius' criticisms on St Jerome did not arise until 392–3. The time passed with Posidonius must therefore have fallen between 392 and 404 (the year of Paula's death). I think that Dr Preuschen's suggestion has much to recommend it,—that the time at Bethlehem was immediately after Palladius left Egypt and before he was made bishop; he himself tells us that it was to Palestine he went in the first instance (p. 105, 7, 8); and perhaps it is not a mere accident that the chapter on Posidonius immediately follows that on John of Lycopolis, near the end of which are related the circumstances of his departure from Egypt. This year at Bethlehem would necessitate our taking 399 instead of 400 as the year wherein Palladius quitted Egypt, for by the middle of 400 he was bishop of Helenopolis. All things considered, I adopt this readjustment as probably true³.

¹ It is necessary to correct note 6 and the corresponding text of *Prolog.* 179: 53 years is found only in B and I^{vv}, 56 being certainly the true reading.

² It has to be noted that Palladius says that when he was writing Eustochium was still alive (p. 128, 11); but she died in 418. He seems to have been badly informed concerning the events going on at Bethlehem at that time: he was unaware of the fact that Melania the younger and Pinian had been settled there since 414 (see Note 109).

³ In *Prolog.* 180–1 I said that
dinus gives for his own car

□ | | | ■ ■ ■ | ■
/ | | | | |

Again, if Wittig's hypothesis be accepted—that Innocent, the monk on the Mt. of Olives, afterwards became Pope Innocent I,—Palladius' residence there cannot have been so late as 412, the date proposed by Tillemont; it would have to be placed in the period 386-8, the years of Palladius' monastic life that fell before his going to Egypt.

The time spent with Elpidius at Jericho (c. 48) may have fallen during this same period, or during the year spent with Posidonius at Bethlehem, or between Palladius' consecration and his exile.

On the other hand, the "long time" with Philoromus in Galatia, who was still living when he wrote (p. 133, 12), may be placed in the period after his return from exile (c. 412-13), but before he obtained a bishopric—he seems never to have been restored to Helenopolis; that under these circumstances he should betake himself to his native Galatia would be but natural. It was probably at the general pacification of the enmities stirred up by the controversies around St John Chrysostom, *i.e.* in 417, that Palladius was translated, as Socrates tells us, to the see of Aspuna in Galatia (see Note 3).

Lastly, it may be inferred that he died before 431, for at the Council of Ephesus the bishop of Aspuna was one Eusebius (Labbe, III 450).

I shall exhibit in a table the reconstruction of the chronology of Palladius' life that seems probable in face of all the evidence now available :

363-4.	Palladius born in Galatia.
386-8.	Monk with Innocent on the Mt. of Olives.
388.	Arrived at Alexandria.
390.	Withdrew to Nitria.
390-1.	Went to Cellia.
399.	Left Egypt and went to Palestine.
399-400.	Year with Posidonius at Bethlehem.
400 (early).	Consecrated bishop : mission to Ephesus.
401-2.	Accompanied St John Chrysostom to Ephesus.
403.	At the Conciliabulum of the Oak.
403-5.	Engaged in struggle for St John.
405.	Went to Rome in his behalf.

which he left Egypt, but that Evagrius' death (at which Palladius was present, as I still hold to be most probable) could hardly be placed before 400. If the figures given by Palladius in c. 38 in connection with Evagrius' life in Egypt are to be taken strictly, this is so. Tillemont, however, thought them compatible with 399; and when we consider the nature of the events on which this chronology turns—the number of years during which Evagrius abstained from cooked food or from bread, or ate green vegetables (p. 122),—and reflect moreover that Palladius did not write until 20 years after Evagrius' death, the conclusion will be borne in upon us that it is unreasonable to look for close accuracy in these figures. I therefore withdraw the first two lines and the note on p. 181 of *Prol.*, and compress the figures in the two tables so as to yield the totals 399. It may be pointed out at the same time, that this change lessens the difficulty discussed at the foot of p. 181 and the top of p. 182 of *Prol.*

406.	Exiled to Syene.
406-12.	At Syene and Antinoë.
412-13.	Returned from exile: with Philoromus in Galatia.
417.	Translated to Aspuna.
419-20.	Wrote Lausiaca History.
420-30.	Died during this decade.

It would have been during the time spent with Innocent on the Mt. of Olives (386-8) that Palladius met Rufinus and Melania the Elder at Jerusalem. Many of the Palestinian and Asiatic experiences may have fallen in the years 400-405, during which Palladius seems to have moved about not a little. It was in 405 that he met Apronianus, Avita and Asella, and the others at Rome, and Pinian, Melania the Younger and Albina, (and no doubt Melania the Elder once again,) in Campania. During the exile in Egypt occurred not only the four years' residence at Antinoë, but also, doubtless, the visit to the Tabennesiot Monastery at Panopolis, on the journey either to or from Syene. The experiences at Ancyra in Galatia (cc. 66-68) probably occurred while Palladius was bishop of Aspuna in that country.

To this chronology I know of only two objections: (1) St Epiphanius' letter, already dealt with; and (2) Palladius' statement that he had made Lausus' acquaintance in the consulship of Tatian, 391 (p. 169, 6); it would be natural to suppose that it was at Constantinople rather than in Egypt that Palladius met Lausus. This second difficulty, however, applies not only to the chronology I have adopted, but to any possible chronology; for on any showing, the year 391 must have fallen during Palladius' sojourn in Egypt.

In conclusion I shall briefly dispose of a few items not yet noticed in this Appendix, which have been, or might be, supposed to afford chronological data for Palladius' life:

- p. 19, 21. Didymus' age: irrelevant (see Note 12).
- p. 102, 12. Alypius governor of (Upper) Egypt: irrelevant (see *Prol.* 296, note).
- p. 131, 3. St Basil's letters to Innocent and Palladius: irrelevant (see Note 80).
- p. 148, 15. The identification of Silvia or Sylvania with the Pilgrim to the Holy Places (see *Prol.* 296, note): erroneous (see Note 99).
- p. 148, 14. $\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\tilde{\omega}\tilde{\nu}$ belongs probably to the B1 text, perhaps only to B; I have explained in *Introd.* lxxx my mistake in saying the clause has the support of s (*Prol.* 296, note); it was a | nder, too, (*loc. cit.*) to connect the journey from Jerusa n to I rpt at on with the Sa of Ro (410) and | In the of

exile there in 406. In favour of the former are the facts that in 388 he probably did go from Jerusalem, while there is no evidence that in 406 he was sent from Athyra in Thrace (where he was first imprisoned) to Jerusalem and thence to Egypt; in favour of the latter are the considerations indicated *Introd.* lii, liii. The year in which Jubinus became bishop of Ascalon (p. 148, 17) is not even approximately known (Gams, *Series Episcoporum* 453): there is some reason for supposing he was bishop in 415 (see Note 100).

Count has now been taken in the course of this Appendix of all the passages of the Lausiaca History that seem to have any bearing on the chronology of Palladius' life.

I have not thought it necessary to consider a proposed identification of Palladius of Helenopolis with the contemporary Palladius who preached in Ireland.

It will be in place to refer to Notes 115, 116. I hope to deal elsewhere with the problems that concern the *Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi*.

APPENDIX VI.

Palladius' Literary Sources.

Though it has been shown, by arguments universally (I believe) accepted, that Palladius in writing his Lausiatic History did not use any source or sources properly so called, either Greek or Coptic (see *Introd.* xiii), still there are a few places in which he seems, or may seem, to have employed earlier materials; it will help us to a right judgment on his book to have a list of his apparent literary obligations.

c. 64. Palladius reproduces Origen's inscription in Symmachus' book (see Note 113).

c. 65. The "Story from Hippolytus" is said to be taken from an old book (see Note 114).

c. 8. The closing paragraph is said to be based upon the *Vita Antonii*—the passage is printed beneath the text.

These three are the only occasions on which Palladius makes reference to written sources, but in two or three other places he can be seen to have employed documents.

c. 21. The closing paragraph, describing St Anthony's vision of the state of souls after death, is based on the similar vision in the *Vita Antonii* § 66: compare with p. 69, 7—10 the following lines from the *Vita*: 'Ἐθεώρησέ τινα μακρὸν ἀναβλέψας, αἰετὴ καὶ φοβερόν, ἐστῶτα καὶ φθάνοντα μέχρι τῶν νεφελῶν, καὶ ἀναβαίνοντάς τινας ὥσπερ ἐπτερωμένους· κακείνους ἐκτείνοντα τὰς χεῖρας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κωλυμένους παρ' αὐτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ὑπεριπταμένους.

c. 38. The last sentence (p. 123, 1—3) is a citation from Evagrius' work *Μοναχός* (see passage beneath text).

A few short pieces may possibly be thought to reflect the *Vita Pachomii* and the *Historia Monachorum*: the following is the evidence:

Hist. Laus. (p. 94, 3, 4) and *Vita Pach.* § 19 (cited p. 94) both say that St Pachomius appointed the most reliable of his monks—

Hist. Laus.

ἐπὶ τὸ διαπωλῆσαι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα, συνωνήσασθαι δὲ τὰς χρείας.

Vita Pach.

διὰ τὸ ἔργων τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τὰς χρείας ἀγοράσαι καὶ πωλῆσαι.

Compare also the lescri t ; of the nuns (*Hist. Laus.* p. 96, 9—13; *Vita* i. § 22), both n full, P .
In regard to the H

(p. 27, 9—12, ed. Preuschen) cited in Note 52, may be compared with Palladius' account of the Tabennesiot discipline in the refectory (p. 91, 11—92, 3). Other passages are :

Hist. Laus.

p. 29, 12—14 : of abbot Or ; οὔτε ἐψευστό ποτε, οὔτε ὄμοσεν, οὔτε κατηράσατό τινα, οὔτε ἐκτός τῆς χρείας ἐλάλησεν.

In the story of Macarius' expedition to the garden of Jannes and Jambres

p. 49, 18—24 : λαβὼν καλάμων δέμα κατὰ μίλιον ἐν ἴστα σημειούμενος ἵνα εὕρῃ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑποστρέφων.....ὁ τοίνυν δαίμων.....συναγαγὼν ὄλους τοὺς καλάμους, καθεύδοντας..... πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ τέθεικεν. ἀναστὰς οὖν ἔβρε τοὺς καλάμους κ.τ.λ.

p. 58, 5—7 : of Macarius Alex. ; ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους μόνον ἔχων τρίχας καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ πώγωνος ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ ἀσκήσεως οὐδὲ αἱ τρίχες τῆς γενειᾶδος αὐτοῦ ἐφύησαν.

In spite of these resemblances of *Hist. Laus.* to *Vita Pach.* and *Hist. Mon.*, I do not believe that Palladius used either work ; had he done so at all he would surely have made much fuller use of them.

In regard to the *Aprophthegmata*, I have not found in the Greek collection any pieces that could be regarded as preserving older material worked up also by Palladius. This supposition, however, is possible in the case of the Latin *Aprophthegma* on *Pior*, mentioned in Note 76 ; but equally likely is it that the *Aprophthegma* was derived from *Hist. Laus.* c. 39.

As stated in Note 26, Abbé Nau contends that Palladius derived the names Macarius and Amatus for the two disciples who buried Anthony, from the *Vita Pauli*, by the following process (see *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, ii p. 23) :

In the *Vita Ant.* §§ 91, 92, we find the statements : δύο ἦσαν...ὑπηρετούντες αὐτῷ [Ant.] διὰ τὸ γῆρας...κἀκείνοι λοιπὸν...θάψαντες καὶ εὐλίξαντες ἔκρυψαν ὑπὸ γῆν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα.

At the beginning of the Greek *Vita Pauli*, redaction *b*, we read : συντετύχηκα τοῖς μαθηταῖς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀντωνίου τοῖς καὶ θάψασιν αὐτὸν¹.

¹ Bidez, *Deux Versions grecques inédites de la Vie de Paul de Thèbes* : (I have described these texts and the problems to which they give rise in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1903, Oct. p. 151).

Hist. Mon. (ed. Preuschen).

p. 28, 6, 7 : of abbot Ben ; μηδέποτε ὀμωμοκίναί, μήτε ψεύσασθαί ποτε, μήτε ὀργισθῆναι κατὰ τινος, μήτε ἐπιπλῆξαι λόγῳ τινὰ πάποτε.

p. 88, 17—21 : καὶ βιῶν δὲ πλήθος συλλέξας ἐβάσταζε σημεῖα τιθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον, ὡς ἵνα μὴ σφαλῇ που ἐπανερχόμενος. ἀπονυστάξας δὲ που τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἔξυπνος γενόμενος εὕρε πάντα τὰ βῆμα πρὸς κεφαλῆς κατὰ αὐτοῦ συνηγμένα ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. πρὸς οὗς φησὶν ἀναστὰς κ.τ.λ.

p. 9, 10 of John Lycop. ; ὡς ὑπ' ἀσκήσεως μηδὲ τὸν πώγωνα φύναι εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον.

Nau supposes that in some ms. arose the corruption τοῦ μακαρίου ἀββᾶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, and that out of this the two names Μακαρίου and Ἀββάρου or Ἀμμάρου crept into the text. He holds that St Jerome's Latin is a translation made from a ms. containing this corruption, so that in the Latin we read: Amathas uero et Macarius, and in the Greek redaction *a* (agreed by all to be translated from St Jerome's Latin):

Ἀμαθᾶς τοιγαροῦν καὶ Μακάριος μαθηταὶ Ἀντωνίου ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐτάφη.

From this (according to Nau) came Palladius (p. 63, 25, 64, 1):

οἱ [Ἀντ.] μαθηταὶ...Μακάριος καὶ Ἀμ(μ)άτος οἱ καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν κοιμηθέντα.

In the article in the *Journal of Theol. Studies* (referred to p. 249, note,) I have shown that there are difficulties in the way of accepting Nau's view that redaction *b* is the original form of the *Vita Pauli*: in any case, there is not a single piece in either redaction of the *Vita Pauli*, outside Nau's ingenious series of conjectures, that could raise a suspicion that Palladius was acquainted with the Life in any form.

. APPENDIX VII.

Schedules of Readings, Introd. § 8.

The principles on which these Schedules are constructed are explained on p. lvii. When β is cited in support of one reading and B^t in support of the other, it is to be understood that there is no practical doubt as to the reading of β , although some B mss. give the rival reading. A number of representative B mss. have been used in the preparation of these schedules; but from the nature of the case there must always be a certain relativity about the readings of β . Cases in which the reading of β seems really doubtful are omitted. A certain number of the readings entered as β are in reality B (see *Introd.* §§ 9, 10).

SCHEDULE I: Variants apparent only in the Greek,

XXV VALENS

<p>79, 3 φύσεως PT 17 ἀπενεγκόντα PTAVC 18 ἔμοι PWTΑ 19 ἐνεπαίχθη PWVC 80, 3 τῇ πολιτείᾳ PWTβ 5 ἀλλὰ PWAβ 9 εἰσελθεῖν εἰς PWA 11 τὸν γὰρ Χριστὸν PWTVC 13 om PWTΑ (verss paraphr) ἀδιαφορίᾳ PWTΑ 18 om τοῖς PWTΑ</p>	<p>φυσιώσεως VCWAβ ἀπενέγκαντα Wβ μοι VCβ ἐπλανήθη TΑβ τῆς πολιτείας VCA ἀλλ' Ἴ VCT ἐλθεῖν εἰς VCTβ τὸν Χριστὸν γὰρ Αβ ποικίλῃ VCβ ἀδιαφορήσει VCβ τοῖς ἀγίοις VCβ</p>
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XXVI HERO

<p>81, 14 φανῆ PW (φανείη TΑ) 15 -λάχανον PWTΑ 17 σημεῖα PWTΑ 19 πεντεκαίδεκα PWA 20 ψαλμοὺς ἀπὸρ εἰ' PWTΑ 82, 5 om τὴν PΤ 8 θεάτρῳ PWVC ἵπποδρομοῖς PVC</p>	<p>παρεφάνη VC (παραφανείη β) -λάχανα VCβ σημείοις VCβ δεκάπεντε VCTβ ψαλμοὺς before εἰ' VCβ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν VOWAβ θεάτροις TΑβ ἵπποδρομοῖς WTΑβ</p>
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XXVII PTOLEMY

<p>83, 2 συναγών PWTVC 3 ἐτη δεκάπεντε PWTΑ 7 ἄχρι PWVC</p>	<p>συναγαγῶν Αβ δεκάπεντε ἐτη VCβ μέχρι TΑβ</p>
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XXVIII VIRGIN WHO FELL		
83, 12	πάλιν ἔγνω PWA	ἔγνω πάλιν VCTβ (οἶδα ἐγὼ πάλιν B)
XXXI ΠΙΑΜΟΥΝ		
86, 12	προρρήσεων PWVC	προρρήσεως TAβ
	17 κόψαι WTA (κατακόψαι P)	συγκόψαι VCβ
	19 και μεταστελαμένη PWTA	μεταστελαμένη δὲ VCβ
87, 3	συναντήσαι αὐτοῖς PWTA	αὐτοῖς συναντήσαι VCβ
	11 ὄπου ἂν PWAβ	om ἂν VCT
	15 εἰρήην PWT (error in app.)	τὰ εἰς εἰρήην VCβA(πρός)
XXXV JOHN OF LYCOPOLIS		
100, 6	ἐκ (παιδὸς P, παιδίου Aβ)	ἐν (παιδίῳ) VCWT
	8 ἐ(ι)ς ὕστερον PWTA	om ἐς VCβ
	10 τῆς Λ. PWTA	τὸ Λ. VCβ
101, 11	δὲ PAVC	om WTβ
102, 6	ἐν (τῇ συντυχίᾳ) PWA	ἐπὶ VCTβ
	τῇ συντυχίᾳ PWT(τὴν)A	om τῇ VCβ
	9 τῆς Εὐαγρίου PWAβ	om τῆς VCT
	12 ἡγεμῶν PWAVC	ἀρχῶν Tβ
	13 τὴν ἐμὴν PWTA	τὴν πρὸς με VCβ
103, 1	προσκαρτερεῖν PWTβ	καρτερεῖν VCA
	7 ἐστιν ἐκδ. PWTVC	ὁ ἐκδ. Aβ
	10 καταλείψαντα PTA	καταλείψαντας VCWβ
	12 ἦν PWT	ἐστι VCAβ
	19 ἰδὲ PWAβ	ἰδοῦ VCT
104, 4	om αὐτοῦ PWTVC	χεῖρα αὐτοῦ Aβ
	9 εἶπον (bis) PWTA	λέγω (bis) VCβ
	om PWVC	δὲ TAβ
	ὅτι PWVCβ	om TA
	om PWTA	αὐτῷ VCβ
	11 οἰνᾶριον PWT	οἶνος VCAβ
	20 διηγησάμενος PWTβ	διηγούμενος VCA
105, 3	γάρ PWTA	καὶ VCβ
	4 κακείθεν Pβ	ἐκεῖθεν VCWTA
	ἐπὶ PWT	εἰς VCAβ
	7 ἀέρας PWVCβ	om TA
	14 και PWTA	om VCβ
106, 1	om PWTA	αὐτῷ VCβ
	2 μὲν PWAβ	om VCT
	4 τὴν Ἄλ. PWTA	om τὴν VCβ
	12 ἔβασαν PWβ	ἔρριψαν VCTA
XXXVI POSIDONIUS		
15	πρὸς PWA	πρὸς VCTβ
	ὄπως PWVCβ	om TA
107, 3	διηγήσατο PVC	διηγήσῃτο WTAβ
	10 σημεία PWTVC	μύθια Aβ
	15 παραμυθίαν PWTVC	1 4 παρα Aβ
	17 γωνῶν PWAVC	ω :

7, 19	παρεκάλει PWβ	παρεκάλεσε VCTA
1	τι έχει PWTA	έχει τι VCβ
3	om PWAβ	έχον VCT
XXXVII ΣΑΡΑΦΙΟΝ ΣΙΝΔΟΝΙΤΑ		
9, 3	Σ. τις PWAβ	τις Σ. VCT
0, 1	δτι PTVC	om WAβ
13	διαβεβαιωσόμενοι PWAVC	διαβεβαιούμενοι Tβ
15	τὸ χρυσίον PWTβ	τὸν χρυσὸν VCA
19	τριῶν ἡμερῶν PWVC	τρῆς ἡμέρας TAβ (error in app.)
22	om ἐστὶ PWT	ἐστὶ VCAβ
	πεῖνα PWTA	νηστεία VCβ
1, 1	οἱ εὐτελεῖς PA	οἱ ἐν τέλει VCWTβ
4	καὶ προσδραμ. PWA	προσδραμ. δὲ VCTβ
	τριβ. τε PWVCβ	οἱ τριβ. TA
7	δαρισταῖς περιεπ. PWβ	περιεπ. δαν. VCTA
10	οὖν PWTA	δὲ VCβ
13	ᾠχλησαν PWT	ᾠχλησεν VCAβ
2, 6	λακεδαίμονας PWA	λακεδαίμονα VCTβ
8	om δὲ PWTβ	ἐνάρετον δὲ VCA
	δντα PWTA	om VCβ
10	om PWTA	αὐτοὺς VCβ (τούτους B)
3, 5	om PWTA (+ δὲ TA)	οὖν VCβ
8	πρὸς PWVC	om TAβ
9	καὶ λέγειν PWVC	λέγοντες TAβ
13	εὗρατε PWTA	εὗρετε VCβ
	οὐδὲ PAVC	οὔτε WTβ (error in app.)
	τοῦτο ἐποίουν Pβ (ἐποιούμεν B)	ἐλυον VCWTA
16	εἰσελθὼν Pβ	ἐλθὼν (VC)WTA (ἐλθόντων VC)
	περιειργάζετο PWTβ	περιειργάσατο VCA
	τίς ἐη PWTA	τίς ἐστι VCβ
4, 5	ὑπηρετούση PTAVC	ὑπηρετούμενη Wβ
6	εἰπέ PA	εἶπον VCWTβ
	ὁ θεὸς PTA(ὁ γὰρ θ.)β	om ὁ VCW
11	om τῆ PWTA	τῆ σαρκὶ VCβ
	τις PWTA	om VCβ
ι, 11	τοῦ πράγματος PWTβ	τούτῳ πράγματι VCA
12	μέλλει (sic) PTA	μέλει VCWβ
15	ἐλθεῖν PWAβ	φθάσαι VCT
ι, 3	ἐστι PWTA	om VCβ
	ἃ πεποίηκε θαυμαστὰ PWAβ (θαυ- μῶσια)	θαυμαστὰ (δ) πεπ. VCT
4	τὰ συντείνοντα PWβ	om τὰ VCTA(B†)

SCHEDULE II: VARIANTS DISCERNIBLE IN THE VERSIONS.

(l_2 is not extant in these portions of the text, and s_2 only in the first four chapters. An asterisk denotes that, the versions being neglected, the Greek mss. comply with the conditions of Schedule I.)

XXV VALENS

79,	3	*om και αὐτὸς PWVCβ l_2s_2	καταλαβῶν και αὐτὸς TA
	6	*παρεσκεύασαν PTVCS s_2	παρεσκεύασεν WAβ l
	14	τῇ ἀδελφότητι PWTAβ l_2s_2	om VCs
	15	*ἡμῶν PWT	om VCAβ $l_2(s_2)$
	19	*om ἅγιος PWTs	ὁ ἅγιος M. VCAβ l_2s_2
80,	1	*om ὡς PWTAs	ἀγγέλων ὡς χιλίων VCβ(ὡς ἀγγ. χιλ.)
	2	*om PWTAl s_2	μέσση VCβ
	3	*om PWTA	αὐτῷ VCβ(s_2)
	8	om PWTAβ s_2	ἐπὶ πρόσωπον VCl
	10	*om πάσης PWTAl s_2	πάσης τῆς ἀδ. VCβs
	16	ἐστὶ PWTAβ s_2 (s paraphr)	ἡγησάμενη VCl

XXVI HERO

81,	1	om PWTAβ	ὀνόματι VCl(s_2)
	4	om ἀγίων PWTAVCS s_2	τῶν ἀγίων β l
	5	*(τὸν) Μακάριον τὸν πρεσβύτερον PWTA (om τὸν)	τὸν μακάριον Εὐδῶριον VCβ l_2s_2
	6	*om PWTAl s_2	φησὶ VCβ
		*προσέχευ PWTA (om s_2)	χρησθῆναι VCβ l
	10	*om PWTAs s_2	τὸν λογισμὸν VCβ(l_2)
	11	*μὴδὲ PWTβ l_2	om VCA s_2
	12	*om PWTA(B) l_2	ἀρίστη VCβ s_2
	14	*om PWTA(B) l_2s_2	μὴση VCβ l_2
		*θειῶν PT l	om VCWAβ s_2
82,	2-3	*δὲ (after καταλ.) PWTA (s_2 vac)	και τοῦτων οὕτως ἐχόντων VCβ(l_2)s
	6	*om PWTA	τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον VCβ l_2s_2
	10	*om και PWTAl s	ἐπέπεσε και VCβ s_2
	12	συντιχῶν PWTAVCs	προσομλῶν β l
	16	*om PWTβ l_2	εἰς τὴν ἐρημον VCA s_2
		*ἐξομολογούμενος PWTA(s)	ἐξομολογησάμενος VCβ(l_2)
	17	om ἀγίους PWTAVCs	τοῖς ἀγίοις β l

XXVII PTOLEMY

19	*om τις PWTVC l_2s_2	ἄλλος τις Aβ	
20	*om PTβ	γὰρ VCWA l_2s_2	
83,	1	om PWTAVCS s_2	ἐκεῖσε β l
	2-3	*clause προσίξει...πολλά after δρόσον PWAVC s_2	after λίθων Tβ l

- 3 om PWTAVC_{ss}₂ και πληρώσας βι
 om PWTAVC εαυτῷ βι(s)
 7 om PWTAVCs (see Note 45) ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα αὐτομάτως φέρεσθαι βι_{ss}₂
 9 *om PWA αὐτῇ δὲ VCTβι_{ss}

XXVIII VIRGIN WHO FELL

- 16 om PWTAVC_{ss}₂ τῆς κέλλης βι
 *om PWTA αὐτῇ VCβι(ss₂)
 s₂ ceases

XXXI ΠΙΑΜΟΥΝ

- 10 *om PWβs τις VCTAI
 *om PWTAs δνόματι VCβι
 om πάντα PWTAVC(s) πάντα τὰ ἐτη βι
 13 *om PWTA (s vac) τοῦ Νεῖλου VCβι
 21 *ἡμῶν PA ἡμῶν VCWTβι_{ss} (ὑμᾶς B)
 5 *om PWTAls ἐφ' ἡμᾶς VCβ
 8 *om μὴ PWA μὴ κλίνοσα γόνυ VCβ (T μηδὲν γ. κλ.) Is
 *καὶ² PWTAI ἀλλὰ VCβs
 9 *om PWTVCI λέγουσα Αβs
 *om πᾶσαν PWTAs πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν VCβι
 12 *ἠλωσάτω, ἠλωθέντες PWTVCI στήλωσάτω, στήλωθέντες Αβ
 (s neutral)
 12 *τρίτην PVC (s om) πρώτην WTΑβι

XXXV JOHN OF LYCOROLIS

- 8 *ὡς ἐτῶν κδ' PWTAs om ὡς VCβι
 11 om PWTAVCs εἰς αὐτοὺς βι (illuc)
 5 *om PWTAs και 'Αλβάνιον και 'Αμμώνιον VCβι
 11 *ἡσυχάσα PWAVCs ἡσυχάσας Tβ(l)
 12 *om PTs και αὐτὸ VCWAβι (κ. αὐτὸς B)
 4 om PWTAVCs μόνον βι
 *ἐκέκλειστο PWVC(s) ἐκέκλειστο TΑβι
 5 om περί PWTΑβs περί ὥραν δευτ. VCI
 6 *ἐν τῇ θυρίδι PWTA (s neutral) om ἐν VCβι
 13 om PWTΑβs ἀπ' αὐτῶν VCI
 20 *μου PWTVCs (l paraphr) om Αβ
 1 (δια)πλεύσαντες PWTVCβι om Αs
 5 *ὄδρωπα μελετήσας PWTAls εἰς ὄδρωπα γὰρ ἐμελέτα τὸ πάθος VCβ
 6 *συνεβούλευσαν PTβ (s neutral) συνεβούλευσαντες VCWAΙ
 17 ἰδέαν PWI (s vac) om VCTΑβ
 1 *θεοῦ PWT Χριστοῦ VCAβιs
 2 *om PWTAs (l doubtful) αὐτῇ κατὰ πρόσωπον VCβ
 5 *ἔχει PWTΑ ἔχει VCβ(Is)
 *om ἡ PWTAs ἡ παραλογισαμένη VCβι
 11 ἀγ' ὕατον PWTAVC (s neutral) ἄγιον βι
 *εἰ εἰς τὸν ποτ. PWTβ om και VCAIs
 12 *εἰ η PWAVCΙ πλύναντες Tβ (ἐπλυναν B) (s)
 13 *ραυμάτισαν PAVC(s) τραυματίσαντες WTβι

XXXVI POSIDONIUS

- 107, 4 *om PWT τόπον VCAβIs
 20 om PWTΑβI και εβξασθαι ὑπέρ αὐτῆς VCs
 *ἄμα PWTβIs om VCA
 108, 1 *om PWTΑ ἡμῶν VCβIs
 ὑπάρξαι PWTΑβ δειξαι VCIs
 4 και ετεκε PWI om και VCTAβs

XXXVII SARAPION SINDONITA

- 109, 3 *om PWTΑ δνόματι VCβIs
 9 *και τῆς φ. PWVVCβI (s altered) om και TA
 17 *om ἐτέρου PWTΑ οὐδενός ἐτέρου VCβIs (ἄλλου B)
 110, 7 ἐσώθησαν ὑμῶν αἱ ψυχαι PWI ἐσώθη ὑμῶν ἡ ψυχή VCTAβs
 11 *και ἐσώθη (-θησαν PW) ὑμῶν ἡ
 ψυχή (αἱ ψυχαι PW) PWTAs om VCβI
 13 *πολλά PWTAl om VCβs
 *αὐτὸν PWβIs om VCTA
 21 om PWTAVCs μῆδὲν ὄλωσ ἐν τοῦτοις γευσάμενος βI
 111, 1 om τινός PWTAVC (s doubtful) γεολόφου τινός βI
 4 *ὑφ' ἐν PWβI (s 'to him') om VCTA
 5 *ἄνθρωπε PWβ (l or. obl.) om VCTAs
 *ἦ...ἦ PWβ και...και VCTAs
 6 *om PWAβs τότε VCTI
 12 *αὐτὸν PWA VCI αὐτοὺς Tβs
 17 *om και PAs και ζητούσα VCWTβI
 112, 1 om ἐν PWTAVC (s doubtful) νόμισμα ἐν βI
 2 *ἕνα ἄρτον PWβI (s doubtful) om ἕνα VCTA
 7 *τὸν (om PW) πρῶτον PWTAs τῶν πρῶτων VCβI
 8 *οἰκῶ αὐτοῦ PWTβIs om αὐτοῦ VCA
 om PWTAVC(s) ἄνδρα βI
 17 *om ὡς PWTΑ ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων φ' VCβIs
 113, 2 om PWTΑβ (s neutral) ἤδη VCI
 *εἶδον PWTAs ἰδόντες VCβI
 3 διὰ τὸν πλοῦν PWTAVC ἀηδῖαν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ πλοῦ βI
 (s neutral)
 7 om PWTAVCs ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ναυτικοὶ βI
 8 om PWTAVCs ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ βI
 10 *om PWVCβ (l doubtful) εἰσῆλθες ὡδε TAs
 *om PWTAls ἄλλως τε δὲ VCβ (και ἄλλως)
 11 *ἦ πόθεν PWT(s) om ἡ VCAβI
 18 *om PWTΑ μαθητῆ Ἰριγένους VCβIs
 *μετὰ θάνατον PWTΑ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ VCβI(s)
 114, 1 *ἠφελῆθεις PVTA οἰκοδομηθεῖς VCβI(s)
 3 om PWTAVC ἐκεῖ βIs
 4 om PWTAVC γκατακεκλεισμένη ἐν κέλλῃ βI (s, om ἐν
 ἄλλῃ)
 *ἠφελῆθεις βIs ('at all')
 *ἠφελῆθεις βIs ('at all')
 *ἠφελῆθεις βIs ('at all')
 *ἠφελῆθεις βIs ('at all')

12 om PWTAVO		πρὸς τὸν θεόν βι
5, 5 *om PWTAl ^{rvs}	(l vac)	ἀπελθὼν οὐκ καὶ εὐρῶν VCB (ἐλθὼν ἠδρεν)
6 *om PWTAls		τελείως VCB
7 om PWTAVCs		ἀληθῶς βι
8 *σου PWβls		om VCTA
13 *om PWTAls		ὡς λέγεις VCB
14 *om PWTAs	(l vac)	δέομαί σου VCB ^{lrv}
15 *om PWAIs		ἀκμήν VCTβ
*οὐκ ἐφθασα PTVCβ (ἤλθον B)		om WAIs
*οὐδὲ εἴχομαι PWAIs		εἴχομαι δὲ VCTβ (εἴχου μοι VC)
6, 5 ῥώμη PTAVCs	(W vac)	ἐρήμῳ βι

APPENDIX VIII.

Addenda and Corrigenda in Part I (Prol.).

Mere misprints are not noticed. References, where no other indication is given, are to the present volume.

Prol.

- p. 2, 12. Palladius' birth must be placed in 363-4 (p. 244).
- p. 18, l. 5 of note 1. After B insert: or C.
- pp. 24-38. A few readings assigned to the mss. PC should be corrected by the present text and apparatus.
- p. 40, 12-29. The passage "Besides the anachronism . . . live with him," should be cancelled (see p. xxv).
- p. 42, 10-24. Cancel the paragraph: "Similarly . . . explained them" (p. 246).
- p. 43, 22-29. Cancel the passage: "And there was . . . only one cleric," as based on a doubtful reading (p. 101, 5); and in l. 33 for *five* read *four*.
- p. 48, 35. Dele: two.
- p. 50, 20-22. Cancel the passage: "and to separate . . . fix the date" (p. 246).
- „ note. Tillemont's difficulties disappear by the recovery of the pure text.
- p. 54, 4, 22, and p. 55, 31. Read: Cronius.
- p. 57, l. 8 of note. See *Prol.* p. 271, note.
- p. 59, 18. Read: Cod. 345.
- p. 60, List. I have met many other mss. of the *Paradisus Heraclidis*.
- pp. 77-84. On Anan Isho's *Paradisus* see pp. lxxix, lxxx.
- p. 78, note 2, and p. 83, note 1. Paris ms. *Syr.* 317 is of cent. xviii.
- p. 83, Note. See Note 90.
- p. 84, 20. For -101 read: - 97-99, 101.
- p. 86, 27. The (of) vi (see *Introd.* lxxviii).
- p. 87, 13. 1

- p. 96. To Version I. add: A 148—9. Story of Hippolytus, in Lagarde's *Anmerkungen zu der griech. Übersetzung der Proverbien*, p. 71 (Leipzig, 1863).
- p. 112, 29—35. Cancel the passage: "Thus . . . palm leaves"; (the clause ἡ κὰν κ.τ.λ. is metaphrastic enlargement).
- p. 114, 24—26. Cancel sentence: "In . . . first" (see p. 31, 8).
- p. 116 (and elsewhere). All the pieces of the Greek text of *Hist. Laus.* printed in *Prol.* are the Metaphrastic revision.
- pp. 120—22. On the Schedule see p. l xv.
- p. 122, 36—38. Dele the clauses beginning: "and all the brethren" &c., and "the community" &c.
- pp. 139—40. See Note 70.
- p. 140, l. 5 of note. See p. xlvii, ll. 5—7.
- p. 141, 25. See p. xlix, and Note 11.
- p. 145, 40. On titles of Evagrius' works see Note 75.
- p. 157, l. 3 of note. König (*Studien u. Kritiken*, 1878, p. 323) might have been cited in support of the view advocated on the Rules of Pachomius. On Ladeuze see Notes 49, 50.
- „ l. 9 of note. Ladeuze (*Cénobitisme Pachomien* 265) urges the same difficulty as Basset in regard to the Coptic letters; but Crum replies: "Pachomius might be imagined distinguishing the 24 Greek letters of the alphabet by their use as numerals, for which purpose he would never have seen the 7 Coptic letters employed" (*Archaeological Report*, "Egypt Exploration Fund," 1898—9, p. 56). This seems to meet the difficulty.
- p. 158, 11. König (*loc. cit.*) and Preuschen (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1896, 710) might also have been cited in support of the view that Palladius' Greek is the original of the First Ethiopic Rule.
- p. 165, note 1. 28 and 31 should be inserted in their places.
- p. 170, note. Ladeuze has supplied in his *Cénobitisme Pachomien* a full demonstration of the thesis that the Greek *Vita Pachonii* is the source of the Coptic Lives.
- p. 178, note 1. See Note 116.
25. For *had seen* read *had known*.
- p. 179, 9. See Note 112.
10. For *saw* read *knew*.
20. See Note 32.
29. For *fifty-third* read *fifty-sixth*; dele the sentence "There is no variation" &c., and note 6 (see p. 244, note 1).
- pp. 180—1. See Appendix V ii (p. 244, note 3): reasons are there shown for placing Evagrius' death and Palladius' departure from Egypt in 399 rather than 400.
- p. 185, 3—12. See Notes 86, 94.
- p. 188, 16. See Note 81.
- p. 189, 16—p. 190, 7. Cancel the whole paragraph (see Note 23).

- p. 190, note 1. See Note 59.
- p. 191, 18. See *Introd.* xi, xii.
- p. 195, 27. Read: 989.
- p. 199, 15—p. 200, 13. Dr Carl Schmidt has shown that the mountain the Nile was not Gebel-el-Ter, but Pispir (see Note 37): it renders irrelevant the whole paragraph, and calls for correction on pp. 201—2.
- p. 200, Note 4, l. 13 (on p. 201). The Tabennesiot monastery established Theodore at Schmoun is mentioned in the Greek *Vita Pachō* §§ 86, 88.
- p. 201, Table. In each column for *Gebel-el-Ter* read *Pispir*, and in column place it between Heracleopolis and Arsenoitis.
- p. 201, 25—p. 202, 1. Read: There is a displacement of Pispir to the south in the Latin; it is in its right place in the Greek.
- p. 202, 10, 11. The Greek itinerary is more correct than the Latin; Oxyrhynchus being the only displacement in it: Schmidt rightly considers this an additional argument in favour of the Greek being the original.
- „ 31. To paragraph (3) add: Dr Carl Schmidt asks: Would Rufinus rather have placed the journey in the period of his sojourn in Egypt, and when speaking of Nitria have represented the Macarii as still alive, and have introduced Pambo, Isidore, Moses and the other illustrious monks he tells us (*Hist. Egipti* II 8 *et alibi*) he had met there? Similarly at Pispir would not have introduced Poemen, whom he saw there (*ibid.*), rather than Pityrion? (*Götting. gel. Anz.*, 1899, 21).
- The large majority of the critics have accepted the view that the Greek is the original of the *Historia Monachorum* (p. xiii).
- p. 209, 24. Redaction ii of the *Apophthegmata* exists in Greek in *Vallicell.* F 56 and cod. *Bessar.* 346 (c. 1 wanting).
- p. 213, 16. Compare also Cassian *Inst.* iv 24, Sulpitius *Dial.* i 19, and Apophth. no. 1 under Joannes Colobus (in Latin in *Roswey* xiv 3).
- p. 215, 10. On this whole Section see *Introd.* x, xi.
- p. 219, 15. Preuschen should have been coupled with Achelis in placing Pachomius' death in 340.
- „ 16, 17. On the date of the foundation of Tabennisi, see Note 49.
- p. 222, 5, 13, 15. Read: Cronius.
- „ 19. For *Gebel-el-Ter* read *Pispir*; and add that also in the *Apophthegmata* of Pityrion he is said to have been a disciple of Anthony.
- „ 36. Abbot Isaac also told Cassian he had seen Anthony (*Coll.* 31).
- γ. 999, 19 29. Preuschen has shown that the *κάρδοι* of the Sarapis temple were in sense monks or the forerunners of Christian monks.

M.
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Pr
p. 2, :
p. 18,
pp. 2

p. 40,

p. 42

p. 43

p. 48
p. 50

p. 5.

p. 5

p. 5

p. 6

pp.

p. 7

p. 8

p. 8

p. 8

p. 8

- (*Mönchtum und Sarapiskult*, 1903): he claims to have thus given its *quietus* to the last surviving of Weingarten's speculations on monastic origins. Accordingly the passage: "but the tendency . . . old Egyptian religion," and also the words: "both pagan and," and "Egyptian pagans and" (p. 230, 5, 10) should be cancelled.
- p. 235, note. Preuschen, in the work just named, has finally disposed of the notion, threatening to become fashionable, that St Pachomius had been a pagan monk.
- p. 247, 11. Duchesne has defended, as against Krusch, the authenticity of the Lives of the first monks of Condat (*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1898).
- p. 261, 20. See Note 81.
- p. 262, 26. Where I pronounced Preuschen's treatment of the question as to the original language of the *Hist. Mon.* to be "very inadequate," Schmidt passed the same censure on my own examination of Preuschen's arguments: he has supplied the deficiency by an elaborate discussion resulting in an endorsement of the view that the Greek is the original (*Götting. gel. Anz.*, 1899, 13—22): see *Introd.* p. xiii. (On p. 13, when posing the problem, he strangely inverts Preuschen's and my positions, thereby perplexing Crum, *Archaeological Report*, "Egypt Exploration Fund," 1898—9, p. 57.)
- p. 264, 38—p. 265, 27. I have since noticed that the sentence quoted p. 264, 38, 39 occurs also in the Latin *Vita Eugeniae* c. 20: another sentence of *Hist. Mon.* (Lat. c. 11) is found in the same *Vita*, c. 5. This shows the hypothesis, that the *Acta Caeciliae* may have borrowed from *Hist. Mon.*, to be less unlikely than I had thought.
- p. 274, 14. Read Cronion and Cronius.
- p. 277, 30. The suggestion as to the authorship of the *Hist. Mon.*, here put forward as "the merest conjecture," has been taken in some quarters much more seriously than I had intended: I would rather withdraw it altogether than have it formally associated with my name.
- p. 284, 36. For *latter* read *former* (i.e. the Coptic).
- p. 286, 1—6, and note 1. The materials available in 1898 for a judgment on the various forms of the *Vita Pauli* were insufficient; the Bollandist Greek Life does not correspond to the Coptic and Syriac; the conditions of the problem were altered by the publication, in 1900, of Bidez' work, referred to p. 249, note. Here it will suffice to say that the theory of the Coptic being the original has been rendered more impossible than ever.
- pp. 288 91. Many gaps in the tables on these pages may be filled up from the tables given in Ladeuze's *Cénobitisme Pachomien*.

- pp. 293-97. The whole ground of Appendix V has been gone over once in Appendix V ii, and a number of errors rectified. There therefore no need to signalise them here. I only note in regard to—
- p. 296, note 1. The whole of the first paragraph is irrelevant (see Note) and much of it erroneous (see p. 246).
- p. 297, 9. In further illustration of the reasonableness of the suggestion made, it is worth calling attention to the fact that the *Great Hist. Mon.* c. 27 says that Evagrius during his residence in Nitria (Cellia) used frequently to visit Alexandria: a circumstance that would not be suspected from Palladius' narrative.

Though this List is long, not one of the corrections affects any substantial position occupied in the volume of *Prolegomena*.

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p. 2, 1

p. 18,

pp. 24

p. 40,

p. 42,

p. 43,

p. 48,

p. 50,

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p. 54,

p. 57,

p. 59,

p. 60,

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II. SCRIPTURAL CITATIONS.

Mere allusions are not included.

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xlix. 16	139 17	ii. 18	13 1
xc. 10	44 14	St Luke v. 30	13 3
ciii. 20	76 7	v. 31	103 4
cxviii. 66	140 4	ix. 62	104 4
cxlv. 8	20 1	St John v. 14	141 19
Proverbs ix. 12	153 3	Romans i. 21, 26	142 7
xi. 14	83 11	i. 28	142 3
xii. 17	74 18	xiv. 23	13 19
xxiv. 42 (al. 27)	10 10	1 Corinthians iii. 18	98 6
xxiv. 76 (al. xxxi. 8)	11 1	vi. 9	22 18
Ecclesiastes vii. 16, 7	80 22	vii. 16	156 3
Job vi. 6	141 3	ix. 25	14 1
xl. 3	141 7	2 Corinthians xii. 5	168 7
Wisdom iv. 13	116 12	xii. 7	141 15
Sirach viii. 9	11 3	Galatians i. 18	11 15
xix. 30	14 23	iii. 28	144 5
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vii. 16	13 23	Philippians i. 23	10 20
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III. PERSONAL NAMES.

Scriptural personages are not included. The references are to the occurrences of the names in the text only.

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Adolius of Tarsus (monk) 130 2, 22
Aenesius (monk) 143 7
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Amatas (al. Ammatos, and Sarmatas;
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31 12; 32 1, 16; 33 18; 35 (note); 78
1; 134 18; 135 5
Ammonius (which?) 101 5 (app.)
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Note 16) 26 15, 20; 27 5; 28 5; 29 4
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7; 26 14, 16; 28 19; 29 5; 32 7;
63-74 (frequently); 77 17; 137 3
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Aphthonius (monk at Pabau) 94 1
Apollonius (monk in Nitria) 36 12
Aprianus (see Apronianus)
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117 1; 133 11; 149 14
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Chacremon (see Note 90) 137 12
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Colluthus (martyr; see Note 104) 154
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Dionysius (bishop) 106 11
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113 17
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Dorotheus (anchorite at Antinoë) 151 17
Dorotheus (monk at Athribè) 86 1
Dracontius (see *Prol.* 154) 80 1

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 Elias (monk in Palestine) 144 15
 Elpidius (see Note 91) 142 14, 23; 143 17, 22
 Ephraim Syrus 126 1
 Eucarpus (see Note 90) 137 18
 Eugenius ("tyrannus") 101 2
 Eulogius (the Scholastic) 64-68 (frequently)
 Eulogius (variant for Evagrius, see p. lxxxv) 75 5; 78 1
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 Eustathius (lector) 166 28
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- Jacob (the Lame; see Note 89) 137 1
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- John Chrysostom 105 12; 129 5; 157 1
 John (disciple of Macarius Aeg.) 44 9, 1
 John of Lycopolis (see Note 61) 100
 John (variant for Origen, see p. lxxx 29 17 (app.))
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 Julian (the Apostate) 20 13, 19; 182 1
 Juliana (see Note 113) 160 6, 12
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 Macarius of Egypt 43-47 (frequently)
 Macarius (the homicide) 89 11
 Macarius of Pispir 68 26; 66 10, 16
 Macarius (president of the leper house in Alexandria) 23 8
 Macarius (vicarius, see Note 111) 157 1
 Macarius (variant for other names, see p. lxxxv) 31 11; 35 8; 81 5
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 Melania (or Melanium, see Note 85) the Elder 21 11; 29 10; 30 4; 57 12; 11 10, 19; 134 1; 146 1; 148 13; 151 1
 Melania (or Melanium, see Note 106) the Younger 147 4; 151 20; 155 2
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 Moses (the Robber, see Note 83) 58 14 60 5, 10; 62 1, 12
- Nathanael (monk) 40-43 (frequently)
 Nebridius (prefect, see Note 102) 150
 Nectarius (bishop of Constantinople) 117 5
- Olympias (see Note 102) 149 21; 156
 Or (monk in Nitria, see Note 17) 29
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- Origenes (Pambo's economist) 29 17; 30 12; 31 11, 18
 Orsisius (see Arsisius)
 Oxyperentius 108 16
- Pachomius the Great (see Note 49) 26 17; 52 5, 9; 88 1; 92 8; 93 9
 Pachon (monk in Scete) 74 21; 75 8; 77 5
 Paesius (monk) 37 12
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 Paphnutius (the Scetiot, probably the same, *ibid.*) 134 13, 18; 135 4
 Paphnutius (disciple of Macarius Alex.) 57 4
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 Paul (monk of Pherme) 62 13
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 Piteroum (see Note 60) 98 16; 99 11, 17
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 Potamiaena (see Note 10) 18 14
 Ptolemy (monk who fell) 82 19; 83 10; 137 19
- Publicola (al. Publicus, Melania's son, see Note 93) 147 16
 Putubastes (monk in Nitria) 25 12
 Pythagoras (philosopher) 12 25
- Rufinus (of Aquileia) 136 1
 Rufinus (the prefect) 35 (note); 148 16
- Sabas (al. Sabbatius) 145 1
 Sabiniana (aunt of St John Chrys.) 129 5
 Sarapion the Great (see Note 68) 25 12; 134 12
 Sarapion Sindonita (see Note 68) 109 3
 Seleucus (count) 150 2
 Severian 162 11 (app.)
 Severus (prefect, see Note 107) 155 11
 Sylvania (al. Silvina, see Note 99) 148 15
 Sisinnius (monk at Jericho) 143 17
 Solomon (anchorite at Antinoë) 151 13
 Stephanus (unknown writer, see Note 21) 84 7; 149 14
 Stephen the Libyan (monk) 77 12
 Stephen (monk who fell away) 137 17
 Symeon 108 17
 Symmachus (translator of O.T.) 160 13
- Talis (Amma, nun at Antinoë) 153 8
 Taor (nun at Antinoë) 153 16
 Tatian (al. Tatt.) (consul) 169 6
 Theoctistes 129 3
 Theodora 128 16
 Theodore (disciple of Amoun) 29 1, (18, 19)
 Theodore (interpreter of John of Lycopolis) 102 18
 Theodore (variant for other names, see p. lxxxv) 30 12; 31 18; 35 9
 Theodosius (emperor) 15 6; 100 16
 Theosebius 55 20
 Timotheus (bishop of Alexandria) 83 2
 Timotheus (chorepiscopus) 142 15
 Toxotius (son of Paula) 128 6
 Trajanus (general) 150 14
- Valens (emperor) 134 6
 Valens (monk who fell away) 79 1, 16, 20; 137 19
 Vallovicus 128 14
 Veneria 128 14
 Verus (al. Severian) 162 11

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

Only those names are included which have a direct relation with Palladi narrative or with the history of monachism.

- Aelia 148 14
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 23 26; 24 21, 24; 30 5; 37 2; 67 4;
 68 14; 82 5; 94 3; 105 4, 5; 106 4, 6;
 113 1; 133 21; 134 10, 17; 158 1, 6;
 159 11: (map)
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 153 7: (map)
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 Athribè (see Note 46) 84 7: (map)
 Babylon (Egypt) 63 22: (map)
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 Blemmyes (tribe, see Note 56) 95 5
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 10 (app.); 163 10 (app.)
 Caesarea (in Palestine) 165 15
 Campania 10 7; 157 7
 Cappadocia 6 (notes)
 Cellia 47 23, 24; 51 12; 120 8
 Climax (in Scete, see Note 44) 82 21
 Constantinople 34 13; 118 20
 Corinth 161 2
 Dalmatia 128 8; 156 9
 Dead Sea 144 11
 Diocaesarea (in Palestine) 135 2
 Doukas (Mount, see Note 91) 145
 Edessa 126 1, 9; 129 17
 Ethiopia (see *Prol.* 187) 25 4
 Galatia 102 10; 132 15; 162 10
 Helenopolis (in Bithynia) 6 (note)
 Heraeopolis (Ahnas) 63 22: (ma
 Hermopolis Parva (Damanhour)
 (app.); 134 14: (map)
 Ibora (see Note 72) 116 14
 Jericho 142 11
 Jerusalem 83 12; 119 9; 130 1
 133 22; 135 19; 147 18; 148 1
 Jordan 144 9; 145 5
 Lacedaemon 112 6
 Lazarium (see Note 83) 132 8
 Libya 10 5; 30 13; 51 11 (app.)
 Lips (al. Libya): the South? 51
 Lycopolis (Asyut) 100 6: (map)
 Lycôus (Mount, at Asyut) 100 10
 Lycus (river in Nitria) 28 19
 Mareotic Lake (or Maria) 25 1; 3
 (map)
 Mareotis (district by the lake) 77

- Marmarica (district between Cyrenaica and Egypt) 77 13**
Mauritania 25 4
Mazices (tribe near Scete) 25 4
Mesopotamia 10 6
- Niciopolis (Menuf, see Note 65) 106 7**
Nile 29 7; 59 6; 86 13 (app.); 101 16 (app.); 152 19
Nitria (see Note 14) 15 12; 24 24; 25 15; 28 14; 29 8; 35 1, 9; 86 13; 51 12; 63 19; 101 4; 120 6; 134 11: (map)
- Olives (Mount of) 130 11; 131 2, 12**
- Palestine 10 6; 105 7, 8; 165 16**
Panopolis (Akhmim) 94 6: (map)
Pelusium 148 20
Phaenicè (see Note 89) 136 13
Pherne (al. Pherman, see Note 35) 62 17
Pispir (Der el Memun, see Note 37) 63 26: (map)
- Poemenium (see Note 66) 107 2**
Porphyrites (mount and desert, see Note 60) 98 16; 107 4: (map)
- Red Sea 63 23; 74 17**
Rome 10 7; 16 6; 55 10; 112 14; 113 15, 16; 116 5; 129 6; 133 19; 148 6; 157 11
Rufinian basilica 34 15
- Scete (see Note 14) 44 5; 49 2; 51 10; 61 20; 62 14, 16; 75 1, 7; 81 16, 17; 82 20; 137 16, 20**
- St Mark's basilica in Alexandria 133 21**
St Peter's basilica in Rome 133 20
Syene (Aswan) 10 5
Syria 10 6
- Tabennisi (see Note 48) 87 18: (map)**
Tabennesiots 10 6; 48 3; 52 1, 4; 98 20
Thebaid 10 5; 52 3; 68 13; 87 18; 101 13; 106 3; 151 8; 156 10

V. GREEK WORDS.

The object aimed at has been to include (1) words of interest from their monastic or ecclesiastical use; (2) words derived from Latin; (3) words which seem to be in any way of linguistic interest: it has been difficult to maintain consistency in the selection, and doubtless there are many failures.

- ἀγάπη 42 11 (see Note 25)
 ἀγριολάχανον 81 15
 ἀδελφοκτονεῖν 22 15
 ἀδελφότης (the community) 29 10 (and frequently)
 ἀδηφαγία (al. ἀδδ.) 44 22
 ἄδυτος 91 10
 ἀηδίζειν 167 19
 ἀθεεῖ (adv.) 168 16
 ἀθεής (al. ἄθειος) 119 21
 ἀθλητής (τοῦ Χριστοῦ) 49 21
 ἀθυριδωτος 51 13
 αἰγυπτιστί 69 3
 αἰρετικός 14 11; 46 17
 αἰσχροπάθεια 139 5
 αἰσχροπραγεῖν 70 2
 αἰσχουργία 139 5
 ἀκαλλής 10 25
 ἀκαταλλήλως 14 11
 ἀκοινωνήτος 97 20
 ἀκροθιγῶς 4 7; 146 1
 ἀκτημοσύνη 109 6
 ἀλήθω 150 20
 ἀλλοτριπραγμοσύνη 12 5 (app.)
 ἄμα(λ)ος 90 1
 ἀμετάδοτος 144 6
 ἀμμᾶς 99 18; 153 8 (see p. 180)
 ἀμφήριστος (on a par) 164 16
 ἀνάβασις (rise of the Nile) 86 13; 101 14
 ἀνάγνωσμα 164 17
 ἀναγνώστης 116 15; 165, 166 (several times)
 ἀναιρετικός 51 6
 ἀναισθητεῖν 39 15
 ἀναξιώπιστος 139 14
 ἀναχωρητής 3 2; 151 12; 152 1; 153
 ἀνδραγάθημα 30 2
 ἀνεμόφθορος 140 11
 ἀνεπαισχύντως 116 1
 ἀνθραξ (carbuncle) 82 13
 ἀνθρωπαρέσκως 12 10
 ἀνθύπατος 157 16
 ἀνορεξία 7 20
 ἀντιρρητικός 121 1
 ἀντίφωνον 130 17
 ἀντίχριστος 80 8; 147 13
 ἀνωθεν ἐκτιθέναί 10 8; 116 10
 ἀξιάκουστος 43 6 (app.)
 ἀόργητον (noun) 7 13
 ἀπάθεια 13 3; 28 4; 116 4; 143 153 13
 ἀπαθής 34 12; 117 2
 ἀπαθῶς 115 18
 ἀπαράκλητος 124 13
 ἀπαρτισμός 31 4
 ἀπειροπλάσιον 167 18
 ἀπελιτισμός 65 15
 ἀπερίεργως 112 15
 ἀπερίσπαστος 53 16; 54 1
 ἀπευδοκεῖν 68 11; 76 21; 181 20

- ἀπὸ ὀμμάτων (blind) 19 19
ἀποκαθάρισμα 95 1
Ἀπολιναριανός 121 11
ἀπορροφεῖν 18 11
ἀποστέλλειν (ὁ θεὸς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς) 68 6
ἀποστηθίζειν 34 6; 56 9; 81 19; 96 5
ἀποταξία 147 10; 156 2
ἀποτάττεσθαι (to renounce the world)
36 12; 60 6; 64 10; 100 8; 104 1;
123 4; 131 5; 132 20; 146 18; 152 8;
154 6; 156 5; 157 17
ἀποχρεῖν 21 9
ἀπραγος 66 12; 80 13
ἀπροσηία 7 12
ἀπύρετος (= ἀπύρετος) 31 2
ἀπυρον (uncooked food) 48 4
ἀργενταρία 30 8
Ἄρειανός 121 11; 158 5; 159 1
ἀρχάριος 56 13 (app.)
ἀρχηφερετής (ἀρχιὑπερέτης?) 95 6 (app.)
ἀρχιμανδρίτης 26 18; 52 5; 63 21; 90 7
(app.)
ἀρχοντικός (al. ἀρχικός) 73 10, 13
ἀσαρκος 53 3
ἀσκανδάλιστος 94 3
ἄσκησις (γραφική) 36 14
ἀσκητήριον 38 4; 52 4; 93 10 (app.)
ἀσκητής 32 9 (and frequently)
ἀσκητικός 75 9 (and frequently)
ἀσκήτρια 84 7; 113 17; 114 3; 164 22;
166 19
ἀσκόπως 13 29
ἀσμενίζειν 11 8
ἄστεγος 39 16; 144 9
ἀστηλτεντος 155 4
ἀσωτία (lust) 19 8
ἄτριπτος 130 3
ἀτιφία 14 21
αἰγουστάλιος 134 16
αὐτοματισμός 83 6 (app., Note 45)
αὐτομάτως 83 6 (app., Note 45)
αὐτοφυής 7 1
αἰχμώδης 16 26
ἄχραντος 9 9; 35 19 (note)
ἀφορίζειν 97 20
- βαλλειν ψαλμόν (see p. xciii) 72 6
βαυκάλι(ο)ν (al. καυκ.) 50 13, 15
- βλα, ὦ (exclamation) 65 12; 74 14: βλαν
(adverb; al. βία and λαν) 111 3
βιβλιδάριον 27 11; 80 17
βικαρία 157 19
βιρίν (al. βιρρίον) 158 12
βιρροφόρος 111 4
βουκ(κ)ελλᾶτον 48 8
βράζειν (al. -σσειν) 19 4
- γαληνιᾶν 147 8
γνωστός (knowing) 80 18
γραφή (H. S.) 34 6; 56 8; 96 5; 109 7,
18; 137 5; 140 21; 151 16
γρυτάριον 37 8
γυναικαδέλφη 148 16
γυναικοτέραξ 161 14
γυναικομανής 161 7
- δαμασμός 16 21
ἡ ὁ δεῖνα (sic) 124 1 (app.)
δεκάλιτρον 47 14
δεκέ(μ)βριος 83 1
δέμα 17 8; 49 18
δεξιὰς διδόναι θεῷ 65 16; 67 10
δευρότυλον (al. θερμ. and μερμ.) 149 1
δευτερεύειν (to be second in the monas-
tery) 94 2
δεύτερος (ὁ, the second in the monastery)
90 7
διακόνισσα 129 5
διάκονος (ἡ) 166 8
διακριτικός 34 11; 77 14
διαπτύειν 10 24
διατίμησις 23 14
διατίπωσις 96 7
διορατικός 44 8
δισκεύω 165 6
διψυχεῖν 119 13
διψυχία 10 11
δομεστικός 131 7 (see Note 80)
δράξ (πρὸς δράκα) 79 16
δυσδιήγητος (al. δυσδιεξήγητος) 82 19;
(al. ἀνεκδιήγητος) 106 15_a
δύσπιστος 43 6
δυστροπία 58 16
- ἐγγόση (al. ἐγκ. and ἐγκ.) 146 18; 147 4;
150 2; 151 21

- καρακάλ(λ)ιον (al. -λιν) 135 5
 καρκίνος 54 6
 κάρταλ(λ)ιον 107 13
 καταγγίλειν 19 7 (p. 171); 48 9
 καταθεσία 35 (note)
 κέλλα 15 11 (and frequently)
 κελλαρικός 37 2
 κελλον 20 9 (and frequently)
 κεφαλή (τήν κ. τοῦ βασιλέως, an adjuration) 19 11
 κηλιδοῦν 71 9
 κηποτάφιον 49 9, 10, 23; 50 1, 21 (note)
 κιλίκισιον (a measure) 47 4; 83 1
 κιμβικία 10 11
 κλεψιμαῖος 23 13
 κλήρος (the clergy) 158 2
 κοινόριον 70 17
 κολαφισμός 141 14
 λόμης 128 14; 150 2; 162 12
 κομάτος 120 3
 κονδιλίλειν 53 10
 λοσητήτωρ 55 21
 λοσιζειν 103 14; 132 23
 κοικοῖλ(λ)ιον 89 13; 90 1; 92 1; 98 8
 κοιστωδία 118 4
 κοιφισμός 23 9
 κοιφογνώμων 9 8
 κοιφοδοξία 12 27
 κρισμος 166 10
 κρότων 121 8
 κυριακή (see Note 36)
- λαμπαδηφόρος 80 7
 λα(μ)ψάνη 95 9
 λαξέειν 142 12
 Λαισιαλόν (nl. Λαισαϊκόν) 3 (note); 8; 9 (title)
 λεβιτών 89 9
 λειτουργεῖν 54 12, 19
 λειτουργία 54 11
 λείψανον (relic) 131 25
 λεκτικίον 149 10
 λεπτόγραφος 14 17
 λεπτολάχανον 17 7; 95 10; 154 13
 λεπτός 20 3
 λήρος (nl.) 57 2 (app.); 73 23 (app.); 131 14
 λιποθυμεῖν 144 19
- λίτρα 30 8, 18; 48 8; 120 9
 λίψ (al. Λιβή) 51 11
 λόγος: εἰς λόγον τροφῆς 17 11; εἰς λ. μεταλήψεως 18 3; εἰς λ. μοναχῶν πταιόντων 25 16; εἰς λ. ἐπισκόπου 33 1
 λυχρικών 92 5
- μὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν 70 5; 74 3
 μαγγαρεία 45 3
 μαγιστριανός 160 18 (app.); 161 21; 162 6: (see Note 114)
 μαθήτρια 153 16
 μάκελλον 60 17
 μακροσοσία 119 20
 μαλάκιον 96 4
 Μανιχαῖος 12 26; 112 7
 μαρτύριον 34 15; 131 24; 133 20, 21; 154 11, 14
 μαφόριον 153 18
 μεγαλόνοια 9 11
 μειζότερος (ὁ, the superior) 90 7
 μετεωρισμός 10 14
 μετέωρος 83 7
 μηλωτή 73 24; 89 10, 13; 96 8; 110 20; 125 5; 168 2
 μητροκτονεῖν 22 15
 μικροψυχεῖν 71 19; 76 21; 102 19; 125 6, 7
 μικροψυχία 10 12
 μιμάς 82 11; 110 1
 μισόκαλος 9 7
 μόδιος 47 4; 55 19; 145 4; 168 6
 μονή (monastery) 32 19; 52 8; 63 20; 91 8; 136 17; 145 3: (stage) 70 7
 μονήρης (βίος) 10 1; 16 16; 37 21, 23; 103 19; 120 2; 147 15
 μονότης 39 21
 μυριάδες (sc. στίχων or ἐπῶν) 94 8; 149 13, 15
 μυσταγωγεῖν 133 14
- νεαρογέρων 43 16 (app.)
 νεαρότμητος (al. νεότμητος) 107 13
 νεοκατήχητος 129 9
 νομισμάτιον 37 15
 νοσκομεῖον 164 2
 νυσταγμός 10 10; 17 18

- ξενία (cell) 74 7; 136 16
 ξενίδιον (al. ξένιον) 65 2
 ξένιον 57 13
 ξενιτεία 146 11
 ξενιτεύειν 20 11; 146 7
 ξενοδοχείον 25 21; 163 20
 ξενοδοχία 127 7
 ξενοδόχος 15 9; 127 3
 ξέσσης (measure) 48 15; 59 15; 120 9;
 168 6
 ξυρίζειν 132 22
- ὀημα 80 14
 οἰκοδομητός 89 7
 οἰκονόμος 30 11; 31 11
 οἰνοποσία 12 18; 13 6
 οἰνοποτεῖν 13 15
 οἰνόφιλος (al. οἰνόφλυξ) 139 21
 οἰνοφλυγείν 82 10
 οἰνοφλυγία 83 9
 ὀλιγοδάπανος 163 4
 ὀμότροπος (al. μονότρ.) 136 1
 ὄξυθυμία 10 13
 ὄξύκραμα 151 1
 ὀξύρυγχος (χαρακτήρ) 120 12 (see Note 74)
 ὀρθοδοξία 163 2
 ὄσος: τὸ ὄσον 17 8; ὄσοι καὶ ὄσαι (= men
 and women) 19 17
 ὀσπίτιον 24 7
 οὐαὶ ποιεῖν τι 74 4
 οὐγκία (al. οὐγγία) 17 7; 48 15; 60 22;
 72 4 (and frequently)
 οὐσία 109 10
 ὀχυρῶς 20 3 (p. 171)
- παῆναι (form) 130 21; 149 1, 10
 παιδαριογέρων (al. παιδιογ.) 43 16
 παλάτιον 131 5
 πανέρημος 25 3, 9 (and frequently)
 παννυχίς 92 5
 παξαμάδιον 72 12
 παξαμάς (al. -μ-) 72 4, 11, 14; 168 2
 (app.)
 παπία (al. παπία) 72 13
 παρά: μίαν π. μίαν ("one a day," διὰ
 δύο being "every second day") 157 1
 παράδεισος (title of the work) 9 1
 notes
- παραμύθημα 107 15 (app.)
 παστός 27 3, 4
 πατροκρονεῖν 22 15
 πεπηρωμένος (al. πεπηλωμένος) 67 20
 περιεσκεμμένος 32 5
 περιστατικός 36 8; 40 9, 11; 138 6
 πλακουντάριος 26 3
 πνευματομάχος 136 9
 πολιδάφος (al. πολύφ.) 56 18; 57 3
 πολιτευόμενος (magistrate) 58 15
 πολυπραγμοσύνη 12 5
 ποῦς: τῶν ποδῶν σου (an adjuration)
 23 19; 38 18
 πραγματευτής 36 12
 πραιπόσιτος 6 (title and notes) 9 (notes);
 158 6; 169 7
 πραιτώριος 35 (note)
 πρεσβυτίς 3 5
 προαιρετικός 40 10
 προγονικός 147 14
 προεισοδικόν 102 1, 2
 προίκασα (sic) 22 7
 προσέχεια 4 14; 133 12 (app.)
 προσφορά 42 12; 56 6; 97 17
 προτελευτᾶν 108 12
 πρωτοῦπριον (al. πρωθύπριον) 72 19
 πρώτως 15 5
 πτισάνη 122 14
 πτωχείον 23 8, 25; 24 9
 πυγμῆ (adv.) 148 21
 πυκτίον (al. πικτύον) 164 16
 πυργωμαχεῖσθαι (metaphorical) 19 2
 πωλοδάμνης 16 18
- ῥακοδυτεῖν 41 3; 153 21
 ῥινόμητος 33 13
 ῥυθμίζειν 7 15
 ῥυσιπέλαγγοτ (al. πολυτάλαντος) 55 3
 ῥυτιδοῦσθαι 71 18
- σάββατον (see Note 36)
 σαλτης (measure) 48 9; 59 14
 σακκοφορεῖν 83 12
 σαλός 99 7, 16, 17
 σαργάνη 42 5
 σαρκίον 34 1
 σαρκίον: ῥωμαϊκῶν σεμνῶν 18 7; γὰρ ὁ σ.
 ἦν

- σῆψις (al. σκέψις, στῦψις) 71 16
 σιαίνειν 78 10; 102 16
 σιδηροῦν 80 12; 81 10
 σιδηροφορεῖν 131 12
 σιδηροφορία 133 3
 σιλίγγιον 37 6
 συναπίζειν 99 23
 σινδόνιον 109 4
 σινίασμα 95 1
 σίνυος 133 4
 σιτοβολῶν 163 2
 σκάμμα 4 16, 21
 σκαφίδιον 66 4
 σκηνή 84 1
 σκληραγωγία 4 2; 16 22
 σκίλλειν (ἐσκύλλην = hastened away) 101 12
 σμικρύνειν 12 8
 Σπανοδρόμος (nl. Παν-) 37 13
 σπιθαμή 146 11
 σπύγγος 98 5 (see Note 42)
 σπώνδυλος 49 5
 σταθμίζειν 30 20
 σταυρός 18 11; 90 2
 στηλιτεύειν 11 14
 στιχάρι(ον) 158 12
 στιχηρός 160 11
 στοχασμός 49 16
 στυφότης 133 12
 στυφώ (to correct) 68 1; 104 6
 συγκάθεδρος 157 20
 σύγκλητος (the Senate) 16 6
 συγχρονίζειν 39 21; 40 15 (p. 173); 132 15; 135 19 (app.) (see Note 84)
 σύγχρονος (τινός) 26 14
 σύμβιος (wife) 27 6; 28 17; 150 5
 συμπαίκτης 109 11
 συμπράκτης 59 19
 συμφύρειν 83 17
 συνασκήτρια 157 3
 συνασμενισμός 163 7
 συνετίζειν 58 2
 σύνθεται (ελαίαι) 95 9 (see *Prolog.* 259) (al. -ται)
 συνεπάγεισθαι 140 10
 σίστημα 52 16
 σφύριον (nl. σφαίριον) 130 14
 σχάστα 65 8
 σχολάζειν 73 18
 σχολαστικός 67 2
 ταυρέα 41 2, 4
 τεκνοποιεῖσθαι (to adopt) 22 10
 τελίσκειν 17 4
 τερετίζειν 57 2
 τεσσαρακοστά (al. τριακοστά) (τά) 68 15 (see Note 39)
 τεσσαρακοστή (ἡ) 48 3; 51 13; 52 18; 130 8
 τετορνευμένος (polished) 114 2
 τετραποδικός 49 13
 τετράς (= τετράδιον) 133 13
 τεχνίδριον 38 4
 τημελεῖν (al. ἐπιμελεῖν) 78 4 (xlviii)
 τιαρηφόρος 107 11
 τριβούνος 128 16; 151 4
 τριβυνοφόρος 111 4
 τρίλιτρον 47 16
 τρισμακάριος 21 10; 134 1
 τρίτα (τά) 68 15 (see Note 39)
 τύραννος (usurper) 100 17; 101 2
 ὑδρομερσία (al. ὑδρομερία) 86 14
 ὑδροποσία 12 19; 13 6
 ὑδροποτεῖν 12 24
 ὑδρωπιῶν 35 6
 ἵλομανεῖν 9 5
 ἵπατεία 15 6; 169 6
 ἴπικμος 49 15
 ἵποκόλοβος 58 5
 ἵπολωφᾶν 47 13
 ἵπομνηματιστής 149 13
 ἵπομνηστικόν 10 9
 ἵποπιάζειν 71 4
 φαγέδαινα (cancer) 78 4
 φακιόλιον 15 15
 φακός 66 18
 φιλοδοξία 12 12
 φιλοζῶτα 12 14
 φιλόλογος 32 20; 148 18
 φιλομόναχος (al. -μονάζων) 145 2
 φιλοπάρθενος 84 5
 φιλοπευστεῖν 17 12; 152 11 (note and see p. lxiii)
 φιλοπραγμονεῖν 40 15; 90 6; 111 10
 φιλοπραγμοσύνη 12 4

- φιλοσυγγένεια 22 13
 φιλόχριστος 10 18
 φλεβοτομείν 23 9 (see Note 42)
 φορές 45 3, 5 (app.), 9, 16
 φορβάς (al. φορές) 45 5, 16
 φορβεοῦν (al. φορβιᾶν) 45 12
 φρενοβλαβεῖν 80 9
 φρονοῦν (τὸ, the mind) 117 10; 153 6
 φυγοκύρις (al. φαγ.) 65 8
- χαρακτήρ (a style of writing) 120 12
 χειρίζεσθαι (of surgical treatment) 78 7
 χειροτονεῖν 33 2 (and frequently)
 χειροτομία 33 6 (and frequently)
 χλανίς (al. χλαμύς) 66 8; 162 3, 4
- χρωφειλέτης 11 18
 χωρεπίσκοπος 116 14; 142 16
- ψαλίς 33 7
 ψάλτης 164 23
 ψηφίον 63 2
 ψιᾶθιον 17 9; 53 25
 ψίξ (or ψίχη) 168 1
 ψυχωφελής 6 3 (app.); 10 9
 ψωμός 17 17; 22 1
- ὠμόμητος 33 10
 ὠμοφαγία 34 4
 ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ (see θεός)

ADDITION TO NOTE 69 (p. 215, l. 21).

I notice that in the Latin Apophthegmata (Rosweyd, Bk. v. xv. 16) an abbot Sarapion speaks of "filius meus Zacharias." I have not met this apophthegma in Greek.

ADDITION TO NOTE 94 (p. 227, l. 4).

(Chronology of Melania's Life.)

After the Notes were in type there came into my hands the most recent investigation into the chronology of St Paulinus' life and writings,—P. Reinelt's *Studien über die Briefe des heiligen Paulinus von Nola* (Breslau, 1904). In saying (p. 226, note) that modern authorities take 394 as the date of St Paulinus' first Natalitial poem, I had overlooked the fact that Rauschen wavers between 394 and 395, inclining, however, to the latter year (*Jahrbücher der Christl. Kirche unter dem K. Theodosius dem Gr.* 463):—indeed St Paulinus' chronology depends on a series of most intricate and delicate combinations, as amply appears from Rauschen's Appendix XXIII (p. 547). Reinelt adopts 395; and in addition he holds that those mss. of the *Carmina* are correct which invert XXVII and XXVIII, thus making XXVII the tenth Natalitial poem (p. 21). Either of these changes singly would make 403 the year in which *Carin.* XXVII was written; both together would take it to 404. These dates would place Nicetas' first visit, and consequently Melania's return, in 399, or in 400; and 400 is the date defended by Reinelt. The adoption of either date would not necessitate any other change in the chronological table given in Note 94¹. As Reinelt points out, 373–399 or 400 for Melania's absence from Rome would yield the 27 years mentioned by Palladius, and also quite well justify St Paulinus' "quinque lustra" (p. 33)². I see no difficulty in adopting 399 for Melania's return; but in regard to 400, it would have to be considered whether Rufinus' known relations with Apronianus (see Notes 94, 95) would admit of that date.

My reason for saying in Note 93 that the *Vita Melaniae Jun.* seems to imply that Publicola, her father and son of Melania the Elder, died before

¹ *Carin.* XXI, the eleventh Natalitial (they have got out of order), and the visit of Apronianus and the rest to Nola (see Note 95), would indeed have to be placed in 407 instead of 406, if 395 be the date of the first Natalitial poem.

² There is no longer, in face of Note 32, any need to readjust Melania's chronology so as to allow of her having met St Athanasius in Alexandria (Reinelt, p. 34): St Jerome's statements that she left Rome in the winter of 373 may be accepted without hesitation.

405, was as follows: cc. 6, 7 imply that it was not until after his death that Pinian and Melania withdrew from Rome; but in 405 Palladius found them already settled in Campania (pp. 157, 6—13; 10, 7). In view of Reinelt's unhesitating acceptance of Pagi's and Tillemont's argumentation in favour of 408, I went over the ground again, with the result that I found the case for 408 much stronger than I had previously considered it. The matter must remain in that indeterminate state: it is of no importance for the Lausiac History.

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J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON D.D.
HON. PH.D. GÖTTINGEN HON. D.D. HALLE
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